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From an original Painting.

EVANGELICAL

BIOGRAPHY;

OR,

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES & DEATHS

OF

THE MOST EMINENT AND EVANGELICAL

AUTHORS OR PREACHERS,

BOTH BRITISH AND FOREIGN,

IN THE SEVERAL

DENOMINATIONS OF PROTESTANTS,

FROM THE

BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WHEREIN

Are collected, from authentic Historians, their most remarkable Actions, Sufferings, and Writings; exhibiting the Unity of their Faith and Experience in their several Ages, Countries, and Professions; and illustrating the Power of Divine Grace in their holy Living and Dying.

BY THE

REV. ERASMUS MIDDLETON,

Of King's College, Cambridge; Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Crawford and Lindsay; and Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire.

The FAITHFUL are chosen in Christ, EPH. i. 4.—called by grace, GAL. i. 15. —justified freely by grace, ROM. iii. 24.—holy and beloved, COL. iii. 12.—they live by faith, GAL iii. 11.—obtain a good report through faith, HEB. xi. 39.—die blessed in the Lord, REV. xiv. 13.—shall appear with him in glory, COL. iii. 4.

A NEW EDITION,

ILLUSTRATED WITH FIFTY-ONE PORTRAITS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. BAYNES, 54, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1816.

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Biographia Evangelica.

JOHN CALVIN,

THE EVANGELIC REFORMER.

THIS eminent Reformer was born, on the tenth of July, 1509, at Noyon, a city of France, in the territory of Soissons, fifty-eight miles N. E. of Paris. His parents were Gerhard Calvin and Jane Francke, who enjoyed a decent fortune, and bestowed on him a liberal education. They intended him for the service of the church, and sent him from the grammar-school to the college of La Marche in Paris, where he was instructed in the grounds of literature by Maturinus Corderius, who was one of the best grammarians and schoolmasters that could be desired; for he understood the Latin tongue very well, was a man of worth, and diligently applied himself to his function; being as careful to form his scholars to wisdom, as to good Latin. Calvin afterwards dedicated to him his commentary upon the first epistle to the Thessalonians. He was removed from his tuition, and placed under the care of Hispanus, a Spanish master, in Montague college, where he studied logic and divinity.

As Calvin was designed for the church, his father early obtained for him a benefice in the cathedral of Noyon. Those who report that Calvin was a canon there, are mistaken: The benefice was not a canonicate, but a chapel called *de la Gesine*, to which he was preferred on the twenty-first of May, 1521. He was presented to the cure of Marteville on the twenty-seventh of September, 1527; which, on the fifth of July, 1529, he exchanged for the cure of Pont l'Eveque, a village near Noyon, where his father was born. But we must observe, that Calvin was

never in priest's orders; nor any farther an ecclesiastic than by simple tonsure.

Calvin was engaged by Robert Olivetan to study religion in its source, which made him resolve to renounce all superstitions; especially as his father had altered his mind, and chose rather to make him an advocate than a divine. Olivetan was his kinsman, and intended to bring him over to the doctrine of the Reformers: So that after Calvin had finished his humanity studies at Paris, he was sent to Orleans, where he studied the civil law under the direction of Peter d' l'Etoile, who was president in the parliament of Paris, and called it in Latin *Petrus Stella*. From thence he was sent to Bourges, to perfect himself in that study under Andrew Alciat, a Milanese, and a great Civilian, who was invited from Milan by Francis I. to promote the knowledge of the civil law in the university of Bourges, where the fame of his abilities drew from all parts a great number of students. He mixed a great deal of literature with the explication of the laws, and happily banished that barbarous language, which had till then prevailed in the lectures and writings of the Civilians. For this he is highly extolled by Thuanus; and he afterwards wrote a lively description of the abuses of a monastic life.

Calvin made great progress in the civil law; and pursued his private studies in the holy Scriptures with equal success. He was incited to the latter by Melchior Wolmar, who was professor of Greek at Bourges, and secretly a Lutheran. Wolmar made Calvin a master of the Greek language; and Calvin afterwards dedicated to him his comment upon the second epistle to the Corinthians; as he had done that upon the Thessalonians to his Latin master Corderius.

While Calvin was studying the civil law at Bourges, he preached several sermons in a neighbouring town called Liveria: But his father died in 1532: on which account he returned to Paris, in the twenty-third year of his age, with a resolution to make divinity his principal study. Soon after he came back to Paris, he wrote a commentary upon Seneca's treatise, De Clementia. After residing a few months at Paris, Calvin became acquainted with all those who professed the reformed religion; and particularly with Stephen Forgeus, an eminent merchant, who afterwards sealed the truth with his blood. Francis I. was equally desirous with the pope to abolish the pragmatic sanction made by Charles VII. composed of the degrees and canons of the council of Bale, which restored the ancient free-

dom

dom of elections, and suppressed the abuses introduced by the court of Rome. Accordingly, the king abolished that ordinance; and the pope consented that his majesty should nominate to the bishoprics and abbies of his own dominions. The pope failed in his observance of these promises; and it was about this time, that Calvin embraced the doctrine of Oecolampadius, and began publicly to teach it.

Calvin was esteemed in the French congregations, as one of the most able and best qualified men to teach and defend the doctrine of the Reformation, which had been introduced into that kingdom. Nicholas Copus was then rector of the university of Paris, who had a speech to make on the first of November, 1532; in which he was assisted by Calvin, who inserted into it such assertions concerning religion, as the divines of Paris thought contrary to the faith and Christian piety. It so much displeased the parliament, as well as the Sorbonne, that it occasioned the beginning of a persecution against the Protestants. The parliament summoned the rector, who fled out of the kingdom to Basil. They also sent to apprehend Calvin in the college of Forteret; but he escaped out at the window by the help of the sheets, and they seized his papers, among which there were letters found that discovered several of his correspondents.

The queen of Navarre appeased this first storm and Calvin had the honour of a conference with her majesty, who delivered the learned Faber Stapulensis out of the hands of the inquisitors, and sent him to Nerac. This queen of Navarre was Margaret de Valois, sister to Francis I. a princess of extraordinary worth; and much admired for her piety, wit, and the productions of her pen. She married in 1527, Henry d' Albret II. king of Navarre; and she gladly would have introduced the reformed religion into his dominions. The Reformers were protected under her patronage; and she wrote a book in French rhyme, called 'the Mirror of the skilful Soul;' which was censured by the Sorbonne. It was composed in a strain very unusual to the church of Rome: No mention was made in it either of male or female saints, merits, or any other purgatory than the blood of Jesus Christ; and even the prayer, commonly called *Salve Regina*, is there applied in French to the person of Jesus Christ. She was a princess of excellent understanding, raised up by God to break up the cruel designs of Anthony Duprat, chancellor of France, and others, who incensed the king against those

they called heretics. Many of the reformed clergy were maintained in schools at her own expence, not only in France, but also in Germany. She took a wonderful care to preserve and secure those that were in danger for the Protestant religion, and to succour the refugees at Strasburgh and Geneva. It is recorded in the registers of the parliament of Bourdeaux, that this queen coming into court as governess, in the absence of the king her husband, made it her earnest request, that the court would release one Andrew Melancthon, accused of heresy, which Philip Melancthon had strongly solicited of her by letters. Andrew propagated the doctrine of his kinsman so successfully in the Agenois, that it could not be extirpated. In short, this good-natured princess had nothing more at heart than to procure the escape of the Reformers; and she, by little touches, endeavoured to impress on the soul of the king her brother some pity for the Lutherans. But she a little eclipsed her glory by her credulity in her later years: Yet Mezerai says, that towards the end of her days, in 1549, she seemed to repent of her repentance, and desired Calvin, by letters, to come and instruct and comfort her. Joan d' Albret, daughter of Margaret, and likewise queen of Navarre, had also much indulgence for the reformed religion, and declared herself its protectress, when her husband, Anthony de Bourbon, duke of Vendome, renounced Calvinism, and became its persecutor. He was killed at the siege of Rouen, in 1562; but she established the reformed religion in her dominions, verifying in effect the saying of the prophet, that queens should be the nursing-mothers of the church of God; though, at that time, she was menaced and terrified, as much a queen as she was, all manner of ways; so far as to let her understand that she should be divorced by the pope, deprived of her kingdom and estates, and condemned at least to perpetual imprisonment. If it be strange that the queen of Navarre was so undaunted as not to fear such dangers, which she was perfectly acquainted with; it is still more surprizing that she maintained herself, surrounded as she was by two powerful princes, the king of Spain on one side, and the king of France on the other, both possessed with such a cruelty against the Protestants, as has but few examples; both incited and animated by the strong solicitations of the court of Rome. She was poisoned at Paris in 1572; and that death could not but be very seasonable to this princess, who would have been inconsolable, had she seen the Paris massacre on saint Bartholomew's day.

day. Henry IV. of France, was the son of this queen. He was the first prince of the blood, and chief of the house of Bourbon, when he succeeded Henry III. in whom the line of Valois became extinct. This prince was born a Calvinist, which religion he really loved, without being a bigot: But he found it impossible, notwithstanding all his victories and virtues, to get possession of his kingdom without abandoning Calvinism. After his conversion to the Romanists, gratitude would not permit him to seek the destruction of the Huguenots, to whom he was indebted for his crown: But if he had been inclined to make the attempt, it is more than probable that he would have miscarried. He therefore cherished, and protected the Protestants.

So far it has been thought necessary to give a concise account of the family of Navarre, which protected Calvin, and promoted the work of the Reformation.

When Calvin retired to Xaintonge, he got the friendship of Lewis du Tillet, canon of Angoulesme, at whose request he composed some short Christian exhortations, which were read as homilies in some parishes, to accustom the people gradually to search after the truth. He went from Angoulesme to Poitiers, where he got new disciples, to whom he administered the sacrament in caves and grottoes. He paid Stapulensis a visit at Nerac in Gascony, and returned to Paris in 1534, at the time that Roussel and Coraldus were banished that city, and orders were issued for apprehending the Reformers. Servetus was then at Paris, where he dispersed his books against the Trinity; in which he was opposed by Calvin, who agreed to engage in a dispute with him; but Servetus would not appear at the appointed conference.

Francis I. was accused of having shewn too much indulgence to the Reformers: But Mezerai has refuted this accusation. Davila laid the charge in these words: 'The 'belief of Calvin began to spread in the reign of this 'king, whether he allowed it, or took no notice of it.' The French historian convicts this Italian of forgetfulness or partiality: 'What! says he, to make six or seven 'severe edicts to stifle it, to convoke the clergy several 'times, to assemble a provincial council, to be continu-'ally sending ambassadors to all the princes in Christen-'dom to have a general one called; to burn heretics by 'dozens, to send them to the gallies by hundreds, and 'to banish them by thousands: Can this be said to allow, 'or take no notice of it? Are these bare resolutions, or

'real

'real performances?' Another French writer says, that 'this king burnt a great many Lutherans; and spared 'none that he could discover: Yet he took Geneva under 'his protection;' which was the metropolis of the reformed, and their mother church. This is one of the most common scenes of the craft or cunning of the world. Sovereign princes, in all ages, have played thus with religion; and they play this game still; for they persecute at home, a religion which they support abroad. You must not infer from hence, that they have no religion: For the inference would be false; they are often religious even to bigotry. What then can be the reason of this? They have a greater regard for the temporal interest of their dominions, than for the kingdom of Jesus Christ. 'I do not, (says Bayle,) except the pope himself.' Nor indeed, need he.

This persecution made Calvin resolve to quit France as soon as he had published a treatise at Orleans concerning the Psychopannychia, against those who believe the soul sleeps, after leaving the body, to the day of judgment. He chose Basil for the place of his retreat, where he was accompanied by his brother Anthony Calvin, and Lewis du Tillot. He soon contracted a particular friendship with Grynæus and Capito, with whom he studied Hebrew. He was not greedy of praise; yet was obliged to publish his "Christian Institution," which he dedicated to Francis I. This work contributed greatly to his reputation; and his dedicatory epistle is one of those prefatory pieces so much admired like Casaubon's preface to Polybius, and the dedication of Thuanus. It was dated from Basil, the first of August, 1536; and the whole was intended as the specimen of a very large work. For Francis I. by his cruel executions, had greatly disgusted the German princes, who had espoused the gospel, and whose friendship he courted; therefore, he contrived this only cunning expedient to declare to them, that he had only proceeded against Anabaptists, who set up their enthusiasm against the word of GOD, and contemned all magistracy. 'Cal-'vin was not able to bear this reflection cast upon the true 'religion, and took occasion to print that book; in my 'opinion, (says Beza) an incomparable one.' The author afterwards retouched his "Christian Institution," and rendered it so excellent in Latin, that it was admired even by Scaliger. The work was divided into four books, and contained eighty chapters. It was first printed at Basil in 1535; but the preface was dated from thence the

first

first of August, 1536, and it was afterwards translated into almost all the European languages.

When Calvin had published this book, he made a journey into Italy, to wait on the duchess of Ferrara, the daughter of Lewis XII. She was a princess of exemplary piety, and a favourer of the Reformation. Calvin met with a very gracious reception from her: But the duke of Ferrara would not suffer him to continue long with his duchess; and he returned into France, to settle his affairs in that kingdom, from whence he prepared to set out for Strasburgh, or Basil, accompanied by Anthony Calvin, the only brother he had living.

The war had left no other passage, but through the duke of Savoy's dominions, which obliged them to take that course. This seemed a particular direction of Providence, that designed him for Geneva, where he was kindly entertained by William Farel, who detained him there, as it were, by an order from above. Farel was a Frenchman, and a Reformer, who, like Calvin, fled from his native country, to avoid the persecution of the Papists. He received the *hand of fellowship* from Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Capito, among whom he greatly distinguished himself by his zeal for the Reformation. He disputed against Popery in Geneva, from whence he was obliged to retire by the violence of the great vicar and other ecclesiastics: But he was recalled there in 1534, by the inhabitants, who had renounced the Romish church; and he was the principal instrument of the entire suppression of popery, which happened in that city the next year.

Farel was a man of a truly heroic spirit, and used a great many arguments to prevail with Calvin to stay and assist him at Geneva, rather than proceed any farther. Calvin was unwilling to continue there, till Farel said to him, 'Behold, I declare to you, in the name of Almighty 'God, that unless you will here become fellow-labourer 'in the work of the Lord; his curse will be upon you, 'for seeking yourself rather than Christ.' Peter Viret seconded Farel, and Calvin then submitted to the judgement of the presbytery and magistrates; by whose suffrages, together with the consent of the people, he was chosen preacher, and divinity professor. He complied with the latter, and would have declined the former; but he was obliged to undertake both functions. Calvin afterwards called Farel his "fellow-labourer, to whom the "Genevese owed even themselves; that he was the father

" of their liberty, and the founder of their church." This year was remarkable for a stricter league between Bern and Geneva; as also for the establishment of the gospel at Lausanne, where a free disputation was held between the Papists and Protestants, at which Calvin was present.

In 1537, Calvin successfully opposed the Anabaptists in a public conference, and confuted Peter Caroli, who had accused him and his brethren, of holding particular opinions concerning the Trinity. He also wrote two letters into France, to confirm the Protestants in their faith: One of them, directed to Nicholas Cheminus, was an exhortation to avoid idolatry; and the other was to Gerald Roussel, lately made bishop of Oleron, against the popish priesthood. He made all the people solemnly swear to a form of faith, and abjure popery. He also drew up a catechism, which he caused to be taught in Geneva; and he endeavoured to reconcile the principal families which had been divided into several factions.

Hooker has given the full character of Calvin, as head of the Genevan discipline. 'A founder it had, whom for 'mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man 'that ever the French church did enjoy, since it enjoyed 'him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. 'Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or read-'ing so much, as by teaching others: For though thou-'sands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in 'that kind; yet he to none, but only to God, the au-'thor of that blessed fountain, the book of life; and of 'the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps 'of other learning, which were his guides; till being 'occasioned to leave France, he fell at the length upon 'Geneva, which city the bishop and clergy thereof had 'a little before forsaken, as some do affirm; being of 'likelihood frighted with the people's sudden attempt, 'for the abolishment of the Popish religion. At the 'coming of Calvin thither, the form of their civil regi-'ment was popular, as it continueth to this day; neither 'king, nor duke, nor nobleman of any authority or 'power over them; but officers chosen by the people, 'yearly out of themselves, to order all things with public 'consent. For spiritual government they had no laws at 'all agreed upon; but did what the pastors of their souls 'by persuasion could win them unto. Calvin considered 'how dangerous it was, that the whole estate of that 'church should hang still on so slender a thread, as the 'liking of an ignorant multitude, if it have power to

'change

'change whatsoever itself liketh. Wherefore taking unto 'him two of the other ministers for more countenance of 'the action, albeit the rest were all against it, they moved 'and persuaded the people to bind themselves by solemn 'oath, *first*, never to admit the papacy amongst them 'again; and, *secondly*, to live in obedience unto such or-'ders, concerning the exercise of their religion, and the 'form of their ecclesiastical government, as those their 'true and faithful ministers of God's word, had, agree-'ably to Scripture, set down to that end and purpose.' Hence it appears, how extremely false and unjust the exclamations of the Papists against Calvin are, that he subverted the government, and turned the state of Geneva into confusion; whereas the truth is, the bishop of Geneva, who, like some other prince-bishops in Germany, claimed the office of ruler, was expelled long before Calvin's arrival; and as the government was modelled into its democratic form, previous to his residence, he did not believe that he had any divine authority to alter the civil constitution, if it had ever been in his power.

This reformation of doctrines had not removed that corruption of manners which had prevailed in Geneva; nor that factious spirit which had so much divided the principal families. Therefore Calvin, assisted by his colleagues Farel and Caroldus, declared, that as all their remonstrances had proved ineffectual, they could not celebrate the holy sacrament while those disorders continued. They also agreed, that they would no longer submit to the constitutions that the synod of Bern had made; and they desired to be heard in the synod which was held at Zurick.

The church of Geneva made use of leavened bread in the communion: They had removed the baptismal fonts out of the churches; and abolished all festivals except Sundays. But the churches of the canton of Bern disapproved of these three things; and, by an act made in the synod of Lausanne, required that the use of unleavened bread, the baptismal fonts, and the festivals should be re-established in Geneva. These were the regulations with which Calvin refused to comply. It was the manner of those times, says Hooker, that every particular church did that within itself, which some few of their own thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. 'Such num-'bers of churches then being, though free within them-'selves, yet small, common conference before-hand might 'have eased them of much after-trouble. But it bred a

'greater

'greater inconvenience; because every later endeavoured 'to be certain degrees more removed from conformity 'with the church of Rome, than the rest had been: 'Whereupon grew marvellous great dissimilitudes; and, 'by reason thereof jealousies, heart-burnings, jars, and 'discords among them; which notwithstanding might 'have been easily prevented, if the orders that each church 'did think fit and convenient for itself, had not been so 'peremptorily established under that high commanding 'form which tendered them to the people, as things ever-'lastingly required by the law of that Lord of Lords, 'against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. 'For by this mean it came to pass, that one church could 'not but accuse and condemn another of disobedience to 'the will of Christ, in those things where manifest dif-'ference was between them: Whereas the same orders 'allowed, but established in a more wary and suspense 'manner, as being to stand in force till GOD should 'give the opportunity of some general conference, what 'might be best for them afterwards to do; this had both 'prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might 'take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the authors 'themselves of entering into a farther consultation after-'wards; which, though never so necessary, they could 'not easily now admit, without some fear of derogation 'from their credit; and therefore that which once they 'had done, they became for ever after resolute to main-'tain. Calvin, therefore, and the other two his associates, 'stiffly refusing to administer the holy communion to such 'who would not quietly, without contradiction and mur-'mur, submit themselves unto the orders which their so-'lemn oath had bound them to obey, were, in that quarrel, 'banished the town.'

The Syndics of Geneva summoned the people in 1538; and Calvin, Farel, and Courant, presented themselves before the council, offering to make good their confession of faith. The Syndics favoured the discontented party, and were catholics in their hearts. The council, under pretence of preserving the liberties and privileges of the city; and because Calvin and his friends would not conform to the custom of Bern in celebrating the communion, made an order to enjoin those three members to leave the city in three days. When this decree was brought to Calvin, he said, "Truly, if I had served men, I should have had an "ill reward: But it is well that I have served him, who

"doth

" doth always perform to his servants what he hath once " promised."

Calvin had no maintenance from the city, and lived at his own expence. He went to Basil, and from thence to Strasburgh, where Bucer and Capito gave him every mark of their esteem. He was also caressed by Hedio, and other learned men, who procured him permission from the magistrates to set up a French church, of which he became the pastor, and had a competent maintenance allowed him there. He was also made professor of divinity, which frustrated the expectation of the see of Rome; as Calvin settled in a new place, and a new church was erected, for the former, subverted.

While Calvin was absent from Geneva, cardinal Sadolet wrote an eloquent letter to the inhabitants of that city, to exhort them to return into the bosom of the Romish church. Calvin answered that letter in 1539; in which he manifested his affection for the church of Geneva, and disappointed the views which the bishop of Carpentras had entertained in his fine artful letter to that state.

So far would the popes and the ecclesiastics have been from abandoning their beloved interests, founded upon ignorance and superstition, that a bloody inquisition would have been established, not only in Italy and Spain, but in all Christian countries, which would have smothered and extinguished for ever those lights which then began to sparkle. Lutheranism gained such strength and stability, that it prevented the tyranny of an inquisition in Germany, and the Reformation of Calvin secured the liberty of other countries.

Peter Castellan, great almoner of France under Francis I. was so scandalized at the corruptions which he observed in the court of Rome, that he could not think, or speak of them without indignation. He pushed the matter so far, that he believed religion was but a mere farce at Rome, which they made use of to deceive the world, to preserve dominion. Calvin has not said much more of it; Calvin, says Bayle, who has been so much insulted, and so often called an egregious calumniator, for having made use of these words regarding the popes and cardinals: " The " first article of their sacred theology is, that there is no " God: The second, that all that is written, and preached, " of Jesus Christ, is but falsehood and idle talk: The " third, that all that is contained in scripture concerning " eternal life, and the resurrection of the body, are fa- " bles." Castellan said much the same; for when he was describing

describing the wanton lusts, avarice, and rapaciousness, of the Roman pontiffs; their contempt of religion; the pride, luxury, and laziness of the cardinals, their riotous feastings, and other vices, which he had observed in the court of Rome, while he was there with the bishop of Auxerre the French ambassador, he would be moved with so much indignation, that not only the colour in his face, but the very motions and gestures of his body would be changed: Insomuch, that he would often say, he was fully persuaded that the popes themselves, the supreme heads of religion, contaminated with so many vices of their own, and those about them, did not sincerely, and from their hearts, worship Christ.

Luther, Bucer, Calvin, and other bright stars which shone in the reformed church, were to enlighten this gloom. The divines of Strasburgh desired Calvin to assist at the diet the emperor had called at Worms and Ratisbon in 1541, to see if it was possible to reconcile the differences in religion. He appeared there with Bucer, and conferred with Melancthon, who called him his *divine*. The time was now come for establishing the church at Geneva, by recalling Calvin. The Syndics who had promoted the decree of banishment were dead or banished; and the people were not before so willing to be rid of their learned pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and were unwilling to part with him, if irresistible solicitations had not been used.

One of the town ministers, who saw in what manner the people were inclined for the recalling of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in this sort. 'The senate 'of two hundred being assembled, they all desire Calvin. 'The next day a general convocation; they all cry, we 'will have Calvin, that good and learned man, the mi-'nister of Christ.' When Calvin understood this, he praised God, and judged it was the call of heaven. He said, *It is marvellous in our eyes: for the stone which the builders refused, was made the head of the corner.* In his absence he had persuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that though he more approved of common bread to be used in the eucharist; yet they should rather accept the other, than cause any trouble in the church about it.

The people saw that the name of Calvin increased every day greater abroad; and that, with his fame, their infamy was spread, who had ejected him with such rashness and folly.

folly. 'Besides, it was not unlikely, (says Hooker) but 'that his credit in the world might many ways stand the 'poor town in great stead: As the truth is, their minister's 'foreign estimation hath been the best stake in their hedge. 'But whatever secret respects were likely to move them, 'for contenting of their minds, Calvin returned, as it 'had been another Tully, to his own home.'

He re-entered Geneva, (leaving Brulius to succeed him in the French court at Strasburgh) on the thirteenth of September, 1541, to the infinite satisfaction of the people and magistracy; and the first thing he did, was to establish a form of discipline, and a consistorial jurisdiction, with power to exercise canonical censures and punishments, even to excommunication exclusive. This displeased many, who urged, that it was restoring the Roman tyranny: However, the thing was executed, and this new canon passed into a law, in a general assembly of the people, on the twentieth of November, 1541.

He rightly considered how gross a thing it was for men of his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them, as their ministers, both himself and others, had been. For the remedy of this inconvenience, he gave them plainly to understand, that if he became their teacher again, they must be content to admit a complete form of discipline, which both they, and also their pastors, should be solemnly sworn to observe for ever after. Of which discipline the principal parts were these: A standing ecclesiastical court to be established; perpetual judges in that court to be their ministers, others of the people annually chosen, twice so many in number as they, to be judges together with them in the same court: These two sorts to have the care of all men's manners, power of determining all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to convent, controul, and punish, as far as with excommunication, whoever they should think worthy; none, either small or great, excepted. 'This device, (says Hooker) I 'see not how the wisest, at that time living, could have 'bettered, if we duly consider what the state of Geneva 'did then require. For their bishop and his clergy being 'departed from them, to choose in his room any other 'bishop had been a thing altogether impossible. And for 'their ministers to seek that themselves alone might have 'coercive power over the whole church, would perhaps 'have been hardly construed at that time. But when so 'frank an offer was made, that for every one minister,

'there

'there should be two of the people to sit and give voice 'in the ecclesiastical consistory, what inconvenience could 'they easily find, which themselves might not be able 'always to remedy? They were brought to so streight 'an issue, that of two things they must choose one; 'namely, whether they would, to their endless disgrace, 'with ridiculous lightness, dismiss him, whose restitu-'tion they had in so impotent a manner desired; or else 'condescend into that demand, wherein he was resolute 'either to have it, or to leave them? They thought it 'better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, than dis-'credited for ever abroad: Wherefore these orders were 'on all sides assented to; with no less alacrity of mind, 'than cities unable to hold out longer, are wont to shew 'when they take conditions, such as it liketh him to 'offer them, which hath them in the narrow streights of 'advantage.'

The city of Geneva is situated on the river Rhone, at the west end of the lake Lemain, seventy miles south-west of Bern, and sixty miles north-east of Lyons in France. It is about two miles in circumference, and contains about thirty thousand inhabitants. The Republic of Geneva, exclusive of the city, is but of small extent, not containing above eleven parishes. The city of Geneva is considerable for its situation, as well as its commerce; it being the key, and the most flourishing city of Switzerland. Doctor Burnet says, 'It is surprising to see the learning 'that is here, not only among the professors of it, but 'the very magistrates and trading citizens are well versed 'in the Latin-tongue, mighty well acquainted with his-'tory, and generally men of good sense.' They have an university; but the language of the common people is the Savoyard, or a very bad dialect of the French tongue: Though people of condition speak French in greater purity. Their bishop was formerly their sovereign: But when they became a Republic, the legislative authority was placed in a council of two hundred, and a senate of twenty-five, who have the executive power, or administration of the government. The territories of France and Savoy come up to the very walls of Geneva; and they must have been reduced under the dominion of one or the other, if they had not been protected by their allies, the cantons of Friburg, Bern, and Zurick, against the attacks of both.

Both the clergy and laity of Geneva engaged themselves to a perpetual observance of the new institution made by Calvin,

Calvin, whose inflexible severity, in maintaining the rights of his consistory, raised him a great many enemies, and occasioned some disorders in the city. However, he surmounted all opposition, and also governed the Protestants in France, who almost all held the doctrine of Calvin, and received ministers from Geneva, who presided in their congregations.

An eminent Calvinist was against popular government; because the universal kingdom hath one king, and the government of the world is monarchial. There is nothing more clear and certain, than that the ultimate end puts the due estimate on all the means of government: But, 'that is the best form of government, which most 'powerfully conduces to the spiritual and everlasting wel- 'fare of the people, their holiness, obedience, and pleasing 'of God. If government be no means to this end, it is 'not good, desirable, nor of God: For if it be not to, and 'for God, it is not from him. The nearest end of go- 'vernment is order; the next is the maintenance and pro- 'motion of the prosperity and security of the people 'together with the honour of the governor. The more 'principal end is our present pleasing and honouring of 'God: The ultimate end is our more perfect everlasting 'pleasing him in our fruition of him in glory. The 'good of the world, and the whole body of the faithful 'subjects of God require more attention than the wel- 'fare of a particular commonwealth. The same prin- 'ciples that prove it sordid and impious to value our 'private personal prosperity before that of the common- 'wealth, prove it as bad to value the benefit of one com- 'monwealth before the universal kingdom of God on 'earth. If a people could live most prosperously to 'themselves in the state of some petty republics and free 'cities; but are hereby incapable of doing much for the 'safety or welfare of their brethren abroad, it is not the 'most desirable government. Civil order is the nearest 'end of civil polity: But church order, for holy com- 'munion in God's worship, is the nearest end of church 'polity.' Yet he says, 'That though variety of out- 'ward states, and the neglects of either magistrates or 'pastors, may be an exception, as to inward qualifica- 'tions, the same persons are generally fit to be members 'of church and commonwealth.'

Dupin says, 'The doctrine of Calvin concerning the 'sacrament, is not fundamentally different from that of 'the Zuinglians; though he uses very positive words to 'express

'express the presence of the body and blood of Jesus 'Christ. He affirms, that we are not only partakers of 'the Spirit of Jesus Christ in the eucharist, but also of 'his flesh which is distributed to us: That he nourishes 'us there with the proper substance of his body and 'blood: That it is not to be doubted but we receive his 'very body: And that this communion of the body and 'blood of Christ is given under the symbols of bread and 'wine to all that celebrate his supper, according to its 'lawful institution; so that we truly receive what is sig-'nified by the symbols, that the body which is received is 'not a symbolical body, as it was not a symbolical spirit, 'which appeared in the baptism of our Lord; but the Holy 'Spirit itself was really and substantially under the symbol, 'or outward form of a dove: That Jesus Christ is united 'to us in this sacrament, not by fancy and imagination, nor 'by thought, or a bare apprehension of the mind, but 'really and verily by a true and substantial union: That 'the manner of our receiving the body of Christ, is very 'different from the other manner of receiving him by 'faith: That this mystery is incomprehensible, and con-'tains a miracle, which exceeds the limits and capacity 'of the mind of man, and is the work of God, much 'above the course of nature: That there is a divine and 'supernatural change in it, which surpasses our sensible 'knowledge: That the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ are 'truly given to the unworthy, as well as to the faithful 'and elect; though they are not received with benefit, 'unless by the faithful only.' These sort of expressions, and several others, which are in Calvin's institutions, and his other writings, might make us believe, that he did not deny the real and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist: Yet, in other places, he clearly rejects not only transubstantiation, but also his real presence; by asserting, that the body of Jesus Christ is really and substantially present only in heaven; and that it is united to us only by faith, after a spiritual manner, by the incomprehensible working of the Holy Spirit, which joins things together that are separated by distance of place. These words, *this is my body*, ought to be understood after a figurative manner, according to his notion; and the sign is there put for the thing signified, as when it is said, 'The rock is Christ; the Lamb is the passover; 'and circumcision is the covenant.' The body and blood of Jesus Christ are united to us only by virtue and efficacy; and his flesh, remaining in heaven, infuses life into us from

from his substance: Lastly, though the substance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ are communicated to us by the sacrament of the eucharist, they are not really and substantially present there: And though the body and blood of Christ are there presented, and offered to all Christians, they are not really received, except by the truly faithful, and not by the unworthy.

Calvin differed not much from Luther in other points of doctrine. He held the same principles as to imputed righteousness, and the certainty of our justification, which he extended to an assurance of eternal salvation. He also added an impossibility of falling finally from grace; and he asserted the salvation of the children of believers, who die before they have been baptized. He likewise condemned, with more severity than the Lutherans, the invocation of saints; the worship and use of images; vows; celibacy of priests; fasting; holy-days; sacrifice of the mass; adoration of the eucharist; indulgences; the sacraments, except the eucharist and baptism; and, in general, all the rites and ceremonies of the church, which the Lutherans had not entirely abolished.

The manner in which Emanuel Maignan, one of the greatest philosophers of the seventeenth century, explained the retaining of accidents, without a subject, in the mystery of the eucharist, is more ingenious than that of Des Cartes. He was a divine of the order of the Minims, and says, 'there is nothing so easy, as to explain the 'manner how the accidents of bread and wine subsist 'without the bread and wine; for we need only say, that 'the bread and wine being taken away, GOD continues 'still to make the same impressions upon our senses, as 'they did, before they were changed.' Rohault, who was a Cartesian, blames this hypothesis; because it admits two miracles, where only one is wanting. 'Though it be 'true, (says he,) that GOD can produce in our senses 'the impressions of bread and wine, after they have been 'changed by transubstantiation; yet there is no necessity, 'after this, to have recourse to a new miracle: Because 'it follows, from the very essence of the mystery, which 'is, that the bread is really changed into the body of Jesus 'Christ, that we must continue to perceive all the same 'appearances as we perceived before; that is, the ac-'cidents of bread and wine must subsist.' This Cartesian pretends, that the body of Jesus Christ takes up the place of the bread in such a manner, that the same spaces exactly, which served for a place for the bread, are those

wherein the body of Jesus Christ is disposed, leaving to the matter, which filled the pores of the bread, the same spaces it filled before. From whence it follows, that the parts of the body of Jesus Christ assume the figure, situation, and in general all the other modes of bread, and consequently they are bread: For, according to him, the essence of bread, or the form, which distinguishes it from all other bodies, is nothing but a particular concurrence of modifications; therefore, wherever this concurrence is, there must be bread; and so, it being found in the body of Jesus Christ, at the sacrament of the eucharist, this body is nothing else but bread: From whence it follows, that this great mystery consists in destroying a bit of bread, and replacing another bit of bread in the room of that which was annihilated. But this hypothesis includes such absurdities, as are inconsistent even with Popery, and the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Calvin introduced the Lutheran expressions regarding the eucharist, as mentioned in Bucer's life, which seem to admit of a corporal presence. Jodocus Harchius, a physician of Mons, wanted to find a middle way in the doctrine of the eucharist between the Roman catholics and the Protestants, to compose their differences; but he was laughed at by both. John Ponet, bishop of Winchester, who retired to Strasburg in the reign of Q. Mary, composed a book with this title, '*Diallecticon viri 'boni et literati de veritate, natura, atque substantia corporis 'et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia;*' wherein he endeavoured to reconcile the controversies about the eucharist, and particularly those of the Lutherans and Zuinglians. He was zealously attached to the Reformation; but he rightly judged what would be the fate of his book; 'that neither 'of the contending parties would approve of it; and 'that, while he endeavoured to reconcile persons who were 'at war with one another, he should expose himself to 'the indignation of both sides:' And he compared himself to a man who receives a wound with a sword in striving to part people that are fighting. This book concerned the reality, nature, and substance of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; which this famous bishop published with no other design but to set the faith and doctrine of the church of England in a clear light. He first shews, that the eucharist is not barely the figure of our Lord's body; but that it also comprehends the reality, nature, and substance of it: For which reason these words, *nature* and *substance*, are not to be rejected, since the

the fathers, in discoursing of this sacrament, made use of them. Secondly, he enquires, whether these words, *reality*, *nature*, and *substance*, were understood by the fathers in this mystery, according to their general signification, or in a sense that was peculiar and better adapted to the sacraments? For that we should not only observe what words the fathers made use of, but likewise what meaning they put upon them. And that though he was ready with the fathers, to acknowledge a difference between the body of Christ, which had the natural form of a human body, and his mystical body in the sacrament; yet he inclined to think that this difference should be applied to the manner in which it is present and exhibited, rather than to the thing itself, the true body of Christ: It being most certain, that the body which believers receive in the sacrament, is the same which Christ offered up by his death for their salvation. Lastly, he maintains, that it must be understood in a spiritual sense, according to the general and unanimous exposition of the ancient fathers; and that every carnal thought or imagination should be excluded. Ponet laid great stress upon the authority of the fathers, who speak in strong terms of the presence of our Lord's body in the symbols of the eucharist; and he entirely rejected the opinion that was ascribed to the Lutherans. However, he condemned those who admit of the oral manducation of the body of Jesus Christ: And was willing to allow of the word *transubstantiation*, provided it was understood in a certain sense, and not to include oral manducation. He had no reason to think that the Romanists would be satisfied with his allowing of a term which he modified in that manner. But as for those who desired to have a miracle granted in the eucharist, he might fancy his hypothesis would satisfy them, if they only asked a great miracle in general; for what he teaches on this head is one of the most incomprehensible things that can be imagined. He admits a real and substantial presence of the body of Jesus Christ; but which is no more than sacramental at the same time: And he affirms, that, by virtue of this presence, the bread in the eucharist may purify our souls, and unite us into one body with our Redeemer.

The catechism of the reformed churches, composed by Calvin, does not differ much from the opinion of this bishop of Winchester; as may be seen in these words: "Thus I doubt not but Jesus Christ, as he was signified "and promised, will make us partakers of his own sub-

"stance, that we may be united to him in one life. "*Min.* But how can that be, since the body of Jesus "Christ is in heaven, and we are in this earthly pilgri- "mage? *Sch.* It is by the incomprehensible power of his "Spirit, which unites things that are distant in place "from one another."

Ponet's diallecticon was afterwards joined to the treatise '*De copore et sanguine Domini*,' wrote by Bertram, who also endeavoured to reconcile the controversies about the eucharist, and whose notions are very particular concerning this important article.

Calvin was intimidated at nothing, and settled the peace of Geneva. It would be difficult to believe, that in the midst of violent agitations at home, he could shew so much care as he did, of the churches abroad, in France, England, Germany, and Poland; and write so many books and letters. But there are incontestible proofs of it; for he lived in continual action, and almost constantly with his pen in his hand, even when sickness confined him to his bed; arising from his zeal for the general good of the churches. He was a man on whom God had conferred extraordinary talents, a great deal of wit, an exquisite judgment, a faithful memory, an able, indefatigable, and elegant pen; an extensive knowledge, and a great zeal for the truth. But he could not escape slander abroad, nor opposition at home.

He was full thirty years old when he married Idolette de Bure, the widow of John Stordeur, a native of Liege, and an Anabaptist, whom he had converted. He married her at Strasburg, in 1540, by the advice of his friend Martin Bucer. She had children by her former husband, and also brought Calvin a son, who died before his father. She died in the beginning of 1549, to the great grief of Calvin, who continued a widower all the rest of his life.

As the Reformers married to prove their conversion from the Papists, the latter reproached them, as if they warred against Rome for the same reasons the Grecians warred against Troy. "Our adversaries (says Calvin) pre- "tend we wage a sort of Trojan war for a woman. To "say nothing of others at present; they must allow my- "self at least to be free from this charge: Since I am "more particularly able, in my own case, to refute this "scurrilous reflection. For notwithstanding I was at "liberty to have married under the tyranny of the pope, "I voluntarily led a single life for many years."

The

The Romanists cast many reflections on Calvin for changing his name from Cauvin, which was the name of his family: But a Protestant divine, who was minister of the church of Paris, in 1620, has vindicated him against them all, not only by some examples, but also from solid reasons. In reality, says he, the change of a letter in the name of Calvin, is very inconsiderable, or none at all. In turning *Cauvin* into Latin, it cannot be translated otherwise than by *Calvinus*, to give it an air and termination suitable to the genius of that language: For as the Picard word *Cauve*, and the French *Chauve*, is by all good authors expressed in Latin by *Calvus*; so *Cauvin* in Picard, and *Chauvin* in French, must in Latin be *Calvinus*. 'Now, '(says Drelincourt,) the works of this godly man being 'wrote in Latin, and having made him universally known 'by the name *Calvinus*; if afterwards, when he wrote in 'French, he had used any other name than that of Calvin, 'the work might have been ascribed to some different 'author, to the great damage both of the public and 'printers.'

Florimond de Remond tells us, that Bucer presented Calvin to Erasmus at Basil, who having conversed with Calvin, told Bucer, that this young man would prove a pernicious creature to the church. Others have adopted this idle story from Florimond; particularly Moreri, who is censured for it by Boyle. The whole is 'a romance; and 'its author is a writer of no credit, veracity, and con-'sistency. Florimond was a man who *judged without* '*conscience, wrote without learning, and built houses without* '*money*. Of these three accomplishments the first and 'second are far more common than the third.' The authority of such a man is of no weight, as he confounds and misplaces circumstances; and cannot see in his work the blunders, absurdities, and impossibilities which stare full in his eyes. We should therefore be very weak to give any credit to Florimond de Remond, when he brings neither witnesses, nor any other sort of proof: We should be very imprudent to trust him, and highly deserve to be deceived, if we made such a bad use of our sincerity. 'I should not, (says Boyle,) have been so busy in exposing 'the falsities of Remond, if I had not observed they 'spread from book to book, and that the most celebrated 'authors procure them a sort of perpetuity by adopting 'them. I have met with them in the last volume of 'father Alexander's Ecclesiastical History.' However, all things rightly considered, this judgment of the great

Erasmus

Erasmus must be very much to the glory of Calvin, according to the Protestant hypothesis: For it proves, that he acknowledged the eminent qualities of this young man, if he said, *Video magnam pestem oriri in ecclesia contra ecclesiam*; which are the words of Florimond. One cannot help admiring the decent manner in which the illustrious Thuanus hath spoken of Calvin, who says, 'he was called 'the great divine.'

Calvin established the Presbyterian government in the church of Geneva, and elders were accordingly appointed. The catechism, which he wrote in French and Latin, was an admirable piece, and found such approbation and entertainment in foreign places, that it was translated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, English, and Scotch: Immanuel Tremellius translated it into Hebrew, as Henry Stephens did into Greek. Calvin modestly shewed that his doctrine had the approbation of the most learned men of that age; as Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Melancthon, Capito, Myconius, and Zuichius; which he proved out of their writings.

He made much use of Farel and Viret; yet he contributed much more to them. It was pleasing to good men, to behold three such persons, so famous in the church, cooperating in the work of the Lord, and excelling in several gifts of the Spirit. Farel excelled in a certain greatness of mind, whose thundering sermons could not be heard without trembling; and whose ardent prayers would elevate the soul. Viret so much excelled in sweet eloquence, that he chained his hearers to his lips. Calvin fitted the mind with grave and sententious discourses. So that Beza says, 'I often thought, that the gifts of these three 'men, meeting in one, would make a complete pastor.'

The ordinary labours of Calvin were these. Every other Sabbath he preached twice. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, he read his divinity lectures. Thursday he assisted in the consistory for the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. On Friday he read a lecture in exposition of some difficult places in scripture: Besides his public writings, and private negociations. GOD so blessed his ministry, that he was applied and resorted to from all parts of the Christian world; some to consult his advice in matters of religion, and others to hear him preach. This filled the city of Geneva with a great concourse of people; and, besides the established church, there were also churches for the English, Spaniards, and Italians.

In

In 1542, Calvin confuted the Sorbonnists in those articles of religion which they would have imposed upon mankind. The next year he was attacked by Albert Pyghius, whom he refuted in his answer about *free-will*, whom he dedicated to Philip Melancthon, who testified his regard for that work in his epistles. Pyghius was a Dutch divine: He was remarkable for his extreme ugliness and dissonant voice: But he was reputed the greatest sophister of the time. The pope rewarded him with the provostship of St John at Utrecht, for defending his bull to the general council in 1538; and he expected to be promoted to the dignity of a cardinal, if he opposed and refuted the doctrine of Calvin. The cardinals Sadolet and Cervinus were his patrons. The former assured him, that he would recommend him to the pope and cardinals. The latter wrote to him, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1542, in these words: 'As to your debts, were it in my 'power to pay them, you should be in no distress: And 'though his holiness, at present, is put to vast charges 'on many accounts, I will not fail to represent your 'services and wants, and to assist you as much as I can.'

Some say, that the reading of Calvin's works made Pyghius heterodox with respect to the merit of good works, and the justification of sinners. Others affirm, that Pyghius examined the works of Calvin with so great a desire of refuting them, that he run into another extreme, and followed the steps of the Pelagians. Cardinal Bona advised, that the works of Pyghius should be read with caution. And Possevinus said, that his doctrine, concerning original sin and grace, was contrary to the writings of St Augustin. 'Pyghius, (says Beza,) chose Calvin for 'his antagonist, that, by gaining a notable victory over 'him, he might get a cardinal's hat from the pope: But 'he was disappointed in his expectation, and only ob'tained the reward which the enemies of truth deserve; 'that is, to be despised by learned and wise men, and de'ceived by Satan and himself.'

Dr George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, in 1619, published a book entitled, '*Consensus eccles. catholicæ contra 'tridentinos de scripturis, ecclesia, fide et gratia, &c.*' in which he says, 'The Papists assert that Pyghius, other'wise a catholic doctor, was led away by reading the 'works of Calvin: But Pyghius himself affirms, he had 'his doctrine only from the scriptures. O Calvin, happy 'even by the testimony of thy adversaries, since thy 'writings are so conformable to the holy scriptures, that

'what a very famous popish doctor confesses he took from 'the scriptures, other Papists imputed to the reading of 'thy books! Certainly had not the opinion of scholastic 'divines evidently clashed with the scriptures, Pyghius 'would never have forsaken it.'

But a Romish writer, who imprudently reckons Calvin among the first class of heretics, and Luther among those of the second, says, that 'Luther required less learning 'in his reader than Calvin, whose subtle way of writing 'may impose even upon them who are tolerably learned, 'as we find by Pyghius, who frequently split upon rocks, 'by reading his works, though he was a learned man.' A French minister also says, that Pyghius maintained the doctrine of grace; and affirmed, that we are not justified by an inherent righteousness within us: But he was sharply censured by the dean of the university of Louvain, who reproached him with having been corrupted by reading Calvin's Institution.

Calvin never acknowledged that his works had made Pyghius orthodox in the least: On the contrary, he said, "All this not only savours of the school of Pelagius, "but is almost an open profession of the Pelagian im- "piety. He maintains many things as those Pelagians "did whom Augustin describes; and is much worse than "some of them were. And therefore Pyghius in vain "either attempts to disjoin himself from Pelagius, with "whom I have evidently proved he agrees, or to join "us to the Manichees, or other heretics, from whom "we differ no less, than he does from the orthodox sense "of the church."

Pyghius has also been stigmatized for a Pelagian by a Jansenist, who calls him, 'A man that could not appre- 'hend the doctrine of St Augustin, nor that of the church; 'having but an imperfect knowledge of the corruption 'of nature, and original sin, which is the key of that 'doctrine. A man full of Pelagian errors about that 'matter, who spoke against divine predestination, and 'the doctrine of efficacious and free grace, with great in- 'discretion and ignorance.' This Jansenist concludes, that 'it is no wonder, if the whole faculty of Louvain, 'in the famous censure of 1587, called Pyghius a favourer 'and a colleague of the semi-pelagians; if the faculty 'of Douay, in their censure, reckoned him among the 'disciples of Faustus Rejensis; if the learned Estius spoke 'of him much in the same manner; and if Dr John 'Molanus says, that the most learned divines blame him

'for

'for having departed from the doctrine of St Augustin, 'concerning original sin, predestination, and grace.'

Pelagius, a Briton, was the author of that heresy which bore his name, and began in the fifth century. He maintained, *That* man may be well inclined without the assistance of the grace of GOD; and that grace is given in proportion to our merit: *That* man may arrive at such a state of perfection, as to be no longer subject to passions or sin. *That* there is no original sin; and that children who die without baptism are not damned. Manichæus, or Manes, was the author of that sect, which was called after him in the fourth century; the foundation of whose doctrine was, that there are two principles of all things, the one good, and the other evil; both of them eternal, sovereign, immortal, and independant. Those who are desirous of knowing the nature and propagation of these heresies, may consult Dupin's History of the Church, vol. 2. p. 111 to 118. for the Manichees; and cent. 5. chap. 2. for the Pelagians, from p. 176 to 181. As also Fuller's Church History, cent. 5. And in Bayle's Dictionary, vol. 4. p. 90. under the article Manichees; and in vol. 5. p. 815. where he explains, 'how what he has said concerning the 'objections of the Manichees ought to be considered." I shall only make this farther observation, that the treatises which Pyghius wrote concerning free-will against Calvin, and about original sin, have been placed among the books prohibited by the Spanish inquisition. Pyghius was so provoked at a book which Bucer wrote against him, that it hastened his death, in drawing up an answer, which he left unfinished.

In 1544, Calvin declared his opinion about the power of the church of Neufchatel in ecclesiastical censures. The same year he displeased Sebastian Castalio, because he disapproved of the translation which Castalio had made of the New Testament into French and Latin. Castalio was skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He published a Greek poem on the life of St John the baptist; and a Latin poem, which is a paraphrase on the prophet Jonas. He acquired the esteem and friendship of Calvin, during his abode at Strasburg, in 1540. Calvin procured for him the place of teacher in the college of Geneva, which Castalio exercised till he was compelled to leave the city, for having maintained some particular opinions. Castalio began his Latin translation at Geneva, in 1542, which he finished at Basil in 1550, and dedicated to Edward VI. king of England. The French translation was printed at Basil

Basil in 1555, and was dedicated to Henry II. His translation of the scripture is variously spoken of; some blame it much, others speak very well of it. The fault which was most generally condemned in his Latin translation, is the affectation of using classic Latin only, which made him say *Genius* instead of *Angelus*, *Lotio* instead of *Baptismus*, and *Respublica* instead of *Ecclasia*. Vossius, and other learned persons, censured him for it with reason. He is accused of running into another extreme in his French translation, where he made use of low and mean terms. Bayle, indeed, wonders at the impudence of Garasse, and says, If another than Castalio had made that translation of the scripture, they would not have complained so much against his language: For he died of poverty, if we believe Scaliger; and his misfortune has given him no author to pity him but Montaign, who is remarkable for the solidity of his reflection on this curious and melancholy fact, which is worthy to be consulted, and may be found in his elegant essays, book 1. chap. 34, p. 353. But we have it from a great authority, that many persons judged, that Castalio applied his impure hands to the translation of the scriptures with an insolent temerity. And Beza says, that the jargon of Poictou, the grossest of all the jargons of France, may appear less barbarous than the epistle of Castalio. We are told, that Castalio aspired to the ministry, and had sometimes preached: But he was no minister at Geneva. He was so vexed, that he could not make Calvin approve of the impertinences of his French translations of the New Testament, that he begun to spread some errors; and to maintain, that the *Song of Songs* was an obscene piece, which ought to be left out of the canon of the scriptures. He inveighed against the ministers who opposed his intention; for which he was cited before the senate, where he was heard on the first of June, when he was declared convicted of calumny, and was ordered to leave the town. Beza farther says, to the Genevese, that 'Satan endeavoured to shake them and 'their faith, by the means of Sebastian Castalio, a man of 'pretended piety. The blow, though seemingly light, 'was a dangerous one: However, your city was purged 'from the latent poison in the year forty-five, by ex-'pelling the man himself.' This recital seems overstrained, when compared with an attestation, that Calvin gave to Castalio; which imports, that he laid down his office voluntarily. Doctor Spon does not say that he was expelled the city; but only that he was deposed.

Castalio

Castalio told Calvin as follows: In your testimonial, you testify, that the only reason of my leaving you was, my different notion of the Song of Songs; and your interpretation of the article of faith, concerning the descent of Christ into hell. Your words are these: "We briefly "attest this, that such was our opinion of him, that, by "common consent, he was designed for the pastoral of- "fice: And that no one may suspect there was any other "cause of Sebastian Castalio's leaving us, we certify this "wherever he comes; He voluntarily resigned his place "of teacher in the school: He behaved himself so in it, "that we judged him worthy of this sacred charge. Nor "was it any blemish in his life, or any impious tenet, "but the reason above mentioned alone, which prevented "his admission."

Castalio retired to Basil, where he obtained the professorship of the Greek tongue, and died there in 1563. This man was a great instance of learning and poverty: But if he had kept within the bounds of his profession, he would have done greater services than he did to the commonwealth of learning; and would have secured himself from many vexations; instead of which, he set up for a mystic, and a devotee, and concerned himself with the nice and obscure questions of divinity.

A diet was held at Spires in 1544. Upon this occasion, Calvin published his book "Of the necessity of reforming "the church;" which was more solid and nervous than any other book, that had appeared on that subject among his cotemporaries. He answered the insolent letters which the pope wrote to the emperor, on his promising the Protestants to hold a general council; which the pope said was thrusting his sickle into another man's harvest. And he also wrote two books, wherein he confuted the Anabaptists and Libertines, who had revived the monstrous heresies of former ages. The libertines were a sect of heretics who sprung up in Holland in 1525, whose heads were Quintin and Copin. They maintained, that whatever was done by men, was done by the Spirit of GOD; and thence concluded there was no sin, but to those who thought it so. They also asserted, that to live without any doubt or scruple, was to return to the state of innocency. They allowed their followers to call themselves Catholics, or Protestants, according to the company they fell in. They pretended, that the soul died with the body; that heaven was a dream, hell a phantom, and religion

ligion a mere trick of state; with many other monstrous opinions.

The queen of Navarre was offended with Calvin's book against the Libertines, because he had censured Quintin and Pocques, whom she admitted into her house. They were two desperate Libertines, whose errors and blasphemies were confuted by Calvin. Quintin had embraced the reformed religion: But he fell off, and was made professor of the canon law at Paris in 1536. He afterwards demanded, that the protestants should be proceeded against with the utmost severity: But though that bloody spirit had so long prevailed, it was thought strange that a clergyman should take upon himself to solicit such a thing. His speech, upon delivering the memorial of the clergy, to the king, proved, that the most humble and devout orators of the clergy were for shedding blood, if it was necessary; since they reminded his majesty of the order and threatenings of Moses. Besides, Quintin said, that the king being armed with the sword, ought to oppose the heretics: That GOD had put the sword into his hands to protect the good, and punish the wicked: And that none can deny that a heretic is capitally wicked, and consequently ought to be punished capitally, and be subject to the sword of the magistrate.

'Most of the grandees of France began, (says Beza,) 'at this time, to suit themselves to the humour of the 'king; and, by degrees, grew such strangers to the study 'of the scriptures, that at last they became worse than all 'others. Nay, even the queen of Navarre began to 'behave herself in a quite different manner, falling into 'idolatry like the rest; not that she approved such superstitions in her heart, but because Ruffi, and others 'like him, persuaded her they were indifferent things.' But Beza also says, 'that the queen of Navarre was displeased at Calvin's book against the Libertines, because 'she was so incredibly fascinated with Quintin and Pocques, that, though she did not profess their opinions, 'yet she took them to be good men; and therefore, in 'some measure, thought herself wounded through their 'sides.' Her charity induced her to protect them; and is it not much to be wondered at, if she was provoked against Calvin, who with that cutting stile, peculiar to him, had severely handled the persons whom she had protected and maintained. She complained to him of it; which made an impression on him, as she was still acknowledged the protectress of the reformed. For a princess,

cess, or any other woman, to do good to those whom she takes to be the household of faith, is no extraordinary thing, as it is the common effect of a moderate piety. But for a queen to grant her protection to people persecuted for opinions which she believes to be false; to open a sanctuary to them, to furnish them with a subsistence, liberally to relieve the troubles and inconveniences of their exile, is an heroical magnanimity which has hardly any precedent.

Calvin, on the twentieth of April, 1545, wrote a respectful letter to this queen, to justify his conduct; wherein he says, "immediately on the receipt of your letters, I "dispatched this answer, that I might give you full satis-"faction on this account, lest you should abate any thing "of that zeal, of which hitherto you have made profession, "and expressed in reality." Beza speaks favourably of this queen in his Icones: And Brantome says, she was suspected of Lutheranism, which was then the name in France of what has been since called Calvinism.

Calvin so far prevailed, that the Libertines were checked in France, and confined themselves to Holland.

The year 1545 was rendered infamous by that cruel and abominable edict which the parliament of Aquitain issued against the poor Waldenses, whereby the most unparalleled barbarities were exercised upon these unhappy people, without any distinction of age or sex, even to the very burning of their towns. The Waldenses, or Vaudois, were a sect established by Peter Vaud, or Valdo, a rich merchant of Lyons in France, in 1160, who found out several errors in the church of Rome, and began a reformation. The clergy excommunicated him, and persecuted some of his disciples, which occasioned them to quit Lyons, and fly into the vallies of Piedmont, which have been ever since inhabited by their descendants, who have adhered to their doctrine.

Calvin was greatly afflicted for the sufferings of the Waldenses, to whom he had wrote consolatory letters a short time before, and sent them faithful pastors for instructing them in the gospel precepts. He wrote to the reformed in France, to convince them they acted in a pernicious manner, who pretended it was no sin to be present at the popish services, if they kept the true religion in their hearts. He told them, it was an error condemned by the ancient fathers: And, because some of them might think him too rigid, he adjoined to his own the opinions of

of Melancthon, Bucer, and Martyr; whereby the name of these Nicodemites became obnoxious; for so they were called, who cloaked their errors with his example.

When the emperor held the diet at Ratisbon, in 1541, the necessity of his affairs compelled him to grant the Protestants the INTERIM; that is, a set form of faith, which might be agreeable to both parties, till a general council should regulate the points wherein the Protestants had abandoned the sentiments of the Roman church. The emperor wanted to invade the Turkish dominions in Africa: But he lost half of his army in that fatal expedition, and returned to Germany, where he renewed his severities against the Protestants. Calvin assisted Melancthon in writing against the *interim*; while the emperor and the king of England were engaged in a war against France, which ended in 1546, and was soon followed by the death of Henry VIII. and Francis I.

The city of Geneva had been infested with the plague, and very unhappy divisions began there in 1546. Calvin, from the pulpit, exclaimed against the wickedness of the people, who revived the controversy about their privileges, and would not suffer their pastors to dispose of the ecclesiastical goods taken from the Pontificians, as they ought to be. The young people would not suffer themselves to be deprived of their sports, taverns, and other places of debauchery. The ministers insisted earnestly upon it, both in the council and church, threatening the contumacious with excommunication. One of the council accused Calvin, that he had taught false doctrine for the space of seven years: But the council committed him to prison, without the solicitation of Calvin, and enjoined him to perform penance by carrying a torch in his hand through the city.

Viret's servant received a letter from Calvin: But, instead of carrying it to his master, as he was directed, he delivered it to the Syndics, who broke it open, and were not a little displeased at some passages in it, especially where he told Viret, "that the people of Geneva would "govern without GOD; and that he had to do with "hypocrites." Calvin was sent for to answer this before them; when he justified his complaint by the instance of several debauched persons, who were suffered to scoff at the word of GOD, and to slight their instructions. Calvin left the city, at the same time that Farel departed from Neufchatel to go to Zurick, to be professor at a synod composed of divines from Switzerland and the Grissons.

At

At his return, he set forth his commentaries on the epistle of St Paul to Titus, which he dedicated to Farel and Viret, in consideration of the strict friendship and unity between them.

Calvin remarked of Luther, that he often prayed he might not see the vials of wrath poured upon Germany; which immediately after his death came upon those places in a storm, and with the swiftness and execution of a whirlwind. Luther died in 1546: and all Germany was in arms, in 1547, on account of religion; which gave great trouble to Calvin, who was glad that Bucer, Martyr, and some other of his friends, were sheltered from the storm in England, where they were invited by archbishop Cranmer. The Calvinists said, that Bucer favoured episcopacy: But Calvin entertained a good opinion of him, and wrote to him in a very friendly manner, while he was assisting the Reformers in England. Calvin advised Bucer how to conduct himself before king Edward VI. He corresponded with the duke of Somerset; and gave him his opinion how the Reformation should be carried on. In one of his letters to the lord protector, he expressed his dislike of praying for the dead; 'which was one of those 'things he termed *tolerabiles ineptias*, Englished by some, '*tolerable fooleries*; more mildly by others, *tolerable un-*'*fitnesses*.' The protector seemed to threaten to abolish episcopal authority itself, both out of church and state: But this was an impracticable scheme, and archbishop Cranmer soon convinced him of his errors. The foreign professors, who had taken refuge, and were settled in England, were put upon combating the popish doctrine of the presence of Christ in the sacrament; and many disputes upon that head were held in the universities, as mentioned in the life of Peter Martyr. Calvin, in his epistolary correspondence with the protector, endeavoured to unite the Protestant churches: nay, (says Mr Strype,) there was so much joy abroad at the Reformation in England under Edward VI. that Calvin, Bullinger, and others, 'in a letter to the king, offered to make him their de-'fender, and to have bishops in their churches, as there 'were in England; with a tender of their service to assist 'and unite together.' This good work was obstructed by the machinations of the council of Trent, and by the artifices of some popish bishops here at home. Calvin, however, renewed his endeavours upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, and, in a letter to archbishop Parker, desired him "to prevail with her majesty to summon a

"general

" general assembly of all the Protestant clergy, where-
" soever dispersed; and that a set form and method might
" be established, not only in her dominions, but also
" among all the reformed and evangelical churches abroad."
While this important business was meditating, the design was frustrated by the death of Calvin; but how probably all parties might have been reconciled appears from Calvin's own opinion of a moderate episcopacy. Let them
" give us, (says he,) such an hierarchy, in which bishops
" may be so above the rest, as they refuse not to be under
" Christ, and depend upon him as their only head; that
" they maintain a brotherly society, &c. If there be any
" that do not behave themselves with all reverence and
" obedience towards them, there is no anathema, but I
" confess them worthy of it." The truth is, Calvin and Parker were but of one mind; and so are all good men, in essentials: They both laboured and wished to promote the establishment of pure religion, and not their own gain or glory. And so, in later times, if such men as archbishops Usher and Leighton, Mr Borrough, Mr Philip Henry, and some other excellent men, moderate in their tempers, and in their attachment to indifferent things, could have been assembled to determine the outward mode and form of the church, we should have had no dissenters among us but very bad men; and the hearts and hands of all true Christians would have been much more strengthened and united. This is the true purpose of all outward forms amongst Christians; who, if they have indeed the grace of God in their souls, have no *real* differences between themselves, worth a moment's contention. But to proceed.

Francis Baudouin, who lodged with Calvin, gave out, that, in Bucer's judgment, Calvin kept no measure either in his love or hatred; or that he either raised people above the heavens, or sunk them down to hell. But Calvin solemnly protested, that Bucer had never censured him in that manner. " I call GOD and his angels to wit-
" ness, (says Calvin,) that what Baudouin recites of that
" matter, is a wicked fiction of his own. May GOD
" so prosper me, as I never heard any such thing from
" Bucer: On the contrary, Bucer, whom I revere as a
" father, cultivated a mutual brotherly friendship with
" me, with so much affection, that it grieved him very
" much when I left Strasburg. It is certain, he strove
" to the utmost to retain me by any means whatsoever.
" There is also a letter of his to our senate, wherein he
" complains

" complains that I was recalled hither to the great loss of " the whole church; and in short goes so far, that he " says, I am inferior to none of the ministers of sound " doctrine, and have but few equals." Baudouin confesses, in his answer, that he had not seen what Bucer had wrote to Calvin; but he brags he had Calvin's answer to Bucer. Theodore Beza wrote to Baudouin, and made the following apology for Calvin; 'You say Calvin cursed 'himself if ever he heard any such thing from Bucer: 'But why do you omit what is most to the purpose? 'For these are Calvin's words: " Baudouin says, that " Bucer once told me that I kept no measure in my hatred " or love; but was a man of that vehemence, that I " either extolled a man above the skies, or debased him to " hell." You see manifestly, though you are so blind 'with rage or hatred that you can see nothing, that what 'you wrote obscurely of Bucer's rebuke, Calvin under-'stood as of some conversation; and, therefore, remem-'bering the sweet and uninterrupted friendship that had 'been between him and Bucer, did not rashly break out 'into that expression; so that this is nothing at all to the 'letter, which you have corrupted too; for Bucer, whose 'letter I have in his own hand-writing, did not write, *you 'judge as you love*; but *we judge as we love*, whereby he 'comprehended himself in the number, and deplored a 'common fault of mankind.' Beza also remarks, that those two great men soon altered their style in writing to each other; and that there are letters of Bucer to Calvin of a later date, and full of mildness.

'Calvin, (says a late excellent writer) has been taxed 'with fierceness and bigotry: But his meekness and be-'nevolence were as eminent, as the malice of his tra-'ducers is shameless. I shall give one single instance of 'his modesty and gentleness. While he was a very young 'man, disputes ran high between Luther and some other 'Reformers, concerning the manner of Christ's presence 'in the holy sacrament. Luther, whose temper was na-'turally warm and rough, heaped many hard names on 'the divines who differed from him on the article of con-'substantiation; and, among the rest, Calvin came in 'for his dividend of abuse. Being informed of the harsh 'appellations he received, he meekly replied, in a letter 'to Bullinger; " It is a frequent saying with me, that, " if Luther should even call me a devil, I hold him not-" withstanding in such veneration, that I shall always " own him to be an illustrious servant of GOD; who,

" though he abounds in extraordinary virtues, is not with-
" out considerable imperfections."——Turretin's opinion
' of him also deserves attention. ' John Calvin, (says
' he,) was a man, whose memory will be blessed in every
' succeeding age. He instructed and enlightened, not
' only the church of Geneva, but also the whole Reformed
' world, by his immense labours. Insomuch, that all the
' Reformed churches are, in the gross, frequently called
' by his name.' Thus wrote this candid Arminian, and
' therefore an unsuspected evidence of all undue partia-
' lity, so late as the year 1734.' See Toplady's Historic
' Proof.'

In 1548, Calvin wrote his " Antidote against the seven
" sessions of the council of Trent." He also wrote commentaries upon six of St Paul's Epistles: And he more fully confuted the *Interim*, which was published for the destruction of the German churches. He drew up a treatise against judicial astrology: And he sent letters to the Protestants at Roan, to detect the fraud of a Franciscan friar, who had spread among them the poisonous doctrines of the Libertines and Carpocratians. The latter were condemned in 208, for placing the image of Aristotle next to that of Jesus Christ; and for adoring him, through an extravagant zeal for his doctrine.

The next year, Calvin lost his wife, who was a valuable woman; and he bore his loss with such constancy, that it gave an excellent example to the whole church.

A great contention happened in the Saxon churches about *things indifferent*: Upon which they sent to Calvin for his judgment, who freely declared his opinion to them. He also admonished Melancthon of his duty, who was accused for too much softness in this point: But Calvin afterwards found it to be a false charge. He wrote consolatory letters to Brentius in his exile. He accompained Farel to Zurick, where, in a synod of all the Helvetian churches, he shewed his agreement with them; and indeed there was no great difficulty to bring good and wise men into an harmonious concord. This agreement made a stronger union between the churches of Zurick and Geneva; and increased the friendship between Calvin and Bullinger.

When Calvin returned to Geneva, the senate published a decree, empowering the ministers to require of every family an account of their faith: And they ordered, that no holy-day should be observed but the sabbath. This made the enemies of Calvin say, he had even abolished the

the Sabbath; to which he gave his answer in his book "Of Scandals," dedicated to Laurence Normendius, who was his intimate friend.

Calvin, in his writings, every where declares, when he treats of the cause of sin, that the name of GOD ought not to be mentioned: Because the nature of GOD is perfectly righteous and just. 'How rank a calumny is 'it, then, to charge a man who hath so well deserved of 'the church of GOD, with making GOD the au-'thor of sin: He teaches, on all occasions, that nothing 'can be without the will of GOD. He says, the 'wicked actions of men are so ruled by the secret judge-'ment of GOD, as that he is no ways accessary to them. 'The sum of what he teaches is, that GOD, in a won-'derful manner, and by ways unknown to us, directs 'all things to whatever end he pleases. But why GOD 'wills what seems to us not suitable to his nature, he 'acknowledges to be incomprehensible: And therefore 'denies that it should be over-curiously and boldly 'searched into; because the judgments of GOD are 'a vast abyss, and mysteries beyond our reach, which 'ought to be adored with awful reverence. But still he 'keeps to this principle; that, though the reason of his 'counsel be unknown to us, the praise of righteousness is 'ever to be given to GOD; because his will is the su-'preme rule of equity.' Let Calvin himself be heard against the abuse which wicked men may make (for none but *wicked* men will attempt such an execrable business) of the doctrine of predestination. "In all our inquiries, "(says he in his Institutes,) into predestination; let us "never fail to begin with effectual calling." Again; "There are some who go on securely in sin, alledging, "that if they are of the number of the elect, their vices "will not hinder them from going to heaven. Such "abominable language as this is not the holy bleating of "Christ's sheep, but *fœdus porcorum grunnitus*, the im-"pure grunting of swine. For we learn from St Paul, "that we are elected to this very end, even to holiness, "and blamelessness of life. Now, if sanctity of life is "the very end, scope, and drift of election itself; it will "follow, that the doctrine of election should awaken and "spur us on to sanctification, instead of furnishing us "with a false plea for idleness."

In 1550, Galearius Caracciola, marquis of Vico, in the kingdom of Naples, left his estate and family, and with-drew to Geneva, on account of religion. Before his ar-

rival, some persons spread a report, that he came as a spy: But his conversation gave sufficient proof of the contrary. Bolsec, a Carmelite, who had left the order, and, under pretence of embracing the Protestant religion, had applied himself to the profession of physic and divinity, took occasion to preach up free-will, and that predestination was out of works foreseen. He charged Calvin with making GOD the author of sin, and by that means contributing to the condemnation of the wicked: As if GOD had been a Jupiter, or a tyrant; alledging farther, that St Augustine was forcibly drawn in to be a patron of this doctrine, though he was not of that opinion, of which he warned them to take heed, as it was a new and dangerous doctrine, and of which he charged Laurentius Valla to be the author. Calvin was present at this meeting, where he heard Bolsec discourse, with admirable patience; and, after he had said as much as he could, Calvin presented himself, and answered most ingeniously to every article for the space of an hour. Besides many places which he cited out of the holy scripture, he quoted so many passages out of St Augustine, as would make a man believe he had studied no other author: So that every one admired it, and shut up all, with this saying, "Would to GOD that he [meaning Bolsec] who "hath so much cited St Augustine, had seen more of him "than his covering." Farel, who was then at Geneva, made a distinct oration to confirm what Calvin had said before him; and, to shew that they were to blame who charged them with error, Bolsec was thereupon committed to prison, where Calvin endeavoured to convince him of his error, as well by personal conference, as by letters. Soon after, by the consent of the churches of Switzerland, he was banished the city, for sedition and pelagianism. It is reported, that ten years after he recanted, in a full synod at Orleans; yet wrote a book of Calvin's life, wherein he very much injured his reputation. All this was the mere effect of malice, and fell by its own impotence. The great Du Moulin observes upon this occasion, that not one of Calvin's innumerable enemies ever carped at the purity of his life, but this profligate physician, whom Calvin had procured to be banished from Geneva for his wickedness and impieties. The reproach of such a man was an honour to Calvin, and especially upon such an account: For, as Milton truly says,

Of some to be disprais'd is no small praise.

The

The great Thuanus, in his admirable history, though a Papist, mentions him with decency and candour; 'Calvin '(says he,) was endued with great acuteness and force 'of genius, and with a wonderful faculty of eloquence; 'a very celebrated divine among the Protestants.'

Philibert Bertelier, register of the inferior court of justice at Geneva, had been suspended from the sacrament by the presbytery, on account of his vicious life: But he applied to the senate to be absolved. This was opposed, in the name of the presbytery, by Calvin, who shewed, that the Christian magistrate ought to preserve, not to destroy, the ecclesiastical constitution. Bertelier was always Calvin's enemy, because he had often reprimanded and censured him for his vicious and scandalous life; and had strenuously opposed his wicked and pernicious designs. This appears by Calvin's letters to Viret, and to Bullinger, in the months of September and November, 1553; in which he cries him down as a bad and audacious man. Beza also represents the wicked qualities of Bertelier, in Calvin's life. The clamour which was raised against the ministers, as if, in some respects, they had invaded the rights of the sovereignty, was the reason why the council of two hundred ordered, that the final judgment of causes of excommunication should belong to the senate, and that the senate might absolve the excommunicated, as they should think fit. By virtue of this decree, the senate granted letters of absolution to Bertelier, which were sealed with the seal of the republic. The sacrament was to be administered within two days. When Calvin came to hear of what had passed, he soon resolved what to do, and preached against the contempt of the sacrament. He raised his voice, lifted up his hands, and said, that he would imitate St Chrysostom; that he would not oppose force to force, but that he would rather suffer himself to be massacred, than that his hands should present the holy mysteries to those who had been judged unworthy of them. This was a thunderbolt, which confounded the faction of Bertelier; so that it was not thought fit that he should present himself to the communion. The next day after the sacrament, Calvin, accompanied by his consistory, desired leave of the senate, and of the council of two hundred, to speak to the people, about this matter, as it concerned the abrogation of a law made by the people. This made so great an impression on their minds, that it was resolved the Swiss Cantons should be consulted about it; and that the decree of the two hundred should be suspended; but that none should say the

ancient regulations had been infringed. By this means the consistory obtained a complete victory over the senate, and the council of two hundred.

Calvin dispatched letters to some principal pastors in the Helvetic cities; craving earnestly at their hands to respect this affair as a thing whereon the whole state of religion and piety in that church so much depended, that the cause of GOD, and all good men, were inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those cities, by their good means, might be brought to give sentence with the ministers of Geneva, when the cau e should be brought before them; and so to give it, that it might effectually contain two things; the one, an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneva, as consonant to the word of God, without any cautions or qualifications; the other, an earnest admonition not to innovate or change the same. His vehement request herein, as touching both points, was satisfied. For though the Helvetian churches never observed that discipline; yet they returned proper answers to the three questions stated by the senate of Geneva: First, after what manner, by God's commandment, according to the scripture, and unspotted religion, excommunication should be exercised? Secondly, whether it may not be exercised some other way than by the consistory? Thirdly, what the use of their churches was to do in this case? The Swiss pastors answered, that they had heard of those consistorial laws, and acknowledged them to be godly ordinances, drawing towards the prescript of the word of God; for which cause, they did not think it good for the church of Geneva, by innovation to change the same, but rather to keep them as they were. 'Which answer, (says the judicious Hooker,) although not answering to the former demands, but 'respecting what Calvin judged requisite for them to answer, was accepted without any farther reply; inasmuch 'as they plainly saw, that where stomach doth strive with 'wit, the match is not equal; and so the heat of their 'former contentions began to slake.'

One of the greatest uses which may be drawn from reading, is to learn the weaknesses of the heart of man, and the ill effects of prejudices in points of religion. No less a person than the great cardinal Richelieu, has produced an accusation against Calvin, on the credit of Bertelier, than which none was ever worse contrived, and worse proved; though it has been adopted, and conveyed from book to book. Bertelier pretended, that the republic of Geneva had sent him to Noyon, with orders to make

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an exact inquiry there into Calvin's life and character; and that he found Calvin had been convicted of sodomy; but that, at the bishop's request, the punishment of fire was commuted into that of being branded with the Flower-de-luce. He boasted to have an act, signed by a notary, which certified the truth of the process and condemnation. Bolsec affirms, that he had seen this act; and this is the ground of that horrid accusation. Neither Bertelier, nor Bolsec, are to be credited. If Bertelier's act had not been supposititious, there would have been at Noyon, authentic and public testimonies of the trial and punishment in question; and they would have been published as soon as the Romish religion began to suffer by Calvin's means. Bertelier had no party against him in Geneva more inexorable than Calvin, who held him in abhorrence, on account of his vices. Bertelier was accused of sedition and conspiracy against the state and church: But he ran away, and, not appearing to answer for himself, was condemned, as being attainted and convicted of those crimes, to lose his head, by a sentence pronounced against him, the sixth of August, 1555. No envoy or deputy was ever sent from Geneva upon public business, who was not in a higher station than that of Bertelier; besides, there were some considerable persons at Noyon, who retired to Geneva, as well as Calvin: By whose means it was very easy to receive all the information which could have been desired, without going farther. If what Bertelier said was true, he would have had his paper when he fled from Geneva: But it is plain he had not the commission he boasted of, after that time. But can any one believe, that, before the year 1555, when those who were called heretics durst not shew themselves for fear of being burnt, a deputy from Geneva should go boldly to Noyon, to inform himself of Calvin's life? Who will believe, that if Bertelier had an authentic act of Calvin's infamy in 1554, he would have kept it so close, that the public should have no knowledge of it before 1557? Was it not a piece which the clergy of France would have bought for its weight in gold? 'But why '(says Bayle,) do I lose time in confuting such a ridicu-'lous romance? Nothing surprises me more, than to see so 'so great a person as cardinal de Richelieu, depend on this 'piece of Bertelier; and allege, as his principal reason, 'that the republic of Geneva did not undertake to shew 'the falsehood of this piece.' The truth is, this cardinal made all imaginable enquiry into the pretended proceedings against Calvin at Noyon, and that he discovered

nothing; yet he maintained the affirmative on the credit of Jerom Bolsec, whose testimony is of no weight in things which are laid to Calvin's charge. Bolsec would have been altogether buried in oblivion, if he had not been taken notice of by the monks and missionaries for writing some satyrical books against the Reformation. He was convicted of sedition and pelagianism, at Geneva, in 1551, and banished the territory of the republic. He was also banished from Bern: after which he went to France, where he assisted in persecuting the Protestants, and even prostituted his wife to the canons of Autun. He was an infamous man, who forsook his order, had been banished thrice, and changed his religion four times; and who, after having aspersed the dead and the living, died in despair. Varillas thought Bolsec a discredited author: Maimburg rejected the infamy that was thrown upon Calvin: And Florimond de Remond owns, they have defamed him horribly. Papyrius Masso spoke very ill of Calvin, but would not venture to mention the story of the Flower-de-luce: And he called those mean wretched scribblers, who reproached that minister with lewdness. It is not strange that cardinal de Richelieu, in one of the best books of controversy that has been published on the part of the church of Rome, should be less scrupulous and nice than Remond, Masso, and Romuald; and that he should give out, as a true matter of fact, the story of Bolsec, which began then to be laid aside by the missionaries? Richelieu intended to have reconciled both religions in France, but was prevented by death; and there was not one story which people did not believe, when it defamed him or cardinal Mazarin.

In 1553 the malice of the factious Genevese broke out so impetuously, as to endanger both the church and commonwealth. About this time, Michael Servetus came to Geneva, where he began to dogmatize. He had composed a book, intitled, *Christianismi Restitutio*, full of execrable heresies. He annulled the distinction of the three persons in the Godhead. He affirmed, 'That the Son and Holy 'Ghost were created in the beginning of the world: That 'the essence of God was common to all creatures, which 'produced a free will in man; yet the knowledge of good 'and evil was stifled in him, till he was twenty years of 'age, before which time a man could not commit any 'mortal sin: That it was sufficient to believe, that Jesus 'Christ was the Son of GOD; but it was not absolutely 'necessary to lay hold on his promises, as all men, both

'Jews

'Jews and Heathens, were justified by their good moral 'works: and that the baptism of infants was a mere 'foppery.' He was countenanced, at first, by some of the magistrates, who hated Calvin: so that, besides his natural maliciousness, he was rude enough, in maintaining his blasphemies, to give Calvin the lie above fifty times in one discourse: He also as often called him a wicked wretch, and Simon Magus. The council could no longer endure his impudence, but committed him to prison, and articles were drawn up against him, which were sent to the four protestant cantons for their concurrence; after which, he was burnt alive, without shewing the least sign of repentance, but only a great fear of death.

The enemies of Calvin on this account, said, that he copied after Saul the persecutor, and not after St Paul the apostle of the beneficent Jesus. They assert, 'that 'though Calvin caused the papacy of Rome to be banished 'out of Geneva, yet he established a papacy of his own: 'That as there was a pope at Rome, so he was no other 'than a pope at Geneva; not only by establishing an in-'fallibility in the very constitution of that church, but 'by his maintaining and carrying on of that constitution, 'together with his own authority, by persecution and 'blood, of which the fate of Servetus affords sufficient 'demonstrations, and undeniable proofs.' Even Erasmus, in the beginning of his epistle to Conradus Pellicanus, says, that Calvin exposed Servetus to the resentment of his greatest enemies; and that, 'Upon his information, Servetus 'was imprisoned at Vienne, and would have been burnt 'alive in that city, had he not made his escape. He was 'burnt in effigy, with five bales of his books. That un-'happy physician, having resolved to retire to Naples, 'where he hoped to practise physic among his country-'men, was so imprudent as to take his way through Ge-'neva, though he knew that Calvin was his mortal ene-'my. Calvin was informed of his arrival, and acquainted 'the magistrates of it. Servetus was arrested, tried, and 'burnt alive, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1553, 'for the heresies contained in the book printed at Vienne. 'Thus the unfortunate Servetus fell a sacrifice to the re-'sentment of that illustrious Reformer.'

The author of the memoirs of literature says, 'If the 'religion of Protestants depended on the doctrine and 'conduct of the Reformers, he should take care how he 'published his account of Servetus: But as the Protestant 'religion is entirely founded on holy scripture; so the

'defaults

'defaults of the Reformer ought not to have any ill in-
'fluence on the Reformation. The doctrine of non-
'toleration, which obtained in the sixteenth century,
'among some Protestants, was that pernicious error which
'they had imbibed in the church of Rome: And, I be-
'lieve, I can say, without doing any injury to that church,
'that she is in a great measure, answerable for the execu-
'tion of Servetus. If the Roman catholics had never
'put any person to death for the sake of religion; I dare
'say, that Servetus had never been condemned to die in
'any Protestant city. Let us remember, that Calvin, and
'all the magistrates of Geneva, in the year 1553, were
'born and bred up in the church of Rome: This is the
'best apology that can be made for them.'

In the lives of Oecolampadius and Melancthon, it has been mentioned how the protestant divines were disgusted at the two first books which Servetus published against the Trinity; and that he continued an anti-trinitarian. But it is necessary, in this place, to set the whole matter in a plainer light.

Servetus was born, in 1509, at Villanueva, in the kingdom of Aragon, in Spain. He studied the civil law at the university of Toulouse in France, in which kingdom it does not appear, that there were any anti-trinitarians at that time: Therefore, it is probable, that Servetus himself began the new doctrine, for which he was afterwards put to death. He was convinced, by studying the scripture, that the church wanted to be reformed; which made him resolve to retire into Germany, and set up for a Reformer. In 1531, he published his first work, entitled, *De Trinitatis erroribus libri septem*; wherein he undertook to prove, that the words, *Jesus* and *Christ*, and *Son of God*, denote only a man; which he endeavoured to shew by several passages of scripture. Concerning the person of our Saviour, he said, 'Christ was præformed in the divine mind: He 'was a certain mode of being himself there, which mode 'God disposed of in himself, that he might make him-'self known to us; that is, by describing the effigies of 'Jesus Christ in himself.' He called this 'the face of 'GOD, and the word that was made flesh.' He denied the Trinity, like the modern Unitarians: But he had a very different opinion from theirs, concerning Jesus Christ. It is strange, that a man who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, as being incomprehensible, should substitute a notion so obscure and unintelligible in the room of it. He used several expressions in this book, at which the ortho-

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dox were very much offended; for he called the three divine persons a chimæra, and metaphysical gods. In 1532, he put out another book with this title, *Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo.* Thus Servetus published two books against the Trinity, in less than two years, without scrupling to put his name to them. He was young, zealous for his new opinion, and perhaps unacquainted with the principles of the Reformers: Nor is it unlikely, that he thought he might as freely write against the doctrine of the Trinity, as the Reformers had done against transubstantiation. And, in 1553, he published a third book against the Trinity, which consisted of seven hundred and thirty-four pages in octavo, printed at Vienne, a very ancient city of the Lower Dauphine in France, sixty-eight miles S. W. of Geneva. This book was entitled, 'The Restitution of Christianity: Wherein the know-'ledge of GOD, of the Christian faith, of justification, 'regeneration, baptism, and of eating the Lord's Supper, 'are perfectly restored.'

Servetus was in the forty-fifth year of his age when he published this book, to which he would not venture to put his name, as he had done to the former books. Many believe, that he was burnt for the first book; but this is a mistake, for Servetus was committed to the flames for the last book. It contained the following pieces. 1. Of the divine Trinity, that there is not an illusion of three invisible beings in it; but the real manifestation of the substance of GOD, and communication of his Spirit. 2. Of the faith of Christ, and the righteousness of his kingdom, excelling that of the law; and of charity. 3. Of regeneration from above, and the reign of antichrist. 4. Thirty epistles to John Calvin, preacher at Geneva. 5. Sixty signs of the reign of antichrist, and his discovery just now at hand. '6. Of the mystery of the Trinity.

When Servetus had published his second book, he left Germany, and went to Paris, where he was admitted doctor of physic in that university. Calvin knew Servetus in Paris, and opposed his doctrine. In 1542, Servetus was at Lyons, where he corrected the proofs of Pagninus's Latin Bible, and added a preface to it, with some notes, under the name of *Villanovanus.* Calvin called these notes impious and impertinent; and says, that Servetus fraudulently got five hundred livres from the bookseller for his trouble. What is most considerable in the notes was concerning Christ, figuratively represented in the scripture.

Calvin

Calvin kept a long correspondence with Servetus, whom he endeavoured to reclaim from his errors. Servetus sent Calvin the three following questions, and desired him to answer them. 1. 'Whether the man Jesus, who was 'crucified, is the Son of GOD? And what is the foun-'dation of that sonship? 2. Whether the kingdom of 'Christ is in men? When may a man be said to enter 'into it; and when to be regenerated? 3. Whether 'the baptism that Christ instituted ought to be received 'in faith, even as his supper is? And to what purpose 'these were instituted under the new covenant?' Calvin answered these queries in a manner that offended Servetus; and Calvin says, this dispute occasioned the hatred which Servetus conceived for him from that time.

Servetus, upon all occasions, expressed a great indignation against the church of Rome, which he took to be the beast mentioned in the Apocalypse: But he delivered himself so confusedly about the nature of Christ, that it is difficult to have a notion of his doctrine. It appears, from the whole tenor of the fourth book of the Trinity, that he was a subtil metaphysician; had read the schoolmen, and many of the fathers: That he understood Hebrew: That he believed the soul to be material: and that he was a great enemy to the doctrine of predestination.

Though the *Christianismi Restitutio*, was printed very privately at Vienne, Calvin had a copy sent to him, and was informed that Servetus was the author. It is said, he sent to Lyons, to have him arrested, and prosecuted as a heretic: That Servetus was apprehended on the fifteenth of June; but made his escape on the seventeenth: That he was condemned to be burnt alive, if he could be seized; and, in the mean time, to be burnt in effigy, with his books. The sentence was pronounced against him 'upon the scandalous crime of heresy, dogmatisation, 'composition of new doctrines, and heretical books, 'schism, perturbation of union and public peace, rebel-'lion, and disobedience to the orders made against heresies.' His effigies, and five bales of his books, were burnt by the common hangman at Vienne, pursuant to the sentence of the delphinal court, which mentions the epistles and manuscripts of Servetus sent to Calvin, who, on that account, was charged with having informed against Servetus.

But Calvin wonders how it should come to pass, that all of a sudden, there should start up such a great familiarity and friendship between him and the guardians of the

the papacy. "Will it ever be credited, (says he,) that "there is such a free correspondence kept up by way of "letters between me and them, who are not less at va-"riance one with another than Christ is with Belial? "Whereas, there is nothing more wanting to refute such "a foolish calumny, than the bare denial of it." He adds, that Servetus had spread this report among the Papists, four years before; and that, if he had informed against him then, the Papists would not have spared him so long.

When Servetus escaped from Vienne, he resolved to retire to Naples, and took Geneva in his way, where Calvin caused him to be imprisoned, and prosecuted. His accuser was Nicolas de la Fontaine, and Servetus was brought to the bar, for the first time, on the fourteenth of August, when thirty-eight interrogatories were exhibited against him. The trial was procrastinated, and the magistrates of Geneva ordered Calvin to extract several propositions out of Servetus's book, entitled *Christianismi Restitutio*; and he reduced those propositions to thirty-eight articles, which, according to the title, 'the 'ministers of the church of Geneva declared to be full of 'impious blasphemies against GOD, and of other mad 'and profane errors, altogether repugnant to the word 'of GOD, and the orthodox agreement of that church.' Servetus answered the whole; and the state of the case was transmitted to the Helvetic churches for their opinions.

On the twenty-sixth of October, Calvin wrote to Farel, at Neufchatel, how the matters stood, as follows: "The "messenger is returned from Switzerland. The cantons "unanimously declare, that Servetus has revived the im-"pious errors with which Satan formerly disturbed the "church, and that he is an intolerable monster. Those "of Basil are right. Those of Zurick are the most vehe-"ment; for they express the heinousness of his impiety "in very emphatical words, and exhort our magistrates "to use him severely. Those of Schaffhausen subscribe "to their judgment. The latter of the divines of Bern, "which is also to the purpose, is attended with that of "the senate, whereby our magistrates have been very "much animated. Cæsar, a comical man, pretended to "be sick three days, but came to court at last to acquit "that profligate fellow; for he was not ashamed to pro-"pose, that the cause should be removed to the council "of two hundred. Nevertheless, he has been con-"demned without any dispute. He will be executed "to-morrow.

" to-morrow. We have endeavoured to commute that " sort of death; but it was in vain. I will tell you, " when I see you, why the judges have not granted our " request."

The Syndics were the judges, who were incensed against Servetus for writing with asperity against Calvin, whom he considered as his accuser. Calvin had enemies, who encouraged Servetus to write against him, in a very calumniating manner, all the time he was in confinement. This proved fatal to Servetus, who, on the twenty-seventh of October, was condemned to be burnt alive. The process drawn up before the Syndics contained the whole charge against him; and the sentence was pronounced by the Syndics as follows: ' That by the process, and also ' by his voluntary confessions, and by his books, it plainly ' appeared to them, that Servetus had long ago put forth ' a false and heretical doctrine which he obstinately con- ' tinued to spread and publish, so far as to print books ' against GOD the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; ' in short, against the true foundation of the Christian ' religion: That he had not been ashamed of rising up ' against the divine Majesty, and the holy Trinity; en- ' deavouring to affect the world with his heresies. There- ' fore, they condemned him to be carried to the Champel*, ' and there to be burnt alive with his books.'

After this terrible sentence was passed, Servetus sent for Calvin, who, with two magistrates, gave him a visit in the prison. Servetus begged his pardon. Calvin said, he never thought of revenging himself for any private injuries which the prisoner had done him: But observed, that he had laboured, even to the hazard of his life, for the space of sixteen years, to reclaim him from his errors. Calvin also told Servetus, that he had conversed with him by private letters with great mildness, and continued to use him like a friend, till he found that Servetus bitterly inveighed against him, even to madness, because he had been so free in his friendly reproofs to him. He exhorted the prisoner to ask forgiveness of God, for having attempted to blot the three hypostases out of his essence. But when Calvin perceived his admonitions made no impression upon Servetus, he told him, he would not presume to be wiser than his Master; ' and, according to St ' Paul's command, went away from that heretic, who ' was condemned by his own conscience.'

* A small eminence, about a musket-shot from the city.

Thus

Thus Servetus expired in the flames, without speaking, or shewing any signs of repentance. Servetus was the first who mentioned the circulation of the blood. 'The first 'that I could ever find who had a distinct idea of this mat-'ter, (says Dr Walton,) was Michael Servetus, a Spa-'nish physician, who was burnt for Arianism at Geneva. 'Well had it been for the church of Christ, if he wholly 'confined himself to his own profession! His sagacity 'in this particular, before so much in the dark, gives us 'great reason to believe, that the world might then have 'had just cause to have blessed his memory.' Doctor Douglas also observes, that Servetus, in the fifth book of his 'Restitution of Christianity,' shews that he was apprized of the circulation of the blood. However, it must be owned, that his knowledge therein was very imperfect, and greatly short of the clear and full discovery made by the learned Harvey. Servetus might have great merit as a physician: But he was more extravagant than Arius in his opinion; and a great prelate thought him 'fitter to 'have been chained up as a madman, than burnt as a 'heretic.' He condemned the doctrine of Geneva; but he was no Atheist, which was a name, that, in his turn, he gave to the Trinitarians.

Many people were not displeased at the rooting out of a man, who had sowed his wicked doctrine about thirty years among Christians. Others thought he was punished too severely; his fact being only a matter of opinion, which, at the bottom, was a mixture of Judaism and Anabaptism; and that it had been better to have expected his repentance. But the magistrates of Geneva and Switzerland considered him as an apostate, a seducer, and an atheistical person.

Calvin published a book, wherein he confuted the heresies of Servetus, and exposed all the proceedings against him. That book was entitled, "*Fidelis expositio errorum* "*Michaelis Serveti*:" or, "a faithful Exposition of the "Errors of Michael Servetus, and a short Refutation of "the same; in which is shewn, that heretics are to be "punished with fire and sword." Another book was published, called, '*De non puniendis hæreticis gladio*;' which was thought to be wrote by Castalio, under the name of Martin Bellius. This was answered by Theodore Beza, in a piece with this title, '*De hæreticis a civili Ma-'gistratu puniendis*.'

Calvin, in his *Fidelis Expositio*, acknowledges, that the form of the indictment against Servetus was drawn up by his

his advice, and says, "He was not so mortally enraged "against him, but that, if he had not been lost to all "sense, it was in his power to have saved his life, by his "modesty alone. Nor do I know, continues Calvin, "what to say, unless it be this, that he precipitated him-"self to his end by his own fatal madness."

When Calvin drew up the confession of faith, he took care to insert the following article: "We detest all the "heresies which have anciently disturbed the churches, "and especially the diabolical imaginations of Servetus, "who attributes to the Lord Jesus a fantastical divinity; "forasmuch as he calls him the idea and pattern of all "things, and names him personal, or figurative Son of "God; and finally forges for him a body of three ele-"ments uncreated, and thus mixes and destroys the two "natures." It is said, that all the candidates for the ministry in Switzerland, and also in the French reformed churches abroad, are bound, before their ordination, to subscribe that article of the confession. Besides, in the form of confession of faith, which all the students of the public school of Geneva are to make before the rector, there is this article: 'Although GOD is one simple essence, 'yet there are in him three distinct persons; wherefore I 'detest all the heresies condemned by the first council of 'Nice, as likewise those condemned in the councils of 'Ephesus and Chalcedon: Together with all those errors 'that have been revived by Servetus and his followers.'

The next year, Matthew Grybale, lord of Farges, spread the same errors as Servetus had done: But he would not enter into a public conference with Calvin, and retired to Bern, where he made his recantation. Those errors also spread in Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania, where a great controversy arose about the punishing of heretics.

Farel, about this time, was indicted as a criminal at Geneva, and was obliged to appear before the judges. He had sharply reproved the enemies of Calvin in a sermon, and they complained he had done them a great injury. The senate of Geneva wrote to the Magistrates of Neufchatel, to desire that Farel might come and answer the charge that was brought against him. Relying upon his innocence, his age, and that ancient authority which he had over them, Farel readily came to Geneva. As soon as the senate had notice that he was arrived, they let Calvin know that Farel should not be suffered to ascend the pulpit. "I shall proceed no farther, (says Calvin); let it "suffice to give you a taste of their ingratitude, which

"will

" will raise a just aversion in all men of honour and pro-
" bity. But because I have many reasons which hinder
" me from publicly deploring our calamity, take it
" briefly thus: Unless Satan be chained up by you, he
" must be let loose." Farel was heard, and his adversaries defeated.

Calvin wrote his Commentaries upon the gospel of St John, when all the Reformed churches received a great wound by the death of king Edward VI. Great numbers of English exiles fled for protection to Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, who found unexpected encouragement and assistance from Calvin. The English fugitives had settled a church at Frankfort, where they were greatly influenced by John Knox, the Scotch preacher, who objected to the then English liturgy, and formed a scheme of parity in church government. This was resented by the English who settled at Zurick; and some thoughts were entertained of settling the Geneva form at Strasburg. Calvin was consulted on that head; and they sent him the English common-prayer-book in Latin, accompanied with many misrepresentations and criticisms upon the English worship: So that Calvin, in his answer, shewed a dislike to the English service. A liturgy was then made use of at Frankfort, partly extracted from that of England, and that of Geneva: But Dr Cox obliged Knox to quit Frankfort, and retire to Geneva. Cox then applied to give Calvin a favourable opinion of the English liturgy; for he perceived he was under invincible prejudices against it. Cox went to Strasburg, and left Horn at Frankfort, where new differences arose, and the new modelled discipline of Geneva was introduced. Most of the English ecclesiastical historians date the rise of the dissenting principles in England from this schism: But Calvin appears only to be an occasional auxiliary; for it is easy to perceive, that Knox, and his friends, carried those principles with them from Britain.

The number of strangers visibly increased in Geneva; and the English were allowed to found a church of their own nation in the city, as the Italians had done before them in 1551, and the Spaniards some time afterwards: But when Q. Elizabeth came to the throne, and revived the Protestant religion, the English thanked the magistrates for their protection, and returned to their own country.

In 1555, a conspiracy was formed against the ministers of Geneva: But it was seasonably discovered, and the conspirators punished; some being beheaded, and others banished.

nished. Calvin went to Bern, and defended himself against Bolsec, who was banished for accusing him of false doctrine. Calvin regulated the church of Poland; he comforted the persecuted in England, and encouraged the afflicted in France. But, in 1556, a tertian ague seized upon him as he was preaching, which obliged him to quit the pulpit, and it was rumoured abroad that he was dead. He recovered and went to Frankfort to pacify some controversies which had lately sprung up in the French church.

In 1557, he published his commentaries upon the Psalms, to which he prefixed a very curious preface. He prevailed on the German princes to intercede for the French Protestants, and allayed the tempest of persecution in France.

In 1558, a new league was made between Geneva and Bern; but a disturbance happened in the former church. Valentine Gentilis, and some Italians, collected from the books of Servetus more than he had advanced against the Trinity. They were enjoined by the council to subscribe to the general confession of the church, which seven of them absolutely refused, among whom was Gentilis, who was committed to prison, from whence he was brought to dispute against Calvin before the council. He charged Calvin with oppressing the truth, and run himself into Arianism; his drift being to shew, that the divine essence belonged properly to none but the Father. Calvin, in a full assembly of the senators, ministers, and elders, so fully confuted him out of the scripture, that all the Italians immediately subscribed to the established faith. It was the opinion of some lawyers, that the heresy of Gentilis deserved death: But he thought to escape all punishment by a seeming repentance, and retracting his opinion by a formal writing made for that purpose. The magistrates took notice of this, and inflicted no other punishment on him than the burning of his writings, and a command not to stir out of the city without their leave, which he submissively obeyed till he had an opportunity of making his escape. The bailiff of Gex obliged him to make a new recantation; and Calvin wrote a book against him, wherein he excellently confuted this heresy. But Gentilis returned to his old error, and was beheaded as an heretic at Bern, in 1566.

This year Calvin was seized with a quartan ague, which preyed greatly upon his weak body, already debilitated and worn out with his incessant labours and study: But he published his Commentary upon Isaiah, and the last edition of his Institutions in French and Latin.

The

The number of youth, who came from all parts to study at Geneva, increased so much, that the old school was not large enough to contain them. The council therefore resolved to erect a new college for seven classes, and three professors of Hebrew, Greek, and philosophy; besides divinity lectures, which Calvin read himself, to whom was joined Theodore Beza, who preached the following week after Calvin. The statutes of this college were first published in St Peter's church, before the magistrates, ministers, and scholars, by Calvin, who seemed to consecrate so holy and profitable a foundation.

In 1560, Calvin confuted Sancarus, who asserted, that Christ was Mediator only according to his human nature. Calvin was consulted by the Bohemian Waldenses, whom he exhorted to enter into a nearer conjunction with other Reformed churches. He sent Galacius to plant a French church in England, where Q. Elizabeth gave protection to the refugees: And he published his lectures upon Daniel, which he dedicated to the French churches. Francis II. was then upon the throne of France, where the public affairs were conducted by the duke of Guise, and the cardinal de Lorrain, whose administration offended the Protestants, and occasioned the celebrated conspiracy of Amboise, which was formed against the princes of the house of Guise, by the prince of Condé, brother to the king of Navarre. The conspiracy was discovered, and the prince ordered for execution, which was prevented by the death of the king. He was succeeded by Charles IX. who honourably pardoned the prince of Condé; and he ordered the Catholics and Protestants to live in peace with each other: But both parties began to call themselves by the invidious names of Papists and Hugonots, in 1561. The origin of the word *Hugonot* is not certainly known: Some believe it took its rise from certain deputies of the Protestants coming to address the King in Latin; when he who was to speak stopped short at the beginning of what he should have said, and having repeated the word, '*huc* '*nos, huc venimus,*' could proceed no farther: Though others are of opinion, that this name was given them at Tours, because they assembled late to teach in a part of the town, where the superstitious people believed the apparition of king Hugo appeared every night.

The duke of Guise, the king of Navarre, and Catherine de Medicis the mother of Charles IX. formed an union, which was called the triumvirate, and governed the kingdom during the minority of the king. In 1562, the

prince of Condé appeared in arms, for their consciences who had embraced the Reformed religion, and the French Protestants received assistance from the queen of England. The duke of Guise was assassinated by Poltrot, a Protestant gentleman; and the queen concluded a peace with the prince of Condé; whereby the Protestants were granted the liberty of assembling publicly for the exercise of their religion. But the war was renewed in 1564; and when peace was again concluded in 1568, the Protestants soon found the accomplishments of what had been foretold by the admiral de Coligny; 'That peace had been 'offered only to disarm them, and thereby destroy them, 'with greater ease.' The great Coligny was assassinated, and the bloody massacre of Paris was put in execution, which was extended all over the kingdom, and the war was carried on against the Protestants till 1573.

Calvin lived only to see the beginning of this civil and religious war in his native country, which so much affected him, that it increased his disease. In 1562, he published that excellent Confession of Faith, which was sent to the states of the empire at Frankfort, in the name of the prince of Condé, and also the Protestants of France. The year following he published his Commentaries upon the four books of Moses, which he also translated out of Latin into French; and he began his Commentary upon Joshua, which he finished a little before his death.

On the sixth of February, 1564, Calvin preached his last sermon. He was faint, thin, and consumptive. He had for ten years together abstained from dinners; for he was frequently troubled with the head-ach, which his abstinence only could cure. By straining his voice, and using of aloes, he brought on the hemorrhoids, which at last proved ulcerous; and he had also a spitting of blood. When his ague left him, the gout took him in his right leg; then the cholic, and lastly the stone, which he never perceived till a few months before his death.

Though he was tormented with so many violent diseases, he never uttered a word unbecoming a Christian, and so great a divine; only lifting up his eyes to heaven, he used to say, "How long, Lord!" which was an expression he constantly used, when he heard of the calamities which afflicted his protestant brethren, for which he felt more than for any thing that could befal himself. On the twenty-seventh of March he was carried in his chair to the senate, when he presented to them a new rector for the school; then uncovered his head, and thanked them for

for all their favours, and particularly for their great care of him in his sickness: "For I perceive (said he,) this "is the last time I shall come into this place." His voice failed him as he spoke, and the assembly took leave of him in tears.

On the second of April, which was Easter-day, he was carried to the church, where Beza administered to him the sacrament. He made his will on the twenty-fifth, and on the twenty-seventh died, 'having, by over-much study, 'brought upon him several distempers.' He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was buried the next morning, in the common church-yard of the large palace, according as he had desired in his will, without any pomp or epitaph. Simon Goulard, of Senlis, who came to Geneva a while after, was chosen in his place: And Theodore Beza wrote a discourse of his life and death, which was published in the same year, together with his Testament.

Burnham, in his Pious Memorials, translates from Melch. Adam, the following account of his last will and death; he dictated his will to the public notary of Geneva in these words: "I, John Calvin, minister of the word "of GOD in the church of Geneva, being so oppressed "and afflicted with divers diseases, that I conclude the "Lord GOD hath appointed shortly to take me out of "this world; therefore have determined to make my last "will and testament in this form following:

"First, I give thanks to GOD, that, taking pity on "me, whom he created and placed in this world, he hath "delivered me out of the deep darkness of idolatry, into "which I was plunged; and hath brought me into the "light of his gospel, and made me a partaker of the doc-"trine of salvation, whereof I was most unworthy. And "he hath not only gently and graciously borne with my "faults and sins, for which I deserved to be rejected of "him and cast out, but hath treated me with such meek-"ness and mildness, that he hath vouchsafed to use my "labours in preaching and publishing the truth of his "gospel. And I witness and declare, that I intend to "pass the remainder of my life in the same faith and re-"ligion which he hath delivered to me by his gospel; "and not to seek any other aid, or refuge for salvation, "than his free adoption; in which alone salvation resteth. "And, with my whole heart, I embrace the mercy "which he hath used towards me for Jesus Christ's sake; "recompensing my faults with the merit of his death and "passion, that satisfaction might be made, by this means,

"for

" for all my sins and crimes, and the remembrance of " them be blotted out. I witness also and declare, that " I humbly beg of him, that being washed and cleansed " in the blood of that highest Redeemer, shed for the sins " of mankind, I may stand at his judgment-seat, under " the image of my Redeemer.

" Also, I declare, that I have diligently endeavoured, " according to the measure of grace received, and the " bounty which GOD hath used towards me, that I " might preach his word holily and purely, as well in " sermons, as in commentaries, and other writings; and " interpret his holy scripture faithfully.

" But, alas! that study and zeal of mine, (if worthy " so to be called) have been so remiss and languishing, " that I confess, innumerable things have been wanting " in me to the well performing of my duty. And, un- " less the unmeasurable bounty of God had been pre- " sent, my studies had been vain and vanishing. For " which causes, I witness and declare, that I hope for " no other help for salvation than this only; that seeing " GOD is the Father of mercy, I trust he hath shewed " himself a father to me, who acknowledge myself a " miserable sinner.

" As for other things, after my departure out of this " life, I would have my body committed to the earth, in " that order and manner which is usual in this church " and city, till the blessed day of resurrection com- " eth, &c."

To the four syndics, and all the magistrates, who in a body honoured him with a visit before his death, he spoke to the following effect:

" Honoured sirs, I give you great thanks that you have " done me this honour, having not deserved it from you; " and that you have so often borne with my infirmities: " Which, to me, hath always been an argument of your " singular goodness for me.

" Touching the doctrine you have heard from me, I " take GOD to witness, that I have not rashly and un- " groundedly, but carefully and purely taught the word " of GOD intrusted to me; whose wrath I should other- " wise now perceive hanging over me. But I am cer- " tainly assured, that my labours in teaching it have not " been displeasing to him.

" And I testify this the more willingly, both before " GOD and yourselves; because, I doubt not but the " devil, according to his custom, will raise up wicked,

" light,

" light, and giddy-headed people, to corrupt the sincere " doctrine which you have heard from me."

Then, considering the immeasurable benefits which GOD had conferred on that city, he said;—" I am a " very good witness, out of how many great dangers the " hand of GOD hath delivered you: Moreover, you see " in what estate you now are. Therefore, whether your " affairs be prosperous or adverse, let this thing be al- " ways before your eyes, that GOD is he alone who " establisheth kingdoms and cities; and therefore will be " worshipped by mortal men."

And, continuing his discourse, he shewed them at large, the danger of pride and security; the great dangers they were also in from errors in judgment, and corruptions in practice.

Then he prayed to GOD for the increase of his gifts and blessings upon them, and for the safety and welfare of the commonwealth. After which, giving his hand to each of them, they took their leave; departing full of sorrow, and with many tears, as from their common father.

April 28. The ministers of Geneva being with him, he spake thus to them.—" Brethren, after my decease, stand " fast in this work of the Lord, and be not discouraged; " for the Lord will preserve this church and common- " wealth against the threatenings of the enemies. When " I came first to this city, the gospel indeed was preached, " but the management of things, with respect to it, was " very troublesome: Many conceiving, that Christianity " was nothing more than the demolishing of images. And " there were not a few wicked persons, from whom I " suffered many things. But the Lord our God so con- " firmed and strengthened me, who am not naturally bold, " that I gave not place to any of their attempts. I pro- " fess, brethren, that I have lived with you in true love " and sincere charity; and thus I now depart from you. " If you have found me any way pettish under my disease, " I crave your pardon; and give you very great thanks, " that you have so borne, on your part, the burden im- " posed on me in the time of my sickness."

Having thus spoken, he gave his hand to each of them, who then took their leave, sorrowing and weeping.

A while after, Calvin hearing that Viret, who was eighty years of age, and sickly, was on his journey to visit him, wrote thus to stay him.

" Farewell, my best and sincerest brother: And seeing GOD will have you to out-live me in this world, live

" mindful of our friendship; for as it has been profitable " to the church of GOD here, so the fruit of it tarrieth " for us in heaven. I would not have you weary yourself " for my sake. I hardly draw my breath: And I expect " daily when it will wholly fail me. It is enough that I " live and die to Christ, who is gain to his both in life and " death. Again farewell." May 11. 1564.

Yet notwithstanding this letter, the good old man came to Geneva; and, having fully conferred with Calvin, he returned to Newcome. After which, Calvin passed his remaining time almost wholly in prayer, with his eyes towards heaven; while his voice often failed him, by reason of the shortness of his breath.

He died, as we observed before, May the 27th, A. D. 1564, aged fifty-four years, ten months, and seventeen days. Beza had but just left him, when Calvin suddenly altered for death. On which a messenger was dispatched after Beza to bring him back; but though Beza returned presently, Calvin, without a sigh or groan, was fallen asleep in Jesus before Beza could reach him.

Joseph Scaliger, who scarce thought any man worth his commending, could not forbear admiring Calvin; and he praised him, among other things, for not commenting on the Revelations, while he owned him for the happiest of all the commentators, in apprehending the sense of the prophets. And Pasquier says, 'Calvin was a good writer 'both in Latin and French, and our French tongue is 'highly obliged to him for enriching it with so great a 'number of fine expressions.'

Calvin had such a retentive memory, that he remembered people he had seen but once, several years after. Whenever he was dictating any thing, and happened to be interrupted for some hours, he renewed the thread of the discourse, without having occasion to be reminded where it was he left off: And he never forgot any thing that was entrusted to his memory.

He was a man, whose thoughts were lifted up much above the desire of worldly goods, only seeking how he might most and best promote his Master's service in the establishment of his gospel. When he took leave of the people at Strasburg (as we have mentioned above) to return to Geneva, they would have continued his freedom of the city, and the revenues of a prebend; which had been assigned him: The former he accepted, but absolutely refused the latter. He carried one of his brothers with him to Geneva, but he never laboured to promote him, as most men,

men, possessed of his influence, would have done; on the contrary, he caused him to learn the trade of a bookbinder, which he followed all his life.

When his friends would have dissuaded him, in his sickness, from dictating, and especially from writing, he answered; "What! would you have me idle when my "Lord comes?"

Calvin was held in the highest veneration by the foreign Reformed churches; and not less so by our own. Witness the exalted testimonies given of him by bishop Andrews, bishop Bilson, Mr Hooker, bishop Morton, bishop Stillingfleet, and many others, cited by doctor John Edwards, for this purpose in his *Veritas redux*.

Dr Hoyle, who wrote under the patronage of archbishop Usher, mentioning Calvin, says, 'What shall I speak 'of his indefatigable industry, almost beyond the power 'of nature, which paralleled with our loitering, will, I 'fear, exceed all credit? It may be the truest object of ad-'miration, how one lean, worn, spent, and wearied body 'could hold out. He read every week of the year through 'three divinity lectures; every other week, over and 'above, he preached every day: So that (as Erasmus said 'of Chrysostom) I know not whether more to admire his 'constancy, or their's that heard him. Some have reck-'oned his yearly lectures to be *one hundred and eighty-six*, 'and his yearly sermons *two hundred and eighty-six*. Every 'Thursday he sate in the presbytery. Every Friday, 'when the ministers met to confer upon difficult texts, 'he made as good as a lecture. Besides all this, there 'was scarce a day, that exercised him not in answering, 'either by word of mouth or writing, the doubts and 'questions of different churches and pastors, yea some-'times more at once; so that he might say with Paul—'*the care of all the churches lieth upon me*. Not a year past, 'wherein, over and above all these former employments, 'in which some great volume in folio or other came not 'forth.'

There are many among the Roman Catholics, who would to justice to Calvin, if they durst speak their thoughts. Guy Patin has taught us to make this judgment; for he observes, that Joseph Scaliger said, that Calvin was the greatest wit the world had seen since the apostles. He acknowledged that no man ever understood ecclesiastical history like Calvin, who, at the age of twenty-two, was the most learned man in Europe. And he tells us, that John de Monluc, bishop of Valence, used to

to say, that Calvin was the greatest divine in the world. Patin caused the life of Calvin, wrote by Papyrius Masso, to be made public. This life has done a great deal of mischief to the copies of Bolsec; for who can read it, without laughing at those who accuse this minister of loving good wine, and chearful company? The Papists, at last, have been obliged to acknowledge the falsity of those infamous calumnies published against the morals of Calvin. Their best pens have been contented to say, that, though he was free from corporeal vices, he was not so from spiritual ones, such as slander, passion, avarice, and pride.

Calvin has left behind him many who imitate him in his active life; his zeal and affection for the cause of religion. They employ their voices, their pens, their steps, and solicitations, for the advancement of the kingdom of GOD: But then they take care not to forget themselves; and are, generally speaking, a demonstration that the church is a bountiful mother, and that nothing is lost in her service. But for a man, who had acquired so great a reputation and authority, to content himself with a hundred crowns a year salary, and to leave behind him no more than three hundred crowns, is something so heroical, that it must be stupidity itself not to admire it. 'It is a 'strong proof of his not having studied to heap up riches, 'that all his effects, notwithstanding his library was sold 'very dear, scarce amounted to three hundred crowns; 'so that he might very justly, as well as elegantly, in 'order to wipe off this monstrous calumny, use these 'words, in the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms; '*If I cannot in my life time persuade some people that I am no "hoarder of money, I shall convince them at my death.*" The 'senate certainly can witness for him, that, though his 'stipend was very small, he was so far from being unsa-'tisfied with it, that he positively refused the offer of in-'creasing it.' This is one of the most extraordinary victories, the magnanimity of grace obtains over nature, even in those who are ministers of the gospel. Such a disinterestedness is a thing so extraordinary, as might make even those, who cast their eyes beyond the philosophers of ancient Greece, say of him, 'I have not found so 'great faith, no not in Israel.'

The works of Calvin, published at Geneva, comprehended twelve volumes in folio; which the edition of Amsterdam, 1667, has reduced to nine. His Commentaries upon the Bible are the most considerable part of his works: But he gained most honour by his "Christian Institu-

"tion,"

" tion," which was wrote in defence of the Protestant religion, and has been always esteemed an incomparable work. An observation has been made, which shews that this book of Calvin has been sifted, scanned, anatomised, in all the different manners possible by the Romanists. They have taken notice, that the first word is *all*, and the last *impiety;* which they think appears very mysterious. The fact is certain in the French translation; but not in the original Latin. The inquisition at Rome, and in Spain, condemned this piece, as being Calvin's work, falsely inscribed to Alcuin. Nor has it been thought sufficient to criticise Calvin's Institution, as a pseudonymous piece; but the very cut they pretend he ordered to be engraven for the title-page, has been commented on, and the work itself affirmed to be only a collection of plagiarisms. This cut they say, was a sword in the middle of flames, with this motto, ' *No veni miterre pacem, sed gladium.*' Mr Drelincourt says it is false, and that their proofs are impertinent: ' For it is, (continues he) as if any one should ob-' ject to me the symbolical figures which are placed ' without my knowledge on the frontispiece of some of ' my works, and pretend them to be my proper device.' This " Institution" has not only appeared in French, but also in High Dutch, Low Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and English. Calvin intended it as a complete system, and a full idea of theology.

We may add the well-known distich concerning that excellent book.

Præter apostolicas, post Christi tempora, chartas,
Huic peperêre libro sæcula nulla parem.

That is; ' Since the ascension of Christ, no age has pro-' duced a book of equal worth, if we omit the writings ' of the apostles.'

The admirable Beza wrote the following epitaph to the memory of his departed friend:

Romæ ruentis terror ille maximus,
Quem mortuum lugent boni, horrescunt mali,
Ipsa à quo potuit virtutem discere virtus,
Cur adeò exiguo ignotoque in cespite clausus
Calvinus lateat, rogas?
Calvinum assiduè comitata modestia vivum
Hoc tumulo manibus condidit ipsa suis.
O te beatum cespitem tanto hospite!
O cui invidere cuncta possint marmora!

The following translation, taken (with a slight alteration or two) from an old author, is tolerably close, and not inelegant.

'If any ask, why Reverend CALVIN, whom
'We justly style the dread of falling ROME,
'(Whose death the Good, with gushing Tears bewail,
'And who, though dead, makes all the bad look pale;
'From whom e'en Virtue might more Virtue learn,
'And in his Life all heav'nly Grace discern,)
'Lies hid within so mean and strait a Grave,
'While worthless Mortals splendid Tomb-stones have?
'Know ye, That Modesty, which was allied
'Always to CALVIN living, when he dy'd
'With her own Hands this Mansion did provide.
'O happy Grave, enrich'd with such a Guest,
'As proudest Marbles envy, not possest!'

CONRADE PELLICAN.

THIS great Hebræan and eminent divine was born at Rubeac, in Sweden, in the year 1478. His parents (whose family-name was *Kursiner*, or, in English, *Skinner*), brought him up at school till he was thirteen years of age, and then sent him to Heidelberg, where he studied sixteen months; after which he returned home, and entered into a monastry. After some time, he went again to Heidelberg, and from thence to Tubingen, where he studied with great success, and was much admired for the pregnancy of his parts. Melchior Adam relates very prolixly the most uncommon pains which Pellican took to acquire the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and the great proficiency he attained in it without any instruction from others. His own and his parents' circumstances were but low; so that he got all his erudition in a manner out of the fire. While he was at Tubingen, the bookseller there had purchased an Hebrew Bible in a very small type, imprinted at Pisa, but complete, which nobody seemed to care for. Pellican, after examining it well for a few days, wrote to his uncle for money, and bought it for a Florence and a half, then believing himself to be a richer man than Crœsus. He immediately applied himself to the diligent reading

reading of it, which was then the middle of July, and with such zeal, that by the end of the October following, he finished it; selecting the roots, and ranging the words in the form of a concordance. This was shewn to the famous Capnio, or Reuchlin, who declared himself astonished, not only at the work, but at the very short time in which it had been performed.

About this time flourished Paulus Scriptor, a countryman and friend of Pellican, and of the famous Staupitius the patron of Luther. This good man preached and maintained the same doctrines, which were afterwards called Lutheran: And it seems not improbable, that from these two excellent men, and from the writings of others, the great Reformer providentially received those intimations of the true understanding of the scriptures, which he afterwards promulgated with so much courage and success.

In the year 1501, he was ordained presbyter, at which time the plague raged exceedingly at Rubeac, and carried off both his father and mother. In condolence of himself upon so afflictive a dispensation, he transcribed the seven penitential Psalms in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, subjoining many suitable prayers. The year following he proceeded to the degree of doctor in divinity at Basil, and was made divinity-reader of the convent. About this time John Amerbac printed St Austin's works at Basil, whom Pellican greatly assisted. Cardinal Raymund, the pope's legate, at whose instance Pellican was first made licentiate, and then doctor in divinity, and who was much attached to him on account of his great learning, purposed taking him with him to Rome; but Pellican falling ill of a fever by the way, returned to Basil.

While Pellican continued a friar, he was universally esteemed for his learning and integrity, but when it pleased GOD, by the reading of Augustine, Jerom, Berengarius, &c. and by the conversation of certain learned godly men, to shew him the errors and absurdities of the church of Rome, and he began publicly to exclaim against them, he was presently hated and persecuted. He had, upon an occasion, visited Rome itself; and the sight of so many stupid and preposterous superstitions, which there passed before him, not a little contributed to his conversion. And when, about the year 1518, Luther and Erasmus had published some of their writings, which attacked virtually some of the principal points of the Romish corruption, he soon declared himself of their persuasion, and soon became stigmatized for a Lutheran. The senate of Basil observing

observing his very great abilities, chose him joint-lecturer in divinity with Oecolampadius in that city; where he began to read, first upon Genesis, then on Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. In the year 1526, by the desire of Zuinglius, he was invited to Zurick, where he heard the first lectures upon Hebrew, from the excellent Leo Judæ. Here, in the forty-eighth year of his age, he renounced Popery, and, by the persuasion of the other divines, to confirm the propriety and holiness of marriage in ecclesiastics as well as other men, he married; and having a son, while he was reading lectures on the history of Samuel, he called him *Samuel*. His wife dying, he married again, but had no children by his second wife. He was present at the religious disputation at Bern. In the year 1527 he published an edition of the Hebrew Bible, with the comments of Aben Ezra and R. Salomon.

He diligently applied himself to the study of the Turkish language, that he might be the better able to bring some that had become his neighbours to the Christian faith. He was Hebrew professor at Zurick for thirty years, where he was universally admired, and greatly beloved, both on account of his extensive learning and unwearied labours, and also for his life and conversation, which were heavenly and devout. At length, being grievously afflicted with the stone and other diseases, he changed this life for a better on the day of Christ's resurrection, in the year 1556, and in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

Lavater says, he had often heard Pellican affirm, "that "when he first began to study the languages, there was "not one Greek Testament to be got in all Germany at "any price; and that the first he ever saw, was one "brought out of Italy. But that he could not help re-"joicing in having lived to see the vast difference that "had obtained, as now many might be purchased for a "trifle." Pellican, and the rest of the reformers, *studied* the holy scriptures. They indeed followed the rule of

Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.

They had no idea of being true divines, without understanding the Bible, nor supposed that theology was really attainable by any other book without it, or beyond it. If some moderns, who presume to treat their knowledge in divine things with lightness and an air of superiority, had read God's word with a measure of the same industry, piety, and learning, it is possible they would have found that, among all their improvements in speculation, they have

have still a height to climb, before they can equal the sacred erudition and attainments of these excellent men.

Pellican, complying with the earnest requisition of several learned men, published in his life-time, his lectures and annotations, which were upon the whole Bible, except the book of Revelation, which part of the scripture, not presuming through modesty to write upon himself, he added the commentary of Sebastian Meyer upon it, in order to render the commentary on the Bible complete. He translated many books out of Hebrew, which were printed by Robert Stephens. The Chaldee Bible also he translated into Latin. He wrote an exposition in Dutch upon the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, with a desire to convince the Jews: and, with the same laudable design, he translated the disputation of Ludovicus Vives with the Jews into the Dutch language; and also many books of Aristotle and Tully; saying, that, like the Grecians and Romans, they might acquire knowledge in their own language. He made indexes to several books; and with great labour compared the bible of Munster, printed at Zurick, and another of Leo Judæ and Bibliander, with the Hebrew text, word by word, lest any thing should have escaped their attention.

Upon the whole, he left behind him a most amiable character in his private life, as well as a most respectable one in his public; being eminent for his sincerity, candour, integrity, humility, and truth.

GEORGE BROWNE,

THE FIRST

PROTESTANT BISHOP IN IRELAND.

THIS first bishop, that embraced and promoted the Reformation in Ireland, was by birth an Englishman, of the order of St Augustine in London; and because of his learning, humility, and pacific temper, was made provincial of the friars of the same order in England. Where their convent stood is still known by the name of Austin-Friars, in Throgmorton-street. He received his academical education

education in the house of his order, near Holywell in Oxford, where Wadham college now stands.

About this time, namely, in the year 1528, he supplicated the university for the degree of bachelor of divinity; but it does not appear that he was then admitted. He took afterwards the degree of doctor in divinity, in some university beyond the sea, and was admitted to the same degree at Oxford, in the year 1534, and soon after at Cambridge. Before that time, having read some of Luther's writings, he conceived a liking for his doctrine; and, among other doctrines he then began to teach, even while he was provincial of his order, was "That they should "make their applications to CHRIST *alone*, and not to the "Virgin Mary, or the Saints." This caused him to be much taken notice of, and K. Henry VIII. being informed of it, took him into his favour and promoted him to the archbishopric of Dublin. He had the assent, March 12th, 1534 5; was consecrated the nineteenth of the same, by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishops of Rochester and Salisbury; and had restitution of temporalities on the twenty-third following.

A few months after archbishop Browne's arrival in Ireland, the lord-privy seal, Cromwell, signified to him, that his majesty having renounced the papal supremacy in England, it was his highness's pleasure, that his subjects of Ireland should obey his commands in that respect as in England; and nominated him one of the commissioners for the execution of it. The twenty-eighth of November, 1535, he acquainted the Lord Cromwell with his success, in the following letter:

"My most honoured Lord,

"Your humble servant receiving your mandate, as "one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured, "almost to the danger and hazard of this temporal life, "to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due "obedience, in owning his highness their supreme head "as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much op- "pugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, "[George Cromer, then archbishop of Armagh] who hath "been the main oppugner; and so hath withdrawn most "of his suffragans and clergy within his see and juris- "diction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on "the people, whosoever should own his highness's supre- "macy; saying, that isle, as it is in their Irish chroni- "cles, *Insula sacra*, belongs to none but to the bishop of "Rome,

" Rome, and that it was the bishop of Rome's predecessors " gave it to the king's ancestors. There be two messen- " gers by the priests of Armagh, and by that archbishop, " now lately sent to the bishop of Rome. Your lordship " may inform his highness, that it is convenient to call a " parliament in this nation, to pass the supremacy by act; " for they do not much matter his highness's commission " which your lordship sent us over. This island hath " been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish " orders; and as for secular orders, they be in a manner " as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or " pronounce the words, they not knowing what they them- " selves say in the Roman tongue: The common people " of this isle are not more zealous in their blindness, than " the saints and martyrs were in the truth at the begin- " ning of the gospel. I send to you, my very good lord, " these things, that your lordship, and his highness, may " consult what is to be done. It is feared O-Neal will be " ordered, by the bishop of Rome, to oppose your lord- " ship's order from the king's highness; for the natives " are much in numbers within his power. I do pray the " Lord Christ to defend you from your enemies. Dublin " 4 Kalend. *Decembris*, 1535."

In the parliament which met at Dublin, May 1st, 1536, the lord Leonard Grey being then K. Henry's viceroy of Ireland, our archbishop was very instrumental in having the act, for the king's supremacy over the church of Ireland, passed: And, therefore, though he had not been more than a year and a few months in his archiepiscopal chair in Dublin, he stood up and made this short speech following: " My lords and gentry of this his majesty's " realm of Ireland, behold your obedience to your king " is the observing of your God and Saviour Christ; for " he, that High-Priest of our souls, paid tribute to Cæsar, " though no Christian; greater honour, then, surely, is " due to your prince, his highness the king, and a Chris- " tian one: Rome, and her bishops, in the fathers days, " acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes to be su- " preme over their dominions, nay, Christ's own vicars. " And it is as much to the bishop of Rome's shame, to " deny what their precedent bishops owned. Therefore " his highness claims but what he can justify the bishop " Eleutherius gave to St Lucius, the first Christian king " of the Britains: So that I shall, without scruple, vote " his highness K. Henry my supreme over ecclesiastic mat-

" ters as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both " isles England and Ireland, and that without guilt of con- " science, or sin to GOD; and he who will not pass " this act, as I do, is no true subject to his highness." This speech so startled the other bishops and the other lords, and being seconded by justice Brabazon, that the act passed, though with great difficulty. But he met with great and many obstacles in the execution of it; of which he gave the lord Cromwell an account in the following letter.

" Right honourable and my singular good Lord,

" I ACKNOWLEDGE my bounden duty to your " lordship's good will to me, next to my Saviour Christ's, " for the place I now possess; I pray GOD give me his " grace to execute the same to his glory, and his highness's " honour, with your lordship's instructions. The peo- " ple of this nation are zealous, yet blind and unknow- " ing; most of the clergy, as your lordship hath had " from me before, being ignorant, and not able to speak " right words in the mass, or liturgy, as not being skilled " in the Latin grammar; so that a bird may be taught to " speak with as much sense, as several of them do in this " country. These sorts, though not scholars, yet are " crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dis- " suade them from following his highness's orders. George, " my brother of Armagh, doth underhand occasion quar- " rels, and is not active to execute his highness's orders in " his diocese.

" I have observed your lordship's letter of commission, " and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing. " I will not put others in their livings, till I know your " lordship's pleasure; for it is meet I acquaint you first, " that the Romish relics and images of both my cathe- " drals in Dublin, of the Holy Trinity, and of St Patrick's, " took off the common people from the true worship; but " the prior and the dean find them so sweet for their gain, " that they heed not my words: Therefore send in your " lordships next to me an order more full, and a chide to " them and their canons, that they might be removed. " Let the order be, that the chief governors may assist " me in it. The prior and dean have written to Rome, " to be encouraged, and if it be not hindered before they " have a mandate from the bishop of Rome, the people " will be bold, and then tugg long, before his highness " can submit them to his grace's orders. The country

" folk

" folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call " you, in their Irish tongue, *The Blacksmith's Son.*

" The duke of Norfolk is, by Armagh and that clergy, " desired to assist them, not to suffer his highness to alter " church-rules here in Ireland. As a friend, I desire your " lordship to look to your noble person; for Rome hath " a great kindness for that duke (for it is so talked here) " and will reward him and his children. Rome hath great " favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his high- " ness; and so have got, since the act passed, great indul- " gences for rebellion; therefore my hope is lost, yet my " zeal is to do according to your lordship's orders. GOD " keep your lordship from your enemies here and in Eng- " land. Dublin the third Kalends, April, 1538."

The court of Rome likewise left no stone unturned, to prevent any alterations in Ireland, with regard to religious matters. For the pope sent over a bull of excommunication, against all such as had owned, or should own, the king's supremacy within that kingdom: As also the form of an oath of obedience, to be taken to his holiness, at confession. This our archbishop sent in a letter to the lord Cromwell, which was as follows.

" Right Honourable,

" MY duty premised, it may please your lordship to be " advertised, since my last, there has come to Armagh and " his clergy, a private commission from the bishop of Rome, " prohibiting his gracious highness's people here in this " nation to own his royal supremacy, and joining a curse " to all them and theirs who shall not, within forty days, " confess to their confessors, after the publishing of it to " them, that they have done amiss in so doing: The sub- " stance, as our secretary has translated the same into " English, is thus.

' I, A. B. from this present hour forward, in the pre- ' sence of the holy Trinity, of the blessed virgin mother ' of GOD, of St Peter, of the holy apostles, arch- ' angels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of hea- ' ven, shall and will be always obedient to the holy see ' of St Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the pope of ' Rome and his successors, in all as well spiritual as tem- ' poral, not consenting in the least that his holiness shall ' lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of ' our mother church of Rome, or to the regality of St ' Peter. I do vow and swear to maintain, help and assist ' the just laws, liberties and rights of the mother church

'of Rome. I do likewise promise to confer, to defend, 'and promote, if not personally, yet willingly as far as 'able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, 'the church of Rome and her laws, against all whatso- 'ever resisting the same. I further vow to oppugn all 'heretics, either in making or setting forth edicts or com- 'mands contrary to the mother church of Rome, and, in 'case any such be moved or composed, to resist it to the 'uttermost of my power, with the first convenience and 'opportunity I can possibly. I count and value all acts 'made, or to be made by heretical powers, of no force or 'worth, or be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any 'other son of the mother church of Rome. I do further 'declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, 'son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew 'or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and 'all others, nearest or dearest relations, friends or acquain- 'tance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, 'for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power 'above the authority of the mother church, or that do or 'shall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother 'of churches, opposers, or enemies, or contrary to the 'same, which I have here sworn unto: So GOD, the 'blessed Virgin, St Peter, St Paul, and the holy evangelists 'help me.'

"His Highness's viceroy of this nation, [Sir Anthony "St Leger] is of little or no power with the old natives, "therefore your lordship will expect of me no more than "I am able: This nation is poor in wealth, and not suf- "ficient now at present to oppose them. It is observed, "that ever since his highness's ancestors had this nation in "possession, the old natives have been craving foreign "powers to assist and rule them; and now both English "race and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, "and do lay aside their national old quarrels; which I "fear will, if any thing will, cause a foreigner to invade "this nation. I pray GOD I may be a false prophet, "yet your lordship must pardon my opinion, for I write "it to your lordship as a warning. Dublin, May, "1538."

It seems the archbishop's suspicions were not groundless; for that endeavours were used to raise a rebellion there, as appears from a circumstance that fell out on the feast of St John Baptist following: The archbishop caused one Thady O'Brian, a Franciscan friar, to be seized, when the following papers from the pope and cardinals, signed

signed by the bishop of Mentz, were found upon him, being sent to the lord privy-seal by a special messenger.

'My Son O'Neal,

'THOU and thy fathers were all along faithful to the 'mother-church of Rome: His holiness Paul, now pope, 'and the council of the holy Fathers there, have lately 'found out a prophecy, there remaining, of one St La- 'cerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashell, wherein he saith, '*That the mother-church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland 'the Catholic Faith is overcome*: Therefore, for the glory 'of the mother-church, the honour of St Peter, and your 'own secureness, suppress heresy and his holiness's ene- 'mies; for, when the Roman faith there perisheth, the 'see of Rome falleth also; therefore the council of cardi- 'nals have though fit to encourage your country of Ireland, 'as a sacred island, being certified, whilst the mother- 'church hath a son of worth as yourself, and of those that 'shall succour you, and join therein, that she will never 'fall, but have more or less a holding in Britain, in spite 'of fate. Thus having obeyed the order of the most sa- 'cred council, we recommend your princely person to the 'holy Trinity of the blessed virgin, of St Peter, St Paul, 'and of all the heavenly host of heaven. Amen.' *Romæ* 4 Kalend. May, 1538.

Episcopus Metensis.

In pursuance of this letter, O'Neal had declared himself the champion of Popery; and having entered into a confederacy with others, they jointly invaded the Pale, and committed several ravages; but were soon after quelled. The friar, O'Neal, was put in the pillory, and confined a prisoner till the king's further orders. But it being rumoured that he was to be hanged, he laid violent hands on himself; yet his dead corpse was carried to the Gallows-Green and hanged up, and afterwards there buried: But it was said, by the register of St Francis's monastry of Dublin, that they brought him from thence and buried him in that monastry. About the time that K. Henry VIII. began to suppress the monasteries in England and Ireland, archbishop Browne perfected his design of removing all superstitious reliques and images out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the rest of the churches within his diocese; and in their room placed the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in gold letters and gilded frames. And, soon after, namely in the year 1541, the king converted the priory of the Holy Trinity,

Trinity, into a cathedral church, consisting of a dean and chapter, a chanter, a treasurer, six vicars choral, and two singing-boys; who were allowed 45l. 6s. English money: This sum Mary confirmed for ever. But K. James I. altered what K. Henry and his daughter had done; and upon this second alteration he constituted a dean, a chanter, a chancellor, a treasurer, three prebends, six vicars choral, and four singing-boys: Ordering likewise, that the archdeacon of Dublin should have a place in the choir, and a vote in the chapter. And our archbishop founded three prebends in the same, in 1554, namely, St Michael's, St John's, and St Michan's: From which time it hath generally been known by the name of Christ-Church.

In the year 1542, died primate Cromer, and was succeeded in the see of Armagh the year following by archbishop Dowdal; who was zealous against the Reformation, as his predecessor had been. K. Henry the VIIIth. also died in the year 1546, and was succeeded by his son K. Edward the VIth; who, by the advice of his privy council, began to consider, what good effects proceeded from the translation of the Bible into English, and what light it gave to the understandings of his subjects in matters of religion; and therefore he caused the liturgy to be altered from what his father had established, and ordered it to be read and sung in the several cathedrals and parish churches of England in English: And that his subjects of Ireland might have the same benefit, he sent over an order dated the sixth of February, 1550, for the reading the liturgy and the prayers of the church, and the Bible in the mother-tongue, which was first observed in Christ-Church, Dublin, on Easter-day in the year 1551, in presence of the lord deputy St Leger, archbishop Browne, and the mayor and bayliffs of Dublin. But previous to the proclamation for observing this order, the deputy convened an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and signified to them the king's order, and the opinions of the bishops and clergy of England, who adhered unto the same there. Primate Dowdal and the popish party bent all their force against receiving the liturgy in English; but not being able to prevail, he departed from the assembly, and with him several of his suffragan bishops *: But archbishop Browne received it with the utmost satisfaction and pleasure; saying at the same time, "This order, brethren, "is

* See the end of his life.

" is from our gracious king, and from the fathers and " clergy of England; who have compared the holy Scrip- " tures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, " as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, mak- " ing no question why or wherefore, as we own him our " true and lawful king." Several of the more moderate of the bishops and clergy adhered to our archbishop; among whom were Staples, bishop of Meath; Lancaster, bishop of Kildare; Travers, bishop of Leighlin, and Coyn, bishop of Limerick; which concurrence was severely remembered to most of them in the following reign.

Archbishop Browne preached a sermon on this occasion against keeping the scriptures in the Latin tongue, and the worship of images; and as this sermon is the only piece extant of so great a man, and at so singular a period, besides his letters set down above, we have subjoined it, being short, presuming it may prove agreeable to the curious Reader *. Archbishop Dowdal, by reason of his violent and unseasonable opposition to the king's order, was deprived of the title of primate of all Ireland; which by letters patent, bearing date the twentieth of October, 1551, was conferred on archbishop Browne, and his successors in the see of Dublin for ever. However he did not long enjoy this dignity; for he was deprived, both of it, and his archbishopric, in 1554, the first of Q. Mary I. under

* Sir Anthony St Leger signified, in this assembly, that it was his majesty's order, as also the opinion of the bishops and clergy in England, that the liturgy of the church should be read or sung, and the Bible be read in English in the several cathedrals and churches in Ireland the same as in England; primate Dowdal then standing up with much zeal said, Then shall every illiterate fellow read service, or *mass*, as he in those days termed the word *service*. To which Sir Anthony replied; No, your Grace is mistaken, for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but, when the people hear the Liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for. Upon this reply, Dowdal bade Sir Anthony beware of the clergy's curse. Sir Anthony made an answer, I fear no strange curse, so long as I have the blessing of that church which I believe to be the true one. The archbishop again said, Can there be a truer church, than the church of St Peter, the mother church of Rome? Sir Anthony returned this answer; I thought we had been all of the church of Christ; for he calls all true believers in him his church, and himself the head thereof. The archbishop replied, And is not St Peter the church of Christ? Sir Anthony returned this answer: St Peter was a member of Christ's church, but the church was not St Peter's; neither was St Peter, but Christ, the head thereof. Upon this the archbishop rose up, and with him several bishops and clergy, under his jurisdiction, went away.

under pretence that he was married; but in truth, because he had zealously promoted the Reformation. And then archbishop Dowdal, who had lived in exile during part of the reign of K. Edward VI. recovered the title of primate, and also the archbishopric of Armagh, which had been given to Hugh Goodacre *. While archbishop Browne enjoyed the see of Dublin, the cathedral of St Patrick's was suppressed, for about the space of eight years; but Q. Mary restored it to its ancient dignity, towards the end of the year 1554. The exact time of archbishop Browne's death is not recorded; only we are told, that he died about the year 1556. The learned and excellent Usher, late primate of Armagh, amongst his memorials of Ireland, gives this description of him; 'George Browne 'was a man of a chearful countenance, meek and peace-'able, in his acts and deeds plain downright, of good 'parts, and very stirring in what he judged to be for the 'interest of religion, or the service of his king; to the 'poor, merciful, and compassionate, pitying the state and 'condition of the souls of the people, &c. and was adorn-'ed with every good and valuable qualification.'

The

* Q. Mary's letter to the dean and chapter of Christ church in Dublin, to receive the archbishop of Dublin honourably, and with due respect. *Copia vera, ex Libro nigro Sanctæ Trinitatis Dublinii.*

'To our trusty and well beloved the dean and chapter, &c.

'Mary the Queen.

'TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well; and for as much 'as the right reverend father in GOD, our right trusty and well-be-'loved counsellor the archbishop of Dublin, being lately chosen for 'that see, repaireth speedily to that our realm of Ireland, as well to 'reside upon the cure of his bishopric, which now of long time hath 'been destitute of a catholic bishop, as also to occupy the office of our 'high chancellor of that our realm; albeit we have good hopes ye 'will, in all things of yourselves, carry yourselves towards him as 'becometh you; yet, to the intent he might the better govern the 'charge committed unto him, to the honour of almighty GOD, and 'for the remain of our service, we have thought fit to require and 'charge you, that for your part ye do reverently receive him, honour, 'and humbly obey him in all things, as appertaineth to your duties 'tending to GOD's glory, our honour, and the common weal of 'that our realm; whereby ye shall please GOD, and do us acceptable 'service.

'Given under our signet at the manor of Greenwich, the twenty-'fifth of September, in the second and third years of our reign.'

We have here inserted this letter on two accounts: first, as being a record remaining in the cathedral: Secondly, because there hath been some discourse of late, whether the archbishop of Dublin had power herein, or whether it was upon K. Henry's mutation made a deanery, as Whitehall chapel is, and no cathedral; but, by this letter, it shews it is both still a cathedral, and subject to the archbishop of Dublin.

The following remarkable providence, as it stands, in some measure, connected with our Author's life, as to time and place, and tends to shew that God is a God of Providence, preserving his people in times of danger from the hands of the wicked, as well as a God of Grace, saving their souls and bringing them to glory, we shall lay before our Readers, as we find it in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 568.

'Q. Mary, having dealt severely with the Protestants in England, about the latter end of her reign, signed a commission for to take the same course with them in Ireland; and, to execute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr Cole one of the commissioners, sending the commission by this doctor, who in his journey coming to Chester, the mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a clock-bag a leather box, saying unto him, 'Here 'is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland,' calling the Protestants by that title. The good woman of the house being well affected to the Protestant religion, and also having a brother named John Edmonds of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time, whilst the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down stairs, she opens the box and takes the commission out, placing in lieu of it a sheet of paper with a pack of cards, the knave of clubs faced uppermost, wrapped up. The doctor coming up to his chamber suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day, going to the waterside, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed on the seventh of October, 1558, at Dublin; then coming to the castle, the lord Fitz-Walters, being lord deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy council; who coming in, after he had made a speech relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the lord deputy, who causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone; then the lord deputy made answer, 'Let us have another commission, 'and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while:' The doctor being troubled in his mind went away, and returned into

into England; and coming to the court obtained another commission; but, staying for a wind at the waterside, news came to him, that the queen was dead; and thus GOD preserved the Protestants in Ireland.

This being a copy of Richard earl of Corke's memorials, as also of Usher, sometime lord primate of Armagh, being also entered amongst Sir James Ware's manuscripts, who hath often heard the late James Usher, nephew to the said Henry, and also primate of Armagh, aver the same, and wondered that Mr Fox had not inserted it in his 'Acts 'and Monuments;' there is yet living a reverend father of the church, Henry now lord bishop of Meath, who can affirm this relation from the said James Usher, late lord primate of all Ireland.

Upon the recalling of the lord Fitz-Walters into England, Q. Elizabeth, who succeeded her sister, discoursing with the said lord, concerning several passages in Ireland, amongst other subjects he related the above passage that had happened in Ireland; which so delighted the queen, that her majesty sent for the good woman, named Elizabeth Edmonds, but by her husband called Mattershad, and gave her a pension of forty pounds *durante vitâ*, (so long as she lived) for saving her Protestant subjects of Ireland.

The following is a very remarkable sermon, preached by our archbishop in the year 1551 at Christ-Church, Dublin. The copy of it was given to Sir James Ware, (see his history of Ireland, p. 152. edit. 1705.) and is inserted in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 566 *.

PSAL. cxix. 18.

Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law.

"THE wonders of the Lord GOD have for a long "time been hid from the children of men, which hath "happened by Rome's not permitting the common peo- "ple to read the holy Scriptures; for to prevent you, "that you might not know the comfort of your salva- "tion, but to depend wholly on the church of Rome, "they will no permit it to be in any tongue but the "Latin,

* It has been observed in Maclaine's translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, that 'the character and spirit of the JESUITS were admir- 'ably described, and their transactions and fate foretold, with a sagacity 'almost prophetic' in this sermon. The passage alluded to, is near the close, beginning with the words, "But there is a new fraternity, &c." The memory of almost every Reader can confirm the justness of the archbishop's præsentiment or prediction.

" Latin, saying that Latin was the Roman tongue: But " the wonderful GOD inspired the holy apostles with " the knowledge of all languages, that they might teach " all people in their proper tongue and language; which " caused our wise K. Henry, before his death, to have " the holy scriptures transcribed into the English tongue, " for the good of his subjects, that their *eyes may be opened* " *to behold the wondrous things out of the law of the Lord.* " But there are false prophets at this instant, and will be " to the end of the world, that shall deceive you with " false doctrines, expounding this text, or that, purposely " to confound your understandings, and to lead you cap- " tive into a wilderness of confusion, whom you shall " take as your friends, but they shall be your greatest " enemies, speaking against the tenets of Rome, and yet " be set on by Rome; these shall be a *rigid* people, full " of *fury* and *envy*.

" But, to prevent these things that are to come, ob- " serve Christ and his apostles: *Let all things be done with* " *decency, with mildness, and in order:* fervently crying " unto GOD, *Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold the* " *wondrous things out of thy law;* then should you rightly " keep the law and the prophets. It is the part of a " prince to be wise, for he hath a great charge to rule and " govern a nation. Your late king, foreseeing Rome " and her pope's intentions, how that he intended to en- " slave his subjects, and to keep them in a state of ig- " norance, consulted with the learned of his realm, know- " ing that youth might quickly be wrought on; there- " fore he prepared, before his death, a wise and learn- " ed sort of counsellors for his son's overseers; not " trusting to one or two, but to several, that he might " the better rule his people; whose eyes the Lord GOD " Almighty had opened betimes, *to behold his wondrous* " *works.*

" Though the words of my text be plainly thus *(Open* " *thou mine eyes)* the meanest of you that hear me have " eyes; but the true meaning of the words is, Endue us " with understanding; for a fool hath eyes, and sees men, " women, beasts, birds, and other things, but yet wants " understanding: So, when we say, *Open thou our eyes,* " we desire the Lord GOD to instruct and teach us the " knowledge of his laws.

" When you were lately led in blindness, your eyes " beheld the images that then stood in several of the mo- " nastries and churches, until they were removed; yet

" all

" all this while were your understandings blinded; be-
" cause ye believed in them, and placed your trust in
" them.

" Suppose an artist or workman make an image either
" of man or woman, and at last a clergyman of Rome
" gave it such a name, calling it St Peter or St Paul,
" or St Mary, or St Anne, must not that man, though
" he behold his own handy-work, and knows in his heart
" that it was his own work, be blind, and void of reason
" and understanding of the law of GOD, and of the
" *wondrous things that are contained in the law of the Lord?*
" Yes, surely, he must be blind, and void of reason, and
" of the true faith, that would worship the same.

" The workman carved the eyes, but these eyes see
" not; he likewise carved the ears, but they hear not;
" the nose, and it smells not; the mouth, and it neither
" breathes nor speaks; the hands, they feel not; the
" feet, but they stand stock still.

" How therefore can your prayers be acceptable unto
" this image, that sees you not approaching towards it,
" that hears you not when you pray to it, that smells not
" the sweet smells, be they of myrrh or frankincense
" burning before it? How can it absolve you, when the
" mouth is not able to say; *Thy sins are forgiven thee?*
" And if you place a certain sum of money in the palm
" of the hand of that image; come you again to-morrow,
" the money, it is true, shall find a customer, but the
" image never the wiser, who took it; and, if you desire
" to have it come unto you, it cannot without help;
" therefore the workman, that made this image, is as
" blind, as deaf, as dumb, and as void of sense as the
" image itself; and so be ye all, that put your trust in
" them.

" Therefore of late new artificers by springs have made
" artificial ones, which for a certain time shall move,
" and ye shall believe it to be real and certain: But be-
" ware, good people, for they be but lying wonders,
" purposely that ye may break the law of GOD. And
" thus hath the devil devised a lying wonder, that ye
" may be deluded to break the law of the Lord, which
" is, *Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image.*
" *O Lord, open thou our eyes, our ears, and our understand-*
" *ing, that we may behold the wondrous things that are in*
" *thy law. The law of GOD is an undefiled law.* Oh!
" why should we be so wicked then as to defile that law,
" which the Almighty GOD hath made so pure without
" blemish!

" blemish! *Jesus came to fulfil the law, and not to abolish* " *the law.* But there is a new fraternity of late sprung " up, who call themselves *Jesuits*, which will deceive " many, who are much after the Scribes and Pharisees " manner? Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish " the truth, and shall come very near to do it; for these " sorts will turn themselves into several forms, with the " heathen, an heathenist; with atheists, an atheist; with " the Jews, a Jew; and with the Reformers, a Reform- " ade; purposely to know your intentions, your minds, " your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring " you at last to be like the fool that *said in his heart there* " *is no GOD.* These shall spread over the whole world, " shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they " never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your " princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, " unto them, and yet they not perceive it; which will " happen from falling from the law of GOD, by neg- " lect of fulfilling of the law of GOD, and by winking " at their sins; yet in the end, GOD, to justify his " law, shall suddenly cut off this society even by the " hands of those who have most succoured them, and " made use of them; so that at the end, they shall be- " come odious to all nations: They shall be worse than " Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then " shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit. Now, to " arm you all good Christians against these things that " are to come, lest ye be led into temptation: Cry un- " to the Lord your GOD, and heartily pray that he " would be so merciful unto you as to *open the eyes of your* " *understanding, that you may behold the wonders and plea-* " *santness that is in his law.*—Which GOD of his infi- " nite mercy grant that we may all do."

JOHN BUGENHAGIUS.

MEEKNESS and humility were the characteristics of this great divine, who was born at Julin, near Stetin in Pomerania, in the year 1485. His parents being of some rank in the state, gave him a very liberal education; instructing him with great care, in the principles of

of religion: And, finding that he made great progress in his learning, they sent him early to the university of Grypswald, where he profited so much in the study of the liberal arts and the languages, that, at twenty years of age, he taught school at Treptow, and by his learning and diligence raised the school to a considerable degree of reputation. He read every day, to his numerous scholars, some portion of scripture, and prayed with them; till one day meeting with Erasmus's Lucubrations, which treat of the histrionical carriage of the friars, and the idolatry of the 'times;' he received so much light in the true understanding of the scriptures, that he began to instruct others by lecturing in his school on the gospel by St Matthew, Paul's epistles to Timothy, and the Psalms. To these he added catechising, an exposition of the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Many in the city, of various descriptions, resorted to these exercises.

He was called from the school to preach in the church, and was admitted into the college of Presbyters; where many people of all ranks attended his preaching. As learning was not very frequent in the popish divines of those days, and as Bugenhagius was endowed with a considerable variety of knowledge, both in ecclesiastical, theological, and even political concerns; he soon became of great estimation. Prince Bogislaus engaged him to write a history of Pomerania, furnishing him with money, books and records; and he completed it in two years, with much judgment and integrity.

His prince had employed him about these temporal affairs; but it pleased GOD soon to call off his attention to better things. For in the year 1520, one Otho Slutovius of Treptow, having Luther's book on the 'Babylonish 'Captivity' sent him, gave it to Bugenhagius as he sat at dinner with his colleagues. Bugenhagius looked over a few leaves of it, and told them, that "many heretics "had disquieted the peace of the church since Christ's "time, but that there never was a more pestilent heretic "than the author of that book;" shewing at the same time, how, in many particulars, Luther dissented from the received doctrine of the church. But in a few days after, having read it with great diligence and attention, GOD was pleased to work such an effect upon him, that he made this public recantation before them all: "What "shall I say of Luther? All the world hath been blind "and in Cimmerian darkness; only this one man hath "found out the truth." And further reasoning with them

them on the contents of Luther's book, most of his colleagues were brought to form the same judgment of them with himself; and the abbot, two aged pastors of the church, and some other of the friars, began to discover the deceits of Popery, and to preach against the superstitions and abuses of human traditions, persuading their auditors wholly to rely upon the merits of Christ.

Bugenhagius after this applied himself diligently to the reading of Luther's other works, in which he was taught to see the nature of the law and the gospel, justification by faith, &c. perceiving the agreement there was, in opinion of these doctrines, between Augustine and Luther, and how wide of the mark, upon these points, were the writings of Origen and Thomas Aquinas. These truths of scripture he preached and taught with such success, at the same time opening to the people the idle comments and delusions of the monks, that Erasmus Mandwell, bishop of Cammin, enraged to a high degree began to persecute many priests, scholars, and citizens of Treptow, who were the professors or hearers of these doctrines. He grounded the occasion of it upon the images being removed out of the church in the night, and the injury that the popish priests received by the people's leaving the mass. Moved with envy and rage, he raised a persecution against all that believed and professed them. Some he cast into prison, while others fled abroad: And Bugenhagius, not thinking himself safe, and being desirous of an interview and an acquaintance with Luther, went to Wittenberg in the year 1521, which was a little before Luther went to the diet of Worms. About this time, Bartholomew Bernhard Feldkirch, pastor of Kemberg, was the first priest who led the way, since the absolute interdiction of marriage by the see of Rome, by taking a wife. This gave rise to the disputes on *the Obligation of Vows made in Monkery.* In Luther's absence, Bugenhagius engaged in a controversy with Carolostadius, who would have brought the law of Moses into the civil state, and removed images out of the church. On Luther's return from his Patmos, by the suffrages of the university and senate, Bugenhagius was chosen pastor of the church at Wittenberg, in which he laboured in word and doctrine with much inward consolation, in many changes of affairs, for thirty years, never leaving the flock *over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer*, neither because of the dangers of war, nor for the pestilence that wasteth at noon-day; but preferred very homely fair with the people, among whom he had been made useful, to the profered

profered riches and preferment both of his own prince and the king of Denmark.

In the year 1522, he was requested to go to Hamburg, to draw up for them certain doctrinal articles, the mode of church-government, and the form of calling ministers; he also erected a school in the monastry of St John, which afterwards became a school of great note. And in the year 1530, he was desired to go to Lubeck, and to do for them as he had done at Hamburg, where he likewise set up a school in the monastry of St Catherine. In the year 1537, he was solicited by Christian king of Denmark and duke of Holstein, to reform religion in his dominions, and to erect schools; at which time he published a book on the "Ordination of Ministers, formerly agreed upon "by Luther, and his Colleagues with Prayers, and a "Form or Directory for holy Administrations." And instead of the seven bishops of Denmark, he appointed seven superintendants, who, for the time to come, should ordain ministers and take care of all ecclesiastical affairs, whom he ordained in the presence of the king and his council, in the chief church at Copenhagen. He also prescribed what lectures should be read in the university of Copenhagen; and appointed ministers in the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, to the number of twenty-four thousand.

In the year 1542, he was employed by the elector of Saxony, to reform the churches in the dukedom of Brunswick: And the year following the senate of Hildesheim sent for him to reform their churches; where he, with Corvinus and Henry Winckle, wrote them a form of ordination, and ordained six pastors to their six congregations, committing the oversight of them to Judocus Iserman, and shut up the church of the canons. In the year 1533, John Frederick elector of Saxony, with his counsellors, being present at the public disputations of Luther, Cruciger, Bugenhagius, and Æpine, on the articles of *justifying righteousness, the nature of the church,* and *the difference between ecclesiastical authority and the civil power;* Bugenhagius made an oration on the last of these, which very much pleased the prince, at whose instance Bugenhagius then proceeded doctor in divinity.

Thus far the life of Bugenhagius seems to have been quiet and easy; but when the *Bella Theologorum,* the wars of divines began, as they did about this time, he experienced one continued series of outward trouble and distress. Yet when tribulations abounded, the Lord caused the inward consolations of his Spirit much more to abound:

abound: So that in all the wars and confusions of Germany, among the states, princes, and divines, and when Wittenberg itself was besieged, he did not fly to any other place, but gave himself up to constant fervent prayer, encouraging himself much in seeing, that in the midst of the storms and tempests of controversies and quarrels the poor ship of Christ's church was not, and could not be swallowed up and destroyed. He remained stedfast and unmoveable, both in the doctrine and discipline of the church, always averse to unquiet and seditious counsels; urging that text, *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto GOD the things that are GOD's.* Like the emperor Severus, 'he minded his own business, without minding 'what others said of him.' His business was the work of the gospel, about which he was to give an account to GOD, and not to man. He left those, who delighted to meddle with factions, to gather the thistles and thorns, which they would surely find in the way. He was only concerned for the distractions of the church: And it was a favourite text with him, in all the commotions he saw and felt, *Commit thy way to the Lord, and hope in him: He shall bring it to pass.* At length, through age and great labour, not being able to preach any longer, he went daily to the church, and in the most devout and ardent manner prayed for himself and for the afflicted church of God. Afterwards falling sick, he still continued instant in prayer and holy profitable conferences with his friends, till drawing near his end, he often repeated that important portion of scripture, *This is life eternal, to know thee the only true GOD, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent;* and so quietly departed in the Lord on the twentieth of April, in the year 1558, in the seventy-third year of his age.

He was a faithful pastor, compassionate to the poor, bold in reproof, a zealous defender of the truth against all error, and had learned the apostolic lesson, in every station and condition in life *therewith to be content;* so that the most earnest intreaties, seconded by honour, power and profit, could never prevail upon him to remove from the flock which he believed GOD had committed to his charge; but he remained with them in all their afflictions, and watched over them with the fidelity, assiduity, and pains of a faithful shepherd. In his sermons he was modest and manly, but so earnest and devout, that he would often exceed the usual time allotted for a discourse. He assisted Luther in the translation of the Bible into German, and

kept the day, on which it was finished, annually a festival with his friends, calling it "THE FEAST OF THE TRANS-"LATION OF THE BIBLE;" and it certainly deserves a *red letter* more than half the saints in the Kalendar. His life was of a piece with his doctrine, altogether evangelical. Upon the article of a sinner's justification before GOD, he frequently used this simile: "As a ring set with a "precious stone is esteemed, not for the quantity of "gold which incloses the stone, but for the stone itself; "so sinners are justified by faith in and through the Son "of GOD, whom faith, as the ring does the jewel, "receives and apprehends." Luther often declared, that of all his writings none pleased him, but his Catechism, and his treatise *De servo Arbitrio*, or Free-will a Slave; and Bugenhagius was so much of that opinion, that he considered them as some of the choicest tracts upon the Christian religion, always carried them about in his pocket himself, and earnestly recommended them to others.

His WORKS are, 1. A Commentary on the Psalms, which Luther highly commended. 2. Annotations on the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, the first and second Epistles to the Thessalonians, the first and second Epistles to Timothy, to Titus, Philemon, Hebrews. 3. Annotations on Samuel and St John. 4. The History of Christ, suffering and glorified, being an Harmony of the Gospels, with Notes. 5. Annotations upon Deuteronomy; and some other tracts.

MARLORATUS.

THIS holy martyr and excellent minister of Christ was born in the dukedom of Lorrain, in the year 1506. His parents died when he was very young; and his relations, coveting his estate, thrust him, at eight years of age, into a monastry of Augustine friars; which, through providence, proved the means of his obtaining a good education. He was very eager to learn the languages, and to improve in the study of divinity, which he afterwards devoted to the service of the Protestant church, of which he became an eminent ornament and support. After a time, perceiving that the idleness of monks was but ill calculated

From an Original Engraving, Publish'd under the Inspection of Beza!

calculated to encourage the ardour with which he pursued his literary objects, he left the monastry, and went and studied in France; and from thence removed to the university of Lausanne, in the canton of Bern, situated upon the borders of the lake Lemon. Here it pleased GOD to bring him to the knowledge of the truth; and here, by extraordinary diligence and application, he made a very great proficiency in learning and in the critical knowledge of the holy scriptures. Entering into orders, he was chosen to be pastor at Vivia: And from Vivia he was called to Rouen, in Normandy, where he gathered a large congregation, which he watched over and instructed with so much labour and fidelity, and conducted himself on all occasions with so much wisdom, prudence, and piety, that he baffled the opposition and malice of his adversaries.

In the year 1561, he was present at the conference held at Posiah, [or Poissy] between Beza and the cardinal of Lorrain, in which he distinguished himself by his ability and zeal on the side of the Protestants against the Papists. The year following, the civil wars broke out in France, when the city of Rouen was besieged, and at last taken by storm. Montmorency, the constable of France, after much abuse of Marloratus, cast him into close prison, and coming to him the next day, with the duke of Guise, vehemently accused him of having seduced the people. To which Marloratus answered immediately, "If they are "seduced, it is GOD who hath seduced them, and not "I; for I have preached nothing to them but divine "truths." 'Thou art a seditious person (replied the 'constable,) and the cause of this great city's ruin.' "In "answer to that charge (said Marloratus,) I appeal to all "that have heard me preach, both Papists and Protes-"tants; and let them say, if they ever heard me meddle "with human politics, or matters of state: On the con-"trary, I have confined myself, according to my abi-"lities, to my proper sphere as a minister of that king-"dom which is not of this world, laboriously instruct-"ing them out of GOD's word, and guiding them in the "way to life everlasting." The constable rejoined, that he and his adherents had plotted together to make the prince of Condé king, admiral Coligni duke of Normandy, and Andelot duke of Bretagne. To this Marloratus answered, professing his own and the innocence of these noble personages. But the constable turning away in a great rage, blasphemously cried out; 'We shall see, in a few days, whether 'thy GOD is able to deliver thee out of my hands, or not.'

He was soon after indicted by Bigot, the king's advocate, and condemned for high treason; having been, as they said, the author of those great assemblies which had caused rebellion and civil wars. This the papists have ever been fond of charging upon the Protestants; and it was one of their most vehement accusations against Luther. But true religion hath nothing to do with rebellion and civil wars, but to preach them down, and to pray against them; for *GOD is not the author of confusion, but of peace.* The court, however, sentenced him to be drawn on a sledge, and to be hanged on a gibbet before Nôtre-Dame church at Rouen, his head then to be cut off and set upon a pole on the bridge of the city, and his goods and inheritance to be confiscated. Touched with the worth of the man, and the injustice done him, some of Marloratus's adversaries wished to have saved him; but their motion was over-ruled, and he, (with four other chief citizens,) suffered on the thirtieth of October, in the year 1562, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

As he went to the place of execution, drawn on a sledge, the constable and his son Monbrun, (who was soon after slain in the battle of Dreux,) behaved with great indecency; and one Villebon added a blow with a stick to many reproachful speeches; all which Marloratus bore with the greatest patience and meekness. Before he was turned off, he made an excellent speech, as long as he was permitted; exhorting, strengthening, and comforting his fellow-sufferers, who with himself, after glorifying GOD together in doing his will, now glorified him in suffering it. While they were hanging, one of the soldiers struck Marloratus's legs across with a sword. The providences which occurred to several of his persecutors, after this event were not a little extraordinary. The captain who apprehended him was murdered within three weeks after, by one of the soldiers in his own company: One of his judges died of a bloody-flux, which was so violent as to baffle all the skill of physicians: Another, who was a counsellor, had no longer a passage for his water but at his anus, and that with such a stink, that none could bear to come near him to give him any assistance: And Villebon, who had struck him as he went to execution, being invited to dinner, soon after, by marshal Vielle-Ville, who had come to Rouen upon public affairs; the marshal lamenting in discourse the present miseries of the city, exhorted Villebon as the king's lieutenant, to endeavour the reformation of several abuses; this

this Villebon took so ill, that he said, 'If any man dare 'to tax me for not carrying myself as I ought in my 'place, I would tell him to his face, that he lyed.' Which he repeated so often over, and in so provoking a manner, that the marshal rose up and struck him a blow with his sword, that would have cleft his head in two, if he had not warded it off with his hand; which, however, struck off that hand, with which he had with equal meanness and cruelty struck the suffering Marloratus.

His WORKS, which are subjoined, shew how great a loss the church at that time sustained in the death of this learned and pious divine.

1. *Novi Testamenti catholica expositio ecclesiastica: ex probatis theologis, quos Dominus ecclesiæ suæ diversis in locis dedit, excerpta, & diligenter concinnata: Sive, Bibliotheca expositionum Novi Testamenti; id est, expositio ex probatis theologis collecta, & in unum corpus singulari artificio conflata: Quæ instar bibliothecæ multis expositoribus refertæ esse possit.* The fourth edition of this book was printed at Geneva, 1585. Of this work, Dr Willet speaks very highly, and wishes that such another exposition had appeared in his time upon the Old Testament. Very happily for us of this land, we have now several upon both Testaments, of which that of Mr Matthew Henry is to be named among the first. 2. An Exposition of the book of Genesis. 3. An exposition of the book of Psalms. 4. An Exposition of the Prophecy of Isaiah. 5. *Thesaurus totius canonicæ scripturæ, in locos communes, dogmatum, & phrasium, ordine alphabetico digestum.* This work was printed under the inspection of William Feuguerius of Rouen, afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden, to whom Marloratus left it, not being quite finished at his decease.

WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS.

WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS was a celebrated German divine and Reformer, whose life was chequered with many extraordinary particulars. He was the son of a cooper, and born at Dieuze upon Lorrain, the eighth of September, 1497. His father, seeing him inclined to books,

books, designed him for a scholar; but not having wherewithal to educate him in that way, Musculus was obliged to provide for his own subsistence, which accordingly he did, by singing from door to door. He left Dieuze and travelled into Alsace, and after going through several towns in that country, he came to Rappersril, where a well-disposed widow, observing something in his countenance, as she thought, promising future greatness (in which she was not mistaken) supported him in his attendance on the schools there, till he was one day taken notice of by a gentleman, who very liberally maintained him during his stay in that place. From Rappersril he went to Selestadt, where, in the course of his studies, he excelled in poetry, and obtained the approbation of his teacher.

At the age of fifteen, he purposed to return home; and in his way, calling upon his aunt at Westreik, she took him with her to vespers, in a convent of Benedictines, where Musculus joined in singing with the choristers, and so happily, that the prior, struck with his appearance and charmed with his voice, offered him the habit of the order *gratis*, (a favour never before conferred on any one,) which he accepted; and the prior, as long as he lived, treated Musculus as his own son. He continued in this monastry fifteen years, and applied himself to the study of the arts and sciences with great applause, especially from Claudius Cantiuncula, a learned lawyer of those days. He also made great proficiency in music. And at the age of twenty, he devoted himself more immediately to the study of divinity, which a pious old monk observing, said, 'If you 'intend to become a good preacher, you must endeavour 'to be familiar with the BIBLE.' This hint Musculus wisely improved, and gave himself up to reading of the scriptures, with a view, in due time, when he should become a public preacher, of being a scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven, and, like a man that is an householder, bringing forth out of his treasure things new and old. While he was thus exercised, a friend took occasion to supply him with Luther's books, which by this time were dispersed in Germany, and which, while he read with great attention, comparing the doctrines with the scriptures, it pleased GOD to bless, as means to his conversion from popish darkness to the light and belief of the pure doctrines of the gospel. His wise and prudent conversation, accompanied with steadiness and zeal, made so strong an impression upon many of his

brother

brother friars, that most of the Benedictines of that convent forsook the order: And being a preacher at the church of Leixheim, under the jurisdiction of the monastry, he was equally successful in preaching the gospel to the various ranks of people. Among other noblemen converted to the true faith, was Reinhardus, governor of the castle at Lutzelstein, and in great favour with the prince Palatine. In the mean time, he raised himself many enemies, and found himself exposed to many difficulties and dangers; upon which he made an open profession of Lutheranism.

In 1527 he fled to Strasburg, and the same year married Margaret Barth, whom he had betrothed before he left the monastry. As he had nothing to subsist on, he sent his wife to service in a clergyman's family, and bound himself apprentice to a weaver, who dismissed him in two months, for disputing too much with an Anabaptist minister, that had lodgings in the house. He then resolved to earn his bread, by working at the fortifications of Strasburg; but the evening before he was to begin this drudgery, he was informed that the magistrates had appointed him to preach every Sunday, in the village of Dorlisheim. He did so; but lodged the rest of the week at Strasburg, with Martin Bucer, from whom he gained a livelihood, by transcribing: For Bucer wrote so ill, that the printers could not read his hand; nay, he was often puzzled to read it himself. Some months after, he was obliged to reside at Dorlisheim, where he suffered the rigours of poverty with great constancy. His only moveable was the little bed he brought from the convent; which however was occupied by his wife, who was ready to lye-in, while he lay on the ground upon a little straw. He served the church of this village a whole year, without receiving one farthing of stipend, through the oppression of the abbey, who gathered the tithes and revenues of it, and must have perished through want, if the magistrates of Strasburg had not assigned him a sum out of the public treasury. He was called back to Strasburg, to have the function of minister-deacon in the principal church conferred upon him: And after he had acquitted himself in this character for about two years, he was called to Augsburg, where he began to preach in 1531. Here he had terrible conflicts to sustain with the Papists; yet by degrees prevailed upon the magistrates to banish Popery entirely. In 1534, the senate and people of Augsburg absolutely discharged them from preaching in any part of the city, and left only eight places where they were allowed to say mass: And these eight places they abolished,

with all their trumpery, in 1537. Musculus served the church of Augsburg till 1548, when Charles V. having entered the city, and re-established the Papists in the church of Notre-Dame, he found it necessary for his own safety to decamp. He retired to Switzerland, his wife and children following soon after; and was invited by the magistrates of Bern, in 1549, to the professorship of divinity. He chearfully accepted this invitation, and acquitted himself in this capacity with all imaginable pains: And, to shew his gratitude to the city of Bern, he never would accept of any employment, though several were offered him elsewhere. He died at Bern, the thirtieth of August, 1563. He was employed in some very important ecclesiastical deputations: He was deputed by the senate of Augsburg, in 1536, to the synod which was to be held at Eysnach, for the re-union of the Protestants upon the doctrine of the supper: he was deputed to assist at the conferences which were held between the Protestant and Roman Catholic divines, during the diet of Worms, and that of Ratisbon, in the years 1540 and 1541: He was one of the secretaries of the conference at Ratisbon, between Melancthon and Eccius, and drew up the acts of it: And he was sent to the inhabitants of Donawert, who embraced the Reformation in 1544, to form them into a church, and to lay the foundations of the true faith among them.

Musculus was a man of great application and deep learning, and a considerable master of the Greek and Hebrew languages, although he was at the least thirty-two years of age when he began to study the latter, and forty when he first applied to the former. He published several books, and began with translations from the Greek into Latin. The first work of this nature which he published was, The Comment of St Chrysostom upon St Paul's epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, printed at Basil in 1536. He afterwards published, in 1540, the second volume of the works of St Basil; and, after that, the Scholia of the same father upon the Psalms, several treatises of St Athanasius and St Cyril, the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, and Polybius.

He also wrote commentaries, 1. On Genesis. 2. The Psalms. 3. Matthew. 4. John. 5. Romans. 6. Corinthians. 7. Philippians. 8. Colossians. 9. Thessalonians. 10. 1 Timothy. 11. His Common Places. 12. Upon the Commandments. 13. Of Oaths. 14. Of the German Wars. 15. Two Sermons preached at Worms concerning

« concerning the « Popish Mass." Printed at Wittenberg.

A little before his death, his biographer, Melchior Adam, says, he composed the following verses, to which we have added a translation taken from the Memoir of the late Rev. Mr Toplady, in which it has been given.

Nil superest vitæ, frigus præcordia captat:
Sed tu, CHRISTE, *mihi vita perennis ades.*
Quid trepidas, Anima? ad sedes abitura quietis,
En tibi ductor adest ANGELUS *ille tuus.*
Linque domum hanc meseram, nunc in sua fata ruentem,
Quam tibi fida DEI *dextera restituet.*
Peccasti? scio: sed CHRISTUS *credentibus in se*
Peccata expurgat sanguine cuncta suo.
Horribilis mors est? fateor: sed proxima vita est,
Ad quam te CHRISTE *gratia certa vocat.*
Præstò est de Satanâ, peccato, et morte triumphans
CHRISTUS: *ad* HUNC *igitur læta alacrisque migra.*

'My fainting life is nearly gone;
'My Frame is chill'd with dying Cold;
'But JESUS, Thou, my better Life,
'Canst neither sicken nor be old.

'Why tremblest, then, my parting Soul?
'To Mansions of eternal Rest
'That ANGEL waits to guide thy Way,
'And bless thee there among the Blest.

'Quit, then, O quit, this wretched House,
'Nor at its Ruin once repine:
'GOD soon shall bind it up again,
'And bid it with new Lustre shine.

'But, art thou all defil'd with sins?
'Fear not, my Soul, thou ne'er shalt fall;
'Believe his faithful Word, and know,
'The Blood of CHRIST can cleanse them all.

'Can death a thousand Horrors shew?
'True, Soul, but what is death to thee?
'Life is at hand, the promis'd Life,
'And, like its Giver, sure and free.

'Lo! CHRIST, o'er Satan, Sin, and Death,
'Yonder, in Triumph, sits on high:
'Fly, happy Soul, with eager Wings;
'Away to JESUS, swiftly fly!'

JOHN

JOHN BALE,

BISHOP OF OSSORY IN IRELAND.

JOHN BALE was born the twenty-first of November, in the year 1495, at Cove, a small village in Suffolk, near Dunwich. His parents, whose names were Henry and Margaret, being in poor circumstances, and encumbered with a large family, by the advice of their then popish priests, entered young Bale, at twelve years of age, in the convent of Carmelites at Norwich; and from thence sent him to Jesus-College at Cambridge. He was educated in the Romish religion, but became afterwards a Protestant. "I wandered (says he) in utter ignorance and blindness "of mind both there [Norwich] and at Cambridge, having "no tutor or patron; till, the word of GOD shining "forth, the churches began to return to the pure foun- "tains of true divinity. In which bright rising of the "New Jerusalem, being not called by any monk or priest, "but seriously stirred up by the illustrious the lord Went- "worth, as by that centurion who declared Christ to be "the Son of GOD, I presently saw and acknowledged "my own deformity, and immediately, through the Di- "vine Goodness, I was removed from a barren mountain "to the flowery and fertile valley of the gospel, where I "found all things built, not on the sand, but on a solid "rock. Hence I made haste to deface the mark of wicked "antichrist, and entirely threw off his yoke from me, "that I might be partaker of the lot and liberty of the "sons of GOD. And that I might never more serve "so execrable a beast, I took to wife the faithful Dorothy, "in obedience to that divine command, *Let him that can-* "*not contain marry.*" This good woman was a great comfort to him in his future exiles and troubles, which not long afterwards were permitted to fall upon him.

His conversion, and publicly preaching against the popish doctrines, however, greatly exposed him to the persecution of the Romish clergy; and he must have felt their keenest resentment, had he not been protected by the famous lord Cromwell, then in high favour with Henry VIII.

But

But upon the death of that nobleman, Bale, being pressed with the celebrated six articles, (commonly called *the whip with six strings*,) was forced to retire into the Low-countries, where he resided seven or eight years, during which time he wrote several pieces, chiefly against the Romish superstitions, in the English language. He was recalled into England by K. Edward VI. and presented to the living of Bishopstoke, in the county of Southampton. While our Author lived retired at Bishopstoke, about five miles from Southampton, (about which time he lived in great familiarity with the excellent bishop Ponet of Winchester,) the king went to Southampton, where Bale waited upon him. His majesty, who had been informed that he was dead, was surprised to see him, and, the bishopric of Ossory in Ireland being then vacant, summoned his privy-council, and appointed him, (August 15th, 1552,) to that see: Whereupon the lords present wrote the following letter to our Author.

'To our very lovinge friende Doctour Bale. After 'our hartye commendacyons. For as much as the Kinges 'Majestie is minded in consideracyon of your learninge, 'wysdome, and other vertuouse qualityes, to bestowe 'upon you the bishopricke of Ossorie in Irelande presently 'voyde, we have thought mete both to give you knowledge 'thereof, and therewithall to lete you understande, that his 'Majestie wolde ye made your repayre hyther to the courte 'as soon as conveniently ye may, to the end, that if ye be 'inclined to embrace this charge, his highnesse may at 'your comynge give such ordre for the farther procedinge 'with you herin, as shall be convenient. And thus we bid 'you hartily farewell. From Southampton the 16th daye 'of August 1552. Your lovinge friendes, W. Winchestre, 'J. Bedford, H. Suffolke, W. Northampton, T. Darcy, T. 'Cheine, J. Gate, W. Cecill.'

Our Author tells us, in his piece entitled, "The Vo-"cacyion of John Bale to the bishopricke of Ossorie in "Irelande, &c." that he refused this offer at first, alledging his poverty, age, and want of health; but the king not admitting this excuse, Dr Bale went to London about six weeks after, where every thing relating to his election and confirmation were dispatched in a few days, without any manner of charge or expence. On the nineteenth of December, in the same year, he set out, with his books and other effects, and arrived at Bristol, where he waited twenty-six days for a passage to Ireland. On the twenty-first of January, he embarked, with his wife and one ser-

vant, and in two days arrived at Waterford; and from thence went by land to Dublin. On the twenty-fifth of March following, he was consecrated at Dublin by the archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the bishops of Kildare and Down; and at the same time Hugh Goodacre, a particular friend of our Author, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh. He underwent a variety of persecutions from the popish party in Ireland, while he used his utmost endeavours, in preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ in its purity, to correct the leud practices and debaucheries of the priests, to abolish the mass, and to establish the use of the new book of Common Prayer set forth in England; but all his labours of this kind were put a stop to by the death of K. Edward, and the accession of Q. Mary, and himself exposed so much to the rage and fury of the Papists, that his life was frequently endangered. Once in particular, they murdered five of his domestics, who were making hay in a meadow near his house, and would probably have attempted the same upon him, if the governor of Kilkenny, hearing of it, had not come to his defence with an hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that he expended the whole nearly of his episcopal revenue in acts of piety and beneficence. Yet no liberality or goodness could stop the rage of his popish adversaries, who were implacably offended at his preaching the doctrines of the gospel, and at the success which GOD was pleased to give it.

At length, the bishop receiving intimations, that the Romish priests were conspiring his death, he withdrew from his see, and lay concealed in Dublin. Afterwards, endeavouring to make his escape in a small trading vessel in that port, he was taken prisoner by the captain of a Dutch man of war, who rifled him of all his money, apparel, and effects. This ship was drove by stress of weather into St Ives in Cornwall, where our prelate was taken up on suspicion of treason. The accusation was brought against the bishop by one Walter an Irishman, who was pilot of the Dutch ship, in hopes of coming in for a share of the bishop's money, which was in the captain's hands. When our Author was brought to his examination before one of the bailiffs of the town, he desired the bailiff to ask Walter, how long he had known him, and what treason he, [the bishop,] had committed. Walter replied, he had never heard of, nor seen him, till he was brought into that ship. Then said the bailiff, What treason have you known by this honest gentleman? For I promise you he looks like

like an honest man. Marry, said Walter, he would have fled into Scotland. (The vessel in which the bishop embarked in the port of Dublin was bound for Scotland.) Why, said the bailiff, know you any impediment why he should not have gone into Scotland? If it be treason for a man, having business in Scotland, to go thither, it is more than I knew before. Walter was so confounded by what the bailiff said, that he had nothing to reply. In the interim, the captain and purser coming in deposed in favour of the bishop, assuring the bailiff that he was a very honest man, and that Walter was a vile fellow, and deserved no credit. For the captain, our author observes, was afraid lest the money he had stripped him of should be taken out of his hands.

The bishop being discharged, they sailed from thence, and after a passage of several days, the ship arrived in Dover Road, where the poor bishop was again put in danger by a false accusation. One Martin, a Frenchman by birth, but an English pirate, persuaded the Dutch captain and his crew, that our Author had been the principal instrument in putting down the mass in England, and in keeping the bishop of Winchester, Dr Gardiner, so long in the tower; and that he had poisoned the king. With this information, the captain and purser went ashore, carrying with them our Author's episcopal seal, and two letters sent him from Conrad Gesner, and Alexander Alesius, with commendations from Pellican, Pomeranus, P. Melancthon, Joachimus Camerarius, Matthias Flaccius, and other learned men, who were desirous to inform themselves in the doctrines and antiquities of the English church. They had likewise taken from him the letter from the council, concerning his appointment to the bishopric of Ossory. These things aggravated the charge against him. For the episcopal seal was construed to be a counterfeiting of the king's seal, the two letters were heretical, and the council's letter a conspiracy against the queen. When the captain returned to the ship, it was proposed to carry the bishop to London; but at length they resolved to send the purser and one more, with a message to the council in relation to the affair. However, this resolution was dropped, upon our Author's strong remonstrances to the captain, and his agreement to pay fifty pounds for his ransom, on his arrival in Holland.

He was carried into Zealand, and lodged in the house of one of the four owners of the ship, who treated the bishop with great civility and kindness. He had but twenty-

twenty-six days allowed him for raising the money agreed upon for his ransom, and could not obtain the liberty of going abroad to find out his friends. In the mean time, he was threatened to be thrown into the common gaol, sometimes to be brought before the magistrates, sometimes to be left to the examination of the clergy, at other times to be sent to London, or else to be delivered to the queen's ambassador at Brussels. At last his kind host interposed in his behalf, and desired the captain to consider how far he had exceeded the limits of his commission, in misusing a subject of England, with which nation they were not at war. This produced the desired effect, and the captain was persuaded to take only thirty pounds for the bishop's ransom, as he should be able to pay it, and so to discharge him. From Holland he retired to Basil in Switzerland, where he continued during the reign of Q. Mary.

On the accession of Q. Elizabeth, he returned to England, but not to his bishopric in Ireland, contenting himself with a prebend of Canterbury, to which he was promoted the fifteenth January, 1560, and in which city he died in November, 1563, being then in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the cathedral of that place.

This prelate is author of a celebrated WORK, containing the lives of the most eminent writers of Great Britain, written in Latin. When it first made its appearance, it was entitled *Summarium illustrium Majoris Brytanniæ, 4to.* Wesel, 1549. It was addressed to K. Edward VI. and contained only five centuries of writers. He afterwards added four more, and made several additions and corrections throughout the whole work. The title of the book thus enlarged is as follows, *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Brytanniæ, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam vocant, Catalogus, à Japheto, per* 3618 *annos usque ad annum hunc Domini* 1557, *ex Beroso, Gennadio, Bedâ, Honorio, Bostone Buriensi, Frumentario, Capgravo, Bostio, Burello, Trissa, Trithemio, Gesnero, Joanne Lelando, atque aliis authoribus collectus, et ix. centurias, continens, &c. &c. Basil, apud Joannem Oporinum.* This title at full length, is an exceeding good analysis of the Author's design in this work. It informs us, that the writers, whose lives are there treated of, are those of the Greater Britain, namely, England and Scotland; that the work commences from Japhet, one of the sons of Noah, and is carried down, through a series of 3618 years, to the year of our Lord 1557, at which time the Author was an exile for religion in Germany; that it

is

is collected from a great variety of authors, as Berosus, Gennadius, Bede, Honorius, Boston of Bury, Frumentarius, Capgrave, Bostius, Burellus, Trithemius, Gesner, and our antiquarian John Leland; that it consists of *nine* centuries, comprising the antiquity, origin, annals, places, successes, the more remarkable actions, sayings, and writings of each author; in all which, a due regard is had to chronology. The whole with this particular view, 'That 'the actions of the reprobate as well as the elect ministers of the church may historically and aptly correspond 'with the mysteries described in the REVELATION, the 'stars, angels, horses, trumpets, thunderings, heads, 'horns, mountains, vials, and plagues, through every 'age of the same church.' There are appendixes to many of the articles; also an account of such actions of the contemporary popes as are omitted by their flatterers, Carsulanus, Platina, and the like; together with the actions of the monks, particularly those of the mendicant order, who (he supposes) are meant by the *locusts* in the Revelation, chap. ix. ver. 3 & 7. To these appendixes is added a perpetual succession both of the holy fathers and the antichrists of the church, with curious instances from the histories of various nations and countries; in order to expose their adulteries, debaucheries, strifes, seditions, sects, deceits, poisonings, murders, treasons, and innumerable impostures. The book is dedicated to Otho Henry, prince Palatine of the Rhine, duke of both the Bavarias, and elector of the Roman empire; and the epistle dedicatory is dated from Basil in September, 1557. In February, 1559, came out a new edition of this work, with the addition of *five* more centuries, making in all *fourteen*; to which is prefixed an account of the writers before the deluge and the birth of Christ, with a description of England from Paulus Jovius, George Lilly, John Leland, Andrew Althamerus, and others. This volume is dedicated to count Zkradin, and Dr Paul Scalichius of Lika.

The following is a catalogue of his other WORKS, as given by Mr Fuller. The titles are not given, only the subjects on which he wrote, briefly expressed; for as our Author's pieces are very scarce, it was impossible to supply all the titles. Those he compiled whilst he was yet a Papist are,

"1. A Bundle of Things worth knowing. 2. The Writers from Elias. 3. The Writers from Berthold. 4. Additions to Trithemius. 5. German Collections. 6. French Collections. 7. English Collections. 8. Divers

vers Writings of divers learned Men. 9. Catalogue of Generals. 10. The Spiritual War. 11. The Castle of Peace. 12. Sermons for Children. 13. To the Synod at Hull. 14. Answer to certain questions. 15. Addition to Palaonydorus. 16. The History of Patronage. 17. The Story of Simon the Englishman. 18. The Story of Francis Senensis. 19. The Story of Brocard. 20. A Commentary on Mantuan's Preface to his Fasti. The following he wrote after he had renounced Popery, first in Latin: 1. The Heliades of the English. 2. Notes on the three Tomes of Walden. 3. On the Bundle of Tares. 4. On Polydore de Rerum Inventionibus. 5. On Textor's Officia. 6. On Capgrave's Catalogue. 7. On Barnes's Lives of the Popes. 8. The Acts of the Popes of Rome. 9. A Translation of Thorpe's Examination. Secondly, in English metre, and several sorts of verse: 1. The Life of John Baptist. 2. Of John Baptist's Preaching. 3. Of Christ's Temptation. 4. Two Comedies of Christ's Baptism and Temptations. 5. A Comedy of Christ at twelve Years old. 6. A Comedy of the Raising of Lazarus. 7. A Comedy of the High Priest's Council. 8. A Comedy of Simon the Leper. 9. A Comedy of the Lord's Supper, and the Washing of the Disciples' Feet. 10. Two Comedies (or rather Tragedies) of Christ's Passion. 11. Two Comedies of Christ's Burial and Resurrection. 12. A Poem of God's Promises. 13. Against those that pervert God's Word. 14. Of the corrupting of God's Laws. 15. Against Carpers and Traducers. 16. A Defence of K. John. 17. Of K. Henry's two Marriages. 18. Of Popish Sects. 19. Of Popish Treacheries. 20. Of Thomas Becket's Impostures. 21. The Image of Love. 22. Pammachius's Tragedies, translated into English. 23. Christian Sonnets. The following in English Prose. 1. A Commentary on St John's Apocalypse. 2. A Locupletation of the Apocalypse. 3. Wickliffe's War with the Papists. 4. Sir John Oldcastle's Trials. 5. An Apology for Barnes. 6. A Defence of Gray against Smith. 7. John Lambert's Confession. 8. Anne Askew's Martyrdom. 9. Of Luther's Decease. 10. The Bishop's Alcoran. 11. The Man of Sin. 12. The Mystery of Iniquity. 13. Against Antichrists, or false Christs. 14. Against Baal's Priests, or Balaamites. 15. Against the Clergy's single Life. 16. A Dispatch of Popish Vows and Priesthood. 17. The Acts of English Votaries in two Parts. 18. Of Heretics

retics indeed. 19. Against the Popish Mass. 20. The Drunkard's Mass. 21. Against Popish Persuasions. 22. Against Standish the Impostor. 23. Against Bonner's Articles. 24. Certain Dialogues. 25. To Elizabeth the King's Daughter. 26. Against customary Swearing. 27. On Mantuan of Death. 28. A Week before God. 29. Of his Calling to a Bishoprick. 30. Of Leland's Journal, or an Abridgement of Leland, with Additions. 31. A Translation of Sebald Heyden's Apology against Salve Regina. 32. A Translation of Gardiner's Oration of true Obedience, and Bonner's Epistle before it, with a Preface to it, Notes on it, and an Epilogue to the Reader."

Gesner, in his Bibliotheca, calls bishop Bale, *vir diligentissimus*, 'a writer of the first diligence;' and bishop Godwin, in his treatise *of the Conversion of the Britons to Christianity*, gives him the character of a laborious enquirer into the British antiquities. The reverend Laurence Humphrey, in his *Vaticinium de Româ*, has this distich on our Author:

Plurima Lutherus patefecit, Platina multa,
Quædam Vergerius, cuncta Balæus habet.

That is, Luther and Platina discovered many things, [viz. the errors and frauds of the Papists] and Vergerius some; but Bale detected them all. Valentine Henry Vogler, (in his *Introduct. Universal. in notit.* Scriptor. c. 22.) 'thinks 'it will be less matter of wonder, that Bale inveighs 'with so much asperity against the power of the pope, 'when it is considered, that England was more grievously 'oppressed, by the tyranny of the holy see, than any 'other kingdom'—And adds, 'that notwithstanding our 'Author had rendered himself so odious to the Papists, 'yet his very enemies could not help praising his Cata-'logue of English Writers.'

WILLIAM FAREL.

THERE *are diversities of gifts* (says the apostle) *but it is the same Spirit*: And this Spirit *divideth to every man severally as he will.* GOD useth all sorts of means

for the accomplishment of his work, to shew us, that all means are in his hand: And he suffers many persons to come within the sound and compass of them, who are not in the least affected by them, to demonstrate, that not all the means in the world can have any efficacy, without the concurrence of his divine power. He uses sometimes soft and lenient methods, and sometimes cutting and severe. To some souls he blesses the gentle persuasives and comforts of a Barnabas; while to others he succeeds the vehemence and thunder of a Boanerges, to awaken them from their sins, and to drive them from ruin.

Of this latter kind was WILLIAM FAREL, the subject of the present article. This learned minister of the Protestant church, and most intrepid Reformer, was the son of a gentleman of Dauphiny in France, and was born at Gap, in the year 1489. He studied philosophy and the Greek and Hebrew tongues at Paris with great success, and was for some time a teacher in the college of cardinal Le Moine. Briconnet bishop of Meaux, who being inclined to the Reformed religion, invited him to preach in his diocese in the year 1521; but the persecution, raised there against those that were styled *heretics*, in the year 1523, obliged him to seek his security out of France. He retired to Strasburg, where Bucer and Capito readily admitted him as a brother; and he was afterwards received as such by Zuinglius at Zurich, by Haller at Berne, and by Oecolampadius at Basil *.' As he was thought a very proper man for the purpose, he was advised to undertake the Reformation of religion at Montbellecard, in which design he was supported by the duke of Wittenberg, who was lord of that place; and he succeeded in it most happily. He was a man of the most lively zeal, which however he tempered a little according to Oecolampadius's advice. A remarkable instance of this warmth is recorded of him, which however we

* At Basil, in 1524, Farel proposed several theses for public disputations, among which were the following:

"That Christ hath prescribed for us a perfect rule of life.

"That the commands of Christ are to be obeyed; among which it is "ordained, that they, who have not the gift of continence, should marry.

"That long and wordy prayers are dangerous, and contrary to the "precept of Christ.

"That he, who believes that he shall be saved and justified by his own "righteousness and strength, makes himself God.

"That such sacrifices, as the Holy Ghost prescribes, are to be offered to "God alone."

we do not pretend to justify. Once on a procession-day, he pulled out of the priest's hand the image of St Anthony, and threw it from a bridge into the river: It is a wonder he was not torn to pieces by the mob. Erasmus did by no means like Farel's temper, as appears from what he wrote of him to the official of Berançon. 'You have '(says he,) in your neighbourhood the new evangelist 'Farel; than whom I never saw a man more false, more 'virulent, more seditious.' He has given a frightful character of him elsewhere, and even descended to the meanness of giving him a nick-name. But he thought Farel had abused him in some of his writings, and therefore, is not to be altogether believed in every thing he says of him. Farel was *blunt;* but Erasmus could *trim* and walk in so fine a line between error and truth, that it required a considerable share of penetration to discern sometimes to which he belonged.

In the year 1528, he had the same success in promoting the Reformation in the city of Aigle, and soon after in the bailiwick of Morat. He went afterwards to Neufchatel, in the year 1529, and disputed against the Roman catholic party with so much power, that this city embraced the Reformed religion, and established it entirely on the fourth of November, 1530. He was sent a deputy to the synod of Waldenses, held in the valley of Angrogne. Hence he went to Geneva, where he and Viret laboured against popery: But the grand vicar, and the other clergy resisted him with so much fury, that he was obliged to retire. He was called back in the year 1534, by the inhabitants, who had then renounced the Roman catholic religion: And he was the chief person that procured the perfect abolition of popery in the next year. Added to this, he was the great means of fixing Calvin at Geneva, where neither of them met with that gratitude and affection which they both deserved; for,

In the year 1538, he was banished with his great friend Calvin from Geneva, and retired to Basil, and afterwards to Neufchatel, where there was great probability of a large evangelical harvest. From thence he went to Metz, but had a thousand difficulties to struggle with, and at length was obliged to retire into the abbey of Gorze, where the count of Furstemberg protected him and the new converts. But they could not continue there long; for they were presently besieged in the abbey, and obliged at last to surrender, upon a capitulation. Farel very happily escaped, though strict search was made after him, having been put

in a cart among the sick and infirm. He took upon him his former functions of a minister at Neufchatel, whence he took now and then a journey to Geneva. He went to Geneva in the year 1564, to take his last leave of Calvin, who was dangerously ill. He took a second journey to Metz in the year 1565, being invited by his ancient flock, to come and see the fruits of the seed, which he had sown in their hearts. He returned to Neufchatel, and died there the thirteenth of September in the same year, and in the seventy-sixth of his age, having survived his good friend Calvin not more, (say some,) than eleven months, but, according to Melchior Adam, one year, three months, and fourteen days.

He married at the age of sixty-nine, and left a son, who was then but one year old, and who survived him but three years. Though he was far better qualified to preach than to write books, yet he was the author of some few pieces. The difficulties this minister underwent in promoting the Reformation, and the courage he shewed in surmounting them all, are almost incredible. He was to be bent by no difficulties, affrighted by no threats, and overcome by no malice, that men or devils could give him. Yet with all this invincible courage, he was not only remarkable for his piety, learning and innocency of life, but the most exemplary and unassuming modesty. He had an extraordinary presence of mind, great ardour and force of expression, insomuch that, says Melchior Adam, 'he seemed rather to thunder, than to speak.' And he possessed such a wonderful gift of prayer, that he not only appeared wrapt up himself with the life of heaven, but lifted up the hearts of his audience thither. He was often surrounded with drawn swords: Bells were rung to prevent his being heard; but in vain: They could neither interrupt nor terrify the preacher. And when they haled him before the magistrates, and it was inquired of him, 'by whose command and desire he presumed to preach;' he answered, with his usual intrepidity,—*by the command of Christ, and the desire of his members;* and then went to defend himself in a manner, they could answer in no better form than by persecution. His marriage was thought very strange, and out of season, by his friends: But he was not at a loss for arguments, to make them approve of it. He married, as it is said, for the sake of an help-mate in his old age: He married to shew, that a state of celibacy is neither meritorious nor satisfactory, as they of the Romish church assert: And he

From a Drawing in the Poſſeſſion of D^r. Gifford.

he married to prove, that the grace of a perpetual continency is neither given to all, nor for ever.

He published only some disputations, which he had held at Basil and Bern; being, as we observed before, much more considerable as a preacher than a writer.

MILES COVERDALE,

BISHOP OF EXETER.

THIS pious Reformer was born in Yorkshire, in the reign of Henry VIII. and being educated in the Romish religion, became an Augustine monk. He took his doctor's degree at Tubingen in Germany, and was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge. By GOD's grace embracing the Reformation, he entered into holy orders; and, as Bale tells us, he was one of the first, who, upon the delivery of the church of England from the see of Rome, together with Dr Robert Barnes, taught the purity of the gospel, and dedicated himself wholly to the service of the Reformed religion. He assisted Tindale and Rogers in the English version of the Bible, published in the years 1532 and 1537, which he afterwards revised and corrected for another edition in a larger volume, with notes, which was printed in or about the year 1540. Dr Coverdale succeeded Dr John Harman, alias Voysey, in the see of Exeter, August the fourteenth, in the year 1551, being promoted *propter singularem sacrarum literarum doctrinam, moresque probatissimos*; i. e. 'on account of his extraordinary knowledge in divinity, and his unblemished character.' The patent for conferring this bishopric on him, though a married man, is dated August 14th, 1551, at Westminster. Upon the accession of Q. Mary to the throne, bishop Coverdale was ejected from his see, and thrown into prison; out of which he was released at the earnest request of the King of Denmark, and, as a very great favour, permitted to go into banishment. In his confinement, he was one of those who signed the famous confession of faith, which we have given our Readers in the first volume, under the article of *Ferrar*. Upon this ejection, Harman was reinstated. Soon after Q. Elizabeth's

accession to the throne, he returned from his exile, but refused to be restored to his bishopric, and passed the remainder of his time in a private manner. He died May 20, 1567, in a good old age, viz. at the age of eighty-one, at London, and lies buried in the church of St Bartholomew by the Exchange, attended to his grave by vast crouds of people. He was a celebrated preacher, justly admired, and very much followed.

He was Author of several TRACTS. He wrote, 1. "The Christen Rule, or State of all the Worlde from the highest to the lowest: and how every Man Shulde lyve to please God in his callynge. 2. The Christen State of Matrymonye, wherein Husbandes and Wyfes maye lerne to keepe House together with Loue. The original of holy Wedloke; when, where, how, and of whom it was instituted and ordeyned; what it is; how it oughte to proccade; what be the occasions, frute, and commodities thereof: contrarywyse how shamefull and horrible a thing Whoredome and Aduoutry [Adultery] is; how one ought also to chose hym a mete and convenient Spouse to keep and increace the mutual Loue, Trouth and Dewtye of Wedloke; and how maried Folkes shulde bring up theyer Chyldren in the Feare of God. 3. A Christen Exhortation to customable Swearers. What a ryghte and lawfull Othe is; whan, and before whome it oughte to be. 4. The Maner of sayenge Grace, or gyvyng Thankes to God, after the Doctrine of Holy Scrypture. 5. The old Fayth: an evident Probacion out of the Holy Scrypture, that the Christen Fayth (which is the ryghte, true, olde, and undoubted Fayth) hath endured sens the beginnyng of the Worlde. Herein hast thou also a short summe of the whole Byble, and a Probacion, that al vertuous Men have pleased God, and wer saved through the Christen Fayth. These pieces are printed together in a small *duodecimo*, and a black letter, in the year 1547. 6. A faythfull and true Prognostication upon the year M.CCCC.xlix. and parpetualy after to the Worldes Ende, gathered out of the Prophecies and Scryptures of God, by the Experience and Practice of hys Workes, very comfortable for all Christen Hertes; divided into Seven Chapters. 7. A spirituall Almanacke, wherein every Christen Man and Woman may see what they oughte daylye to do, or leaue undone. Not after the Doctrine of the Papistes, not after the Lernynge of Ptolomy, or other Heythen Astronomers, but out of the very true and wholsome Doctryne of God our Almyghty heavenly Father,

From an Original Picture

ther, shewed unto us in his holy Worde by his Prophets, Apostels, but specyally by his dere Sonne Jesus Christ: and is to be kept not only this newe Yeare, but contynualy unto the Daye of the Lorde's coming agayne. These two were printed in a thin *duodecimo*, and a black letter, at London, by Richard Kele, dwellynge at the longe Shoppe in the Poultry under Saynt Myldred's church, *cum privelegio ad imprimendum solum.* Bale ascribes some other pieces to our author; particularly, a Confutation of John Standish, a Tract on the Lord's Supper, a Concordance to the New Testament, a Christian Catechism, and some Translations from Bullinger, Luther, Osiander, Johannes Campensis and Erasmus."

JOHN JEWEL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

THIS great man was born on the twenty-fourth of May, in the year of our Lord, 1522, at Buden, in the parish of Berinber, in the county of Devon; and, though a younger brother, inherited his father's name. His mother's name was Bellamy; and he had so great an esteem for it and her, that he engraved it on his signet, and had it always imprinted on his heart; a lasting testimony both of her virtue and of her kindness to him.

His father was a gentleman descended rather of an ancient and good, than very rich family. It is observed, that his ancestors had enjoyed that estate for almost two hundred years before the birth of this great man. And yet such was the number of his children, that it is no wonder if this, when young, wanted the assistance of good men for the promoting of his studies; for it is said his father left ten children between sons and daughters behind him.

This John Jewel proving a lad of pregnant parts, and of a sweet and industrious nature and temper, was from his youth dedicated to learning; and with great care cultivated by his parents and masters, which he took so well, that at the entrance of the thirteenth year of his age, about the feast of St James, he was admitted in Merton-college

in Oxford, under one Mr Peter Burrey, a man neither of any great learning, nor much addicted to the Reformation, which then (in the reign of Henry VIII.) went on but slowly, and with much irregularity in its motions. But we are, however, obliged to his first tutor for this, that he committed Mr Jewel to Mr John Parkhurst, a fellow of the same college, and afterwards first minister of Cleave, and then Bishop of Norwich, who was a man both of more learning and of a better faith; and prudently instilled, together with his other learning, those excellent principles into this young gentleman, which afterwards made him the darling and wonder of his age.

During his continuance in this college, a plague happening in Oxford, he removed to a place called Croxham, where being lodged in a low room, and studying hard in the night, he got a lameness by a cold which attended him to his grave; having spent almost four years in this college, the nineteenth of August, A. D. 1539, the one and thirtieth of Henry VIII. in the seventeenth year of his age, he was, by the procurement of one Mr Slater, and Mr Burrey and Mr Parkhurst, his two tutors, removed into Corpus Christi-college in the same university, where, I suppose, he met with something of an encouragement; but it is much more certain he met with envy from his equals, who often suppressed his ingenious exercises, and read others that were more like their own.

The twentieth day of October in the following year, he took his first degree of bachelor of arts, with a great and general applause; when he prosecuted his studies with more vigour than before, beginning them at four in the morning, and continued them till ten at night, so that he seemed to need somebody to put him in mind of eating.

Being now attained to a great reputation for learning, he began to instruct others, and, among the rest, Anthony Parkhurst was committed to his care by Mr John Parkhurst his tutor, which was a great argument of his uncommon worth and industry.

Being thus employed, he was chosen reader of humanity and rhetoric, of his own college, and he managed this place seven years with great applause and honour. His example taught more than any precepts could; for he was a great admirer of Horace and Cicero, and read all Erasmus's works, and imitated them too, for it was his custom to write something every day; and it was his common saying, that men "acquired more learning by a "frequent exercising their pens, than by reading many "books."

"books." He affected ever rather to express himself fluently, neatly, and with great weight of argument and strength of reason, than in hunting after the flowers of rhetoric, and the cadences of words, though he understood them, no man better, and wrote a dialogue in which he comprehended the sum of the art of rhetoric.

The ninth of February, 1544, he commenced master of arts, the charge of it being borne by his good tutor Mr Parkhurst, who had then the rich rectory of Cleve, in the diocese of Gloucester, which is of better value than some of our smaller bishoprics. Nor was this the only instance whereby he partook of this good man's bounty, for he used twice or thrice in a year to invite him to his house, and not dismiss him without presents, money, and other things, that were necessary for the carrying on his studies. And one time above the rest, coming into his chamber in the morning, when he was to go back to the university, he seized upon his and his companions purses, saying, 'What money, I wonder, have these miserable 'beggarly Oxonians?' And finding them all very empty, he stuffed them with money, till they became sufficiently weighty.

Edward VI. succeeding his father on the twenty-eighth of July, 1546, the Reformation went on more regularly and swiftly, and Peter Martyr being by that prince called out of Germany, and made professor of divinity at Oxford, Mr Jewel was one of his most constant hearers; and by the help of characters, which he had invented for his own use, took all his lectures almost as perfectly as he spoke them.

About this time, one Dr Richard Smith, predecessor to Peter Martyr in that chair at Oxford, who was more a sophister than a divine, made an insult upon Peter Martyr, and interrupted him publicly and unexpectedly in his lecture: The German was not to be baffled by a surprise, but *extempore* recollected his lecture, and defended it with great presence of mind; the two parties in the schools being just upon the point of a tumult, the Protestants for the present professor, and the Papists for the old one.

Peter Martyr, nettled with this affront, (which happened on the twenty-eighth of May, 1549) challenged Smith to dispute with him publicly, and appointed him a day: But Smith, fearing to be called in question for this uproar, fled before the time to St Andrews in Scotland. But then Thresham and Chadsy, two popish doctors, and one Morgan, entered the lists against Peter Martyr, and there

there was a very sharp, but regular dispute betwixt them concerning the Lord's-Supper. And Mr Jewel, having then a large share in Peter Martyr's affections, was by him appointed to take the whole disputation in writing, which was printed in the year 1549. For the regulating this disputation, the council sent to Oxford, Henry bishop of Lincoln, Dr R. Cox, chancellor of that university, Dr Simon Haines, Richard Morison, Esq. and Dr Christopher Nevison, commissioners and moderators.

In the year 1551, Mr Jewel took his degree of bachelor of divinity, when he preached an excellent Latin sermon, which is extant almost perfect; taking for his text the words of St Peter, 1 Pet. iv. 11. *If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God*, &c. Upon which words he raised such excellent doctrines, and made such wise and holy reflections in so pure and elegant a style, as convinced every body of his great ability and deserts.

About the same time, Mr Jewel took a small living near Oxford called Sunningwell, more out of a desire to do good, than for the salary, which was but small; whither he went once a fortnight on foot, though he was lame, and it was troublesome to him to walk; and at the same time preached frequently both privately in his own college, and publicly in the university.

Besides his old friend Mr Parkhurst, amongst others, one Mr Curtop a fellow of the same college, afterwards canon of Christ-Church, allowed him forty shillings a year, which was a considerable sum in those days; and one Mr Chambers, who was entrusted with distributing the charity of some Londoners to the poor scholars of Oxford, allowed Mr Jewel out of it six pounds a year for books.

Edward VI. dying on the sixth of July, in the year 1553, and Q. Mary succeeding him, and being proclaimed the seventeenth of the same month, Jewel was one of the first that felt the fury of this tempest, and before any law was made, or so much as any order given by the queen, was expelled out of the college by the fellows, upon their private authority, who had nothing to object against him, but, 1. His following Peter Martyr. 2. His preaching some doctrines contrary to Popery. 3. And his taking orders according to the laws then in force: But Fuller in his Church History says, he was expelled for refusing to be present at mass. As for his life, it was acknowledged to be angelical and extremely honest, by John Moren, a fellow of the same college; who yet, at the same time,

time, could not forbear calling him Lutheran, Zuinglian, and heretic. He took his leave of the college in these words, as near as I can render them in English.

"In my last lectures I have, (said he,) imitated the "custom of famished men, who when they see their meat "likely to be suddenly and unexpectedly snatched from "them, devour it with the greater haste and greediness. "For whereas I intended thus to put an end to my lec- "tures, and perceived that I was like forthwith to be "silenced, I made no scruple to entertain you (contrary "to my former usage) with much unpleasant and ill "dressed discourse; for I see I have incurred the displea- "sure and hatred of some, but whether deservedly or no, "I shall leave to their consideration; for I am persuaded "that those, who have driven me from hence, would "not suffer me to live any where if it were in their power. "But as for me, I willingly yield to the times, and if "they can derive to themselves any satisfaction from my "calamity, I would not hinder them from it. But as "Aristides, when he went into exile and forsook his "country, prayed that they might never more think of "him; so I beseech God to grant the same to my fellow "collegians; and what can they wish for more? Pardon "me, my hearers, if grief has seized me, being to be "torn from that place against my will, where I have "passed the first part of my life, where I have lived plea- "santly, and been in some honour and employment. "But why do I thus delay to put an end to my misery "by one word? Wo is me, that (as with my extreme "sorrow and resentment I at last speak it) I must say fare- "well my studies, farewell to these beloved houses, fare- "well thou pleasant seat of learning, farewell to the "most delightful conversation with you, farewell young "men, farewell lads, farewell fellows, farewell brethren, "farewell ye beloved as my eyes, farewell ALL; fare- "well!"

Thus did he take his leave of his lecture, fellowship, and college, and was reduced at one blow to great poverty and desertion: But he found for some time a place of harbour in Broadgates-Hall, another college in the same university. Here he met with some short gleams of comfort; for the university of Oxford more kind than his college, and to alleviate the miseries of his shipwrecked estate, chose him to be her orator, in which capacity he curiously penned a gratulatory letter or address (as the term now is) to the queen, on the behalf and in the name of

of the university, expressing in it the countenance of the Roman senators in the beginning of Tiberius's reign, exquisitely tempered and composed, to keep out joy and sadness, which both strove at the same time to display their colours in it; the one for dead Augustus, the other for reigning Tiberius. And upon the assurance of several of her nobles, that the queen would not change the established religion, expressing some hopes she would abide by this assurance, which was confirmed then to them by the promise the queen had made to the Suffolk and Norfolk gentry, who had rescued her out of the very jaws of ruin. Fuller says, that the writing this letter was put upon him with a design to ruin him, but there is not the least colour for this surmise; he being so very lately, seasonably and kindly chosen orator, when he was so injuriously expelled out of his own college; but it is much more probable the sweetness, smoothness, and briskness of his style, was both the reason why he was chosen orator first, and then employed to pen this letter. The sum or heads of which are in Mr Laurence Humfrey's life of Jewel: But there is no entire copy extant.

It is observed by the last-mentioned author, that whilst Jewel was reading this letter to Dr Tresham, vice-chancellor, the great bell of Christ-Church, which this doctor having caused to be new hung a few days before, had christened by the name of Mary, tolled, and that hearing her pleasant voice now call him to his beloved mass, he burst out into an exclamation, 'O delicate and sweet harmony! O beautiful Mary, how musically she sounds, how strangely she pleaseth my ears!' So Mr Jewel's sweet pen was forced to give way to the more acceptable tinkling of this new lady. And we may easily conjecture how the poor man took it.

Being ejected out of all he had, he became obnoxious to the insolence and pride of all his enemies, which he endeavoured to allay by humility and compliance, which yet could not mitigate their rage and fury; but rather, in all probability, heightened their malice, and drew more affronts upon the meek man. But amongst all his enemies, none sought his ruin more eagerly than Dr Marshal, dean of Christ-Christ, who had changed his religion now twice already; and did twice or thrice more in the reign of Q. Elizabeth: He having neither conscience nor religion of his own, was very desirous to make Jewel's conscience or life a papal sacrifice.

In

In order to this, he sends to Jewel by the Inquisitors a bead-roll of popish doctrines to be subscribed by him upon pain of fire and faggot, and other grievous tortures; the poor man having neither friend nor time allowed him to consult with, took the pen in his hand, and saying, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" subscribed his name hastily, though with great reluctance.

But this no way mitigated the rage of his enemies against him; they knew his great love to, and familiarity with Peter Martyr, and nothing less than his life would satisfy these blood-hounds, of which turn-coat Marshal was the fiercest: So being forsaken by his friends for this his sinful compliance, and still pursued like a wounded deer by his enemies; but more exagitated by the inward remorses and reproaches of his own conscience, he resolved at last to flee for his life.

And it was but time; for if he had staid but one night longer, or gone the direct way to London, he had perished by their fury: One Augustin Berner, a Switzer, first a servant to bishop Latimer, and afterwards a minister, found him lying upon the ground almost dead with vexation, weariness, (for this lame man was forced to make his escape on foot,) and cold, and setting him upon an horse, conveyed him to the lady Ann Warcupps, a widow, who entertained him for some time, and then sent him up to London, where he was in more safety.

Having twice or thrice changed his lodgings in London, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a great minister of state in those times, furnished him with money for his journey, and procured him a ship for his transportation beyond the seas. And well it had been if he had gone sooner; but his friend Mr Parkhurst hearing of the restoring of the mass, fled forthwith; and poor Mr Jewel knowing nothing of it, went to Cleve, in Gloucestershire, to beg his advice and assistance, being almost killed by his long journey on foot in bitter cold and snowy weather, and being forced at last to return to Oxford, more dejected and confounded in his thoughts than he went out; which miseries were the occasions of his fall, as God's mercy was the procurer both of his escape and recovery.

For being once arrived at Francfort in the beginning of the second year of Q. Mary's reign, he found there Mr Richard Chambers, his old benefactor, Dr Robert Horne, afterwards bishop of Winchester, Dr Sandys, bishop of London, Sir Francis Knollys, a privy-counsellor, and afterwards lord-treasurer, and his eldest son, &c. these received

received Jewel with the more kindness, because he came unexpectedly and unhoped for, and advised him to make a public recantation of his subscription; which he willingly did in the pulpit the next Lord's day in these words: "It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint "heart, that made my weak hand to commit this wicked-"ness." Which when he had uttered as well as he could for tears and sighs, he applied himself in a fervent prayer, first to God Almighty for his pardon, and afterwards to the church; the whole auditory accompanying him with tears and sighs, and ever after esteeming him more for his ingenuous repentance, than they would, perhaps, have done if he had not fallen.

It is an easy thing for those, that were never tried, to censure the frailty of those that have truckled for some time under the shock of a mighty temptation; but let such remember St Paul's advice: *Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.* Mr Jewel had not been long at Francfort, before Peter Martyr hearing of it, often solicited him to come to Strasburg, where he was now settled and provided for; and all things considered, a wonder it is that he [Martyr] did not perish in England; for there was no person more openly aimed at than he, because none of them had given wider wounds than he to the Roman Catholic cause. One Tresham, a senior canon of Christ-church, who had held some points against him at his first coming thither, now took the benefit of the times to be revenged on him, and incited those of Christ-Church and of other houses to affront him publicly. So that not finding any safety at Oxford, he retired to Lambeth to Cranmer, where he was sure of as much as the place could afford him. A consultation had been held by some of the more fiery spirits, for his commitment into prison. But he came thither, as was well known, on the public faith, which was not to be violated for the satisfaction of some private persons. It was thought fit therefore to discharge him of all further employment, and to license him to depart in peace: None being more forward to furnish him with all things for his going hence than the new lord chancellor bishop Gardiner, whether in honour to his learning, or out of a desire to send him packing, shall not now be questioned. Peter Martyr also helped himself, for he would not go without the queen's passport and leave, and when he had it, concealed himself fourteen days on the English coast, then privately took ship, and arrived at Antwerp in the night, and before day took coach, and so got

got safe to Strasburg the thirtieth of October, 1553. But less humanity was shewed to him in his wife, whose body having been buried in the church of St Frideswide, was afterwards by public order taken out of the grave and buried in a common dunghill. But in the reign of Q. Elizabeth she was again removed as may be seen in the former volume under Martyr's life. And the truth is, the queen, who was a bigotted papist, and too much priest-ridden, breaking not only her promise to the men of Suffolk, who had stood by her in her greatest necessity, and treating them with extreme severity but for challenging the performance of her promise; one Dobbe who had spoken more boldly than the rest, being ordered to stand three days in the pillory; but also her more solemn engagement made the twelfth of August, 1553, in the council; that although her conscience was settled in the matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others, otherwise than as GOD should put into their hearts a persuasion of that truth she was in; and this she hoped should be done by the opening his word to them, by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers: I say, considering how ill she kept her promise to her own subjects, it is a wonder she should keep the faith given to this stranger in her brother's reign, and not by her; and I conceive no reason can be given for this, but the over-ruling providence of GOD, who governs the hearts of princes as he thinks fit.

But well it was for Mr Jewel, that there he was; and as much of Mr Jewel's sufferings in England had been occasioned by his great respects he had shewn to Peter Martyr whilst he lived at Oxford: So now Peter Martyr never left soliciting him, (as I said,) to come to him to Strasburg till he prevailed, where he took him to his own table and kept him always with him. And here Mr Jewel was very serviceable to him in his edition of his Commentaries upon the book of Judges, which were all transcribed for the press by him; and he used also to read every day some part of a father to him, and for the most part St Augustine, with which father they were both much delighted.

At Strasburg Mr Jewel found J. Ponet, late bishop of Winchester, Edmund Grindal, afterwards archbishop of York, Sir Edwin Sandys, J. Cheeke, and Sir Anthony Coke, knight, and several other great men of the English nation, who were fled thither for their religion. And with these he was in great esteem, which opened a way for his preferment upon his return into England after the storm was over.

Peter

Peter Martyr, having been a long time solicited by the senate of Zurick to go thither and take upon him the place of professor of Hebrew, and interpreter of the Scriptures, in the place of Conrade Pellican, who was almost the first professor of Hebrew in Christendom, and died about this time near an hundred years of age; at last accepted the office, and carried Mr Jewel with him to Zurick, where he lived still with Peter Martyr in his own family. Here he found James Pilkington, bishop of Durham, and several others, who were maintained by the procurement of Richard Chambers, but out of the purses of Mr Richard Springham, Mr John Abel, Mr Thomas Eton, merchants of London, and several others; till at last Gardiner, finding who were their benefactors, threatened he would in a short time make them eat their finger-ends for hunger: And it was sore against his will that he proved a false prophet, for he clapt up so many of their benefactors in England, that after this there came but a small if any supply out of England to them. But then Christopher, prince of Wittenberg, and the senators of Zurick, and the foreign divines, were so kind to them, that they had still a tolerable subsistence; and Mr Jewel stood in need of the less, because he lived with Peter Martyr till his return into England.

During all the time of his exile, which was about four years, he studied very hard, and spent the rest of his time in comforting and confirming his brethren; for he would frequently tell them, that when their brethren endured such bitter tortures and horrible martyrdoms at home, it was most reasonable they should expect to fare deliciously in banishment, concluding always; *Hæc non durabunt ætatem*; "These things will not last an age." Which he repeated so very often, and with so great an assurance of mind, that it would be so; that many believed it before it came to pass, and more took it for a prophetic sentence afterwards.

Accordingly, on the seventeenth of November, 1558. GOD remembered the distressed state of the church of England, and put an end to her sufferings, by removing the bigotted Q. Mary; the news of which flying speedily to our exiles, they hasted into England again, to congratulate the succession of Q. Elizabeth, of ever blessed memory.

His good benefactor and tutor Mr Parkhurst, upon the arrival of this news, made him a visit in Germany; but fearing Mr Jewel had not chosen the safest way for his return

return to England, left him and went another way, which seeming more safe, in the end proved otherwise. Mr Jewel arriving safely in England with what he had, whilst the other was robbed by the way; and so at his landing in England, Mr Jewel (who was here before him), very gratefully relieved his great benefactor.

The time of Mr Jewel's arrival in England is no where expressed that I can find, but he being then at Zurick in all probability, was for that cause none of the first that returned; so that when he came back, he had the comfort to find all things well disposed, for the reception of the Reformation; for the queen had by a proclamation of the thirtieth of December, 1558, ordered that no man, of what quality soever he were, should presume to alter any thing in the state of religion, or innovate in any of the rites and ceremonies thereunto belonging, &c. until some further order should be taken therein. Only it was permitted, and withal required, that the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, should be said in the English tongue, and that the epistle and gospel should be read in English at the time of the high mass; which was done, (saith Dr Heylyn,) in all the churches of London, on the next Sunday after, being New-Year's-day; and by degrees in all the other churches of the kingdom: Further than this, she thought it not convenient to proceed at the present, only she prohibited the elevation of the sacrament at the altar of the chapel royal: Which was likewise forborne in all other churches: And she set at liberty all that had been imprisoned for religion in her sister's time, and ordered the liturgy to be revised with great care, and that a parliament should be summoned to sit at Westminster the twenty-fifth of January, 1559.

All this I suppose at least happened before Mr Jewel returned into England; for whether he was here at the coronation is uncertain. He was entertained first by Mr Nicholas Culverwell for almost six months, and then falling into a sickness, was invited, by Dr William Thames, to lodge at his house; but this was after the parliament.

The liturgy being then reviewed, and whatever might give the popish party any unnecessary exasperation or discontent purged out, in order to the facilitating the passing an act of parliament for the settling it, and the establishment of other things that were necessary, a public disputation was appointed on the thirtieth of March following, to be holden in the church of Westminster, in the English tongue, in the presence of as many of the lords of the

council, and of the members of both houses, as were desirous to inform themselves in the state of the questions. The disputation was also to be managed, (for the better avoiding of confusion,) by a mutual interchange of writings upon every point; each writing to be answered the next day, and so from day to day till the whole were ended. To all which the bishops at first consented, though they would not afterwards stand to it. The questions were three, concerning prayers in the vulgar tongue, the power of the church, for the changing rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass for the living and the dead.

The first use that was made of Mr Jewel after his return, was the nominating him one of the disputants for the Reformed party; and though he was the last in number and place, yet he was not the least either in desert or esteem, having made great additions to his former learning in his four years exile and travel: Which is a great improvement to ingenious spirits. But this disputation was broken off by the popish party, who would not stand to the order appointed; so that Mr Jewel in all probability had no occasion to shew either his zeal or learning. The whole process of this affair is related by Fox in his Acts and Monuments.

The parliament ended the eighth of May, 1559, and by virtue of an act passed in this parliament, soon after midsummer, the queen made a visitation of all the dioceses in England, by commissioners, for rectifying all such things as they found amiss, and could not be redressed by any ordinary episcopal power, without spending more time than the exigencies of the church could then admit of. And this was done by a book of articles printed for that purpose, and the inquiry was made upon oath by the commissioners. Here Mr Jewel was taken in again, and made one of these commissioners for the west. When he visited his own native country, (which till then perhaps he had not seen since his return from exile,) he preached and disputed with his countrymen, and endeavoured more to win them to embrace the Reformation by good usage, civility, and reason, than to terrify or awe them by that great authority the queen had armed him and his fellow-commissioners with.

Returning back to London, and giving the queen a good and satisfactory account of their visitation, the twenty-first of January, Mr Jewel, who was then only bachelor of divinity, was consecrated bishop of Salisbury, which he

he at first modestly declined, but at last accepted in obedience to the queen's command. This see had been void by the death of John Capon, his immediate predecessor, who died in the year 1557, now near three years. And here the divine providence again gave him the advantage in point of seniority over his tutor Mr John Parkhurst, who was not consecrated bishop of Norwich till the fourteenth of July after; but then his tutor had the advantage of him in point of revenue, for Mr Jewel's bishopric had been miserably impoverished by his predecessor; so that he complained afterwards, that there was never a good living left him that would maintain a learned man; for, said he, the Capon has devoured all: Because he hath either given away or sold all the ecclesiastical dignities and livings.

The Sunday before Easter of this year, bishop Jewel preached at Paul's Cross, his famous sermon upon the 1 Cor. xi. 23. *For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, &c.* This sermon gave a fatal blow to the popish religion here in England, which was become very odious to all men, by reason of the barbarous cruelty used by those of that persuasion in the reign of Q. Mary; but the challenge which he then made, and afterwards several times and in several places repeated, was the most stinging part of this sermon, and therefore, though I am concerned to be as short as I can, yet I will insert this famous piece at large.

"If any learned man of our adversaries, (said he,) "or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring "any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic "doctor, or father, or general council, or holy scripture, "or any one example in the primitive church, whereby "it may clearly and plainly be proved during the first six "hundred years; 1. That there was at any time any pri-"vate masses in the world. 2. Or that there was then "any communion ministered unto the people under one "kind. 3. Or that the people had their common-prayer "in a strange tongue that the people understood not. 4. "Or that the bishop of Rome was then called an universal "bishop, or the head of the universal church. 5. Or "that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's "body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or "naturally, in the sacrament. 6. Or that his body is or "may be in a thousand places or more at one time. 7. "Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over

" his head. 8. Or that the people did then fall down " and worship it with godly honour. 9. Or that the " sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up " under a canopy. 10. Or that in the sacrament after " the words of consecration, there remained only the ac- " cidents and shews, without the substance of bread and " wine. 11. Or, that then the priests divided the sacra- " ment in three parts, and afterwards received himself " alone. 12. Or that whosoever had said the sacrament " is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of " Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged for an he- " retic. 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, " twenty, fifteeen, ten, or five masses said in the same " church in one day. 14. Or that images were then set " up in the churches, to the intent the people might wor- " ship them. 15. Or that the lay-people were then for- " bidden to read the word of GOD in their own tongue. " 16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pro- " nounce the words of consecration closely, or in private " to himself. 17. Or that the priest had then authority " to offer up Christ unto his Father. 18. Or to com- " municate and receive the sacrament for another, as they " do. 19. Or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and " passion to any man by the means of the mass. 20. Or " that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the " people, that mass, *ex opere operato*, (that is, upon ac- " count of the work wrought,) is able to remove any " part of our sin. 21. Or that any Christian man called " the sacrament of the Lord, his GOD. 22. Or that the " people were then taught to believe, that the body of " Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the acci- " dents of bread and wine remain there without corrup- " tion. 23. Or that a mouse, or any other worm or beast, " may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our adver- " saries have said and taught). 24. Or that when Christ " said, *hoc est corpus meum*, the word *hoc* pointed not to " the bread, but to an *individuum vagum*, as some of " them say. 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or shews " of bread and wine be the sacraments of Christ's body " and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself. " 26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body " of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it. 27. Or that " ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion. The " conclusion is, that I shall then be content to yield and " subscribe."

This

This challenge, being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the English Papists both at home and abroad, but none more than such of our fugitives as had retired to Lovain, Doway, or St Omers, in the Low-country Provinces, belonging to the king of Spain. The business was first agitated by the exchange of friendly letters betwixt the said reverend prelate and Dr Henry Cole, the late dean of St Paul's; more violently followed in a book of Rastal's, who first appeared in the lists against the challenger, followed herein by Dorman and Marshal, who severally took up the cudgels to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by Nowel, and the last by Calfhill, in their Discourses writ against them; but they were only velitations, or preparatory skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the reverend challenger himself, and Dr John Harding, one of the divines of Lovain, and the most learned of the college. The combatants were born in the same country, bred up in the same grammar-school, and studied in the same university. Both zealous Protestants in the time of K. Edward, and both relapsed to Popery in the time of Q. Mary; Jewel for fear, and Harding upon hope of favour and preferment. But Jewel's fall may be compared to that of St Peter, which was short and sudden, rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than before he was: But Harding's like to that of the other Simon, premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again (so much was there within him of the gall of bitterness) to his former standing. But some former differences had been between them in the church of Salisbury, of which the one was prebendary, and the other bishop, occasioned by the bishop's visitation of that cathedral; in which as Harding had the worst, so was it a presage of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter. Who had the better of the day, will easily appear to any that consults the writings, by which it will be seen how much the bishop was too hard for him at all manner of weapons. Whose learned answers, as well in maintenance of his challenge, as in defence of his apology, contain in them such a magazine of all sorts of learning, that all our controversors since that time have furnished themselves with arguments and authority from it.

When Q. Mary died, Paul IV. was pope, to whom Q. Elizabeth sent an account of her coming to the crown, which was delivered by Sir Edward Karn, her sister's resident at Rome; to which the angry gentleman replied, That

England was held in fee of the apostolic see, that she could not succeed being illegitimate; nor could he contradict the declarations made in that manner by his predecessors Clement VII. and Paul III. He said it was a great boldness in her, to assume the crown without his consent; for which in reason she deserved no favour at his hands; yet if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her, and do every thing for her that could consist with the dignity of the apostolic see. Which answer being hastily and passionately made, was as little regarded by the queen. But he dying soon after, Pius IV. an abler man, succeeded; and he was for gaining the queen by arts and kindness; to which end he sent Vincent Parapalia, abbot of St Saviours, with courteous letters to her, dated May 5, 1560, with order to make large proffers to her under hand; but the queen had rejected the pope's authority by act of parliament, and would have nothing to do with Parapalia, nor would she suffer him to come into England. In the interim, the Pope had resolved to renew the council at Trent, and in the next year sent abbot Martiningo his nuncio to the queen, to invite her and her bishops to the council, and he accordingly came to Bruxells, and from thence sent over for leave to come into England: But though France and Spain interceded for his admission, yet the queen stood firm, and at the same time rejected a motion from the emperor Ferdinand, to return to the old religion, as he called it. Yet after all these denials given to so many and such potent princes, one Scipio, a gentleman of Venice, who formerly had had some acquaintance with bishop Jewel when he was a student in Padua, and had heard of Martiningo's ill success in this negociation, would needs spend some eloquence in labouring to obtain that point by his private letters, which the nuncio could not gain as a public minister; and to that end he writes his letters of Expostulation to bishop Jewel his old friend, preferred not long before to the see of Salisbury. Which letter did not long remain unanswered; that learned prelate was not so unstudied in the nature of councils, as not to know how little of a general council could be found at Trent: And therefore he returned an answer to the proposition, so elegantly penned, and so elaborately digested, that neither Scipio himself nor any other of that party durst reply to him. This was written some time after the apology was printed in England.

In

In the year 1562, bishop Jewel put out the Apology of the Church of England, in Latin; which though written by him, was published by the queen's authority, and with the advice of some of the bishops, as the public confession of the Catholic and Christian faith of the church of England, &c. and to give an account of the reasons of our departure from the see of Rome, and as an answer to those calumnies that were then raised against the English church and nation, for not submitting to the pretended general council of Trent then sitting. So that it is not to be esteemed as the private work of a single bishop, but as a public declaration of that church whose name it bears.

This apology being published during the very time of the last meeting of the council of Trent, was read there, and seriously considered, and great threats made that it should be answered; and accordingly two learned bishops, one a Spaniard and the other an Italian, undertook that task, but neither of them did any thing in it.

But in the mean time, the book spread into all the countries in Europe, and was much applauded in France, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden and Scotland; and found at least a passage into Italy, Naples, and Rome itself; and was soon after translated into the German, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, and at last into the Greek tongue; in so great esteem this book was abroad: And at home it was translated into English by the lady Bacon, wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal of England.

It very well deserves the character Mr Humfrey has given of it, whose words are these. 'It is so drawn, 'that the first part of it is an illustration, and as it were 'a paraphrase of the twelve articles of the Christian 'faith (or creed); the second is a short and solid confutation of whatever is objected against the church; if the 'order be considered, nothing can be better distributed; 'if the perspicuity, nothing can be fuller of light; if the 'style, nothing more terse; if the words, nothing more 'splendid; if the arguments, nothing stronger.'

The good bishop was most encouraged to publish this apology by Peter Martyr (as appears by Martyr's letter of the twenty-fourth of August) with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time in exile. But Martyr only lived to see the book which he so much longed for, dying at Zurick, on the twelfth day of November following, after he had paid his thanks for, and expressed his value of this piece in a letter which is subjoined.

In the year 1564, Mr Harding put out a pretended answer to bishop Jewel's famous challenge at Paul's Cross, mentioned above, to which, in the year following the bishop made a very learned reply, the epistle before which bears date at London the twenty-seventh of October of that year. The same year the university of Oxford gave him (though absent) the degree of doctor of divinity; and certainly he well deserved to have that extraordinary respect and honour shewn him, who was so eminently employed then in the service and defence of the church.

He had no sooner brought this to a conclusion, but Harding was again upon him, and put out an Antapology, or answer to his Apology for the Church of England. A defence of which the bishop forthwith began, which he finished, as appears by his epistle to Mr Harding at the end of it, the twenty-seventh of October, 1567.

The next year after, Mr Harding put out another piece, which he entitled, A Detection of sundry foul Errors, &c. which was a cavilling reply to some passages in his defence of the Apology; which not seeming to deserve an answer by itself; he answered rather by a preface to a new impression of his former defence, which he finished the eleventh of December, 1569, and dedicated his works to the queen; Harding having told the world, that she was offended with bishop Jewel for thus troubling the world.

The same year pope Pius IV. having published a bull of excommunication and deprivation against the queen; bishop Jewel undertook the defence of his sovereign, and wrote a learned examination and confutation of that bull; which was published by John Garbrand, an intimate acquaintance of his, together with a short treatise of the holy scriptures; both which, as he informs us, were delivered by the bishop in his cathedral church, in the year 1570.

Besides these, he wrote several other large pieces; as, 1. A Paraphrastical Interpretation of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the whole Year. 2. Diverse Treatises of the Sacraments and Exhortations to the Readers. 3. Expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and ten Commandments. And also, 4. An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Galatians; the first of St Peter, and both the Epistles to the Thessalonians; which I suppose were his sermons: For he was of opinion that it was a better way of teaching, to go through with a book, than to take here

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and there a text; and that it gave the people a more clear and lasting knowledge. For a sample of his style and doctrine, see the note below *.

In the beginning of the next year, viz. April 5, 1571, was a parliament, and consequently a convocation, when some who aimed at the Reformation of the church upon the model of Geneva, to the exclusion of episcopacy in the government of it, having alarmed the church by their oppositions to the established religion, it was thought fit to obviate their attempts; and thereupon command was given by the archbishop, That all such of the lower house of convocation, who had not formerly subscribed unto the articles of religion agreed upon in the year 1562, should subscribe them now; or on their absolute refusal, or delay, be expelled the house: This occasioned a general and personal subscription of those articles. And it was also farther ordered, that the book of articles so approved, should be put into print, by the appointment of the

* The extract is taken from his Exposition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, p. 143, 144. Lond. 161 .—"GOD hath chosen you from the "beginning His election is sure for ever. The Lord knoweth who are "his. You shall not be deceived with the power and subtilty of anti-"christ. You shall not fall from grace. You shall not perish. This is "the comfort which abideth with the faithful, when they behold the fall "of the wicked; when they see them forsake the truth and delight in fa-"bles; when they see them return to their vomit, and wallow again in "the mire. When we see these things in others, we must say, alas! they "are examples for me, and lamentable examples. Let him that standeth "take heed that he fall not. But God hath loved *me*, and hath chosen *me*, "to salvation. His mercy shall go before me, and his mercy shall follow "in me. His mercy shall guide my feet, and stay me from falling. If I "stay by myself, I stay by nothing; I must needs come to ground.——He "hath loved me; he hath chosen me; he will keep me. Neither the ex-"ample nor the company of others, nor the enticing of the devil, nor my "own sensual imaginations, nor sword, nor fire, is able to separate me "from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This is the "comfort of the faithful.—Whatsoever falleth upon others, though others "fall and perish, although *they* forsake Christ and follow after antichrist, "yet God hath loved *you* and given his Son for *you*. He hath chosen you, "and prepared you unto salvation, and hath written your names in the "book of life. But how may we *know* that God hath *chosen* us? how "may we *see* this ELECTION? or how may we *feel* it? The apostle saith, "through *sanctification*, and the *faith* of truth. These are *tokens* of God's "*election*.—This [viz. the Holy Spirit] comforteth us in all temptations; "and beareth witness with our spirit that we be the children of God; that "God hath chosen us: and doth love us, and hath prepared us to salva-"tion; that we are the heirs of his glory; that God will keep us as the "apple of his eye; that he will defend us; and we shall not perish."

the right reverend doctor John Jewel, then bishop of Sarum; which shews he was there and in great esteem.

It was in some part of this year also, that he had his conference, and preached his last sermon at Paul's Cross, about the ceremonies and state of the church. But I cannot fix the precise time of either of them, or give any further account with whom that conference was.

Being naturally of a spare and thin body, and thus restlessly wearing it out with reading, writing, preaching, and travelling, he hastened his death, which happened before he was full fifty years of age; of which he had a strong presentiment a considerable time before it happened, and wrote of it to several of his friends, but would by no means be persuaded to abate any thing of his former excessive labours, saying, "A bishop should die preaching;" having these words impressed upon his mind, *Happy art thou, my servant, if, when I come, I find thee so doing.*

Though he ever governed his diocese with great diligence, yet perceiving his death approaching, he began a new and more severe visitation of it; correcting the vices of the clergy and laity more sharply; enjoining them in some places tasks of holy tracts to be learned by heart, conferring orders more carefully, and preaching oftener.

Having promised to preach at Lacock in Wiltshire, a gentleman who met him going thither, observing him to be very ill by his looks, advised him to return home, assuring him it was better the people should want one sermon, than to be altogether deprived of such a preacher. But he would not be persuaded, but went thither and preached his last sermon out of the fifth to the Galatians, *Walk in the Spirit*, &c. which he did not finish without great labour and difficulty.

In the beginning of his sickness he made his will, and gave most of his estate to his servants, to scholars, and to the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, having called all his household about him, he expounded the Lord's prayer, when he said:—"It hath always been my "desire, that I might glorify God, and honour his name, "by sacrificing my life for the defence of his truth: But "though God hath not granted my desire, yet I rejoice, "that my body is exhausted and worn away in the la- "bours of my holy calling. And now, that my hour is "at hand, I earnestly desire you to pray for me, and to "help me with the ardency of your affections, when you "perceive me, through the infirmity of the flesh, to "languish in my prayers. Hitherto I have taught you; "but

"but now the time is come in which I may and desire "to be taught and strengthened by every one of you."

He then desired them to sing the seventy-first Psalm, and sung with them as well as he could; sometimes interposing some words of particular application to himself; and in the end he said,—"Lord, now let thy servant de- "part in peace. Break off all delays. Lord, receive "my spirit, &c." Then one standing by prayed with tears, that if the Lord pleased, he would restore him to his former health: Jewel hearing him, seemed to be offended, and said,—"I have not lived so, that I am "ashamed to live longer; neither do I fear to die, be- "cause we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righ- "teousness is laid up for me. Christ is my righteousness. "Father let thy will be done: Thy will I say, and not "mine, which is imperfect and depraved. This day, "quickly, let me see the LORD JESUS."

He died on Saturday the twenty-first of September, 1571, aged fifty, at Monketonfarly, when he had been a bishop almost twelve years; and was buried almost in the middle of the choir of his cathedral church, and Ægidius Lawrence preached his funeral sermon. He was extremely bewailed by all men; and a great number of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew verses were made on this occasion by learned men, which are collected and printed by Mr Lawrence Humfrey, regius professor of divinity at Oxford, in the end of his life, written in Latin by the order of that university; nor has his name been since mentioned by any man, without such eulogies and commendations as befitted so great, so good, so learned, and laborious a prelate.

Having thus brought him to his grave, (says his honourable biographer) permit me to collect some particular things which could not so well be inserted into the history of his life, without breaking the thread of it.

He had naturally a very strong memory, which he had greatly improved by art, so that he could exactly repeat whatever he wrote after once reading. While the bell was ringing, he committed to his memory a repetition sermon, and pronounced it without hesitation. He was a constant preacher; and, in his own sermons, his course was to write down only the heads, and meditate upon the rest, while the bell was ringing to church. Yet so firm was his memory, that he used to say, if he were to deliver a premeditated speech before a thousand auditors, shouting or fighting all the while, they would not put

put him out. Mr Humphrey gives several examples of this, but I will instance in two only; John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, who was burnt in the reign of Q. Mary, once to try him, wrote about forty Welsh and Irish words; Mr Jewel going a little while aside, and recollecting them in his memory, and reading them twice or thrice over, said them by heart backward and forward exactly in the same order they were set down. And another time he did the same by ten lines of Erasmus's paraphrase in English, the words of which being read sometimes confusedly without order, and at other times in order by the lord keeper Bacon, Mr Jewel thinking a while on them, presently repeated them again backward and forward, in their right order, and in the wrong, just as they were read to him; and he taught his tutor Mr Parkhurst the same art.

Though his memory were so great and so improved, yet he would not entirely rely upon it, but entered down into common-place books, whatever he thought he might afterwards have occasion to use; which, as the author of his life informs us, were many in number, and great in quantity, being a vast treasure of learning, and a rich repository of knowledge, into which he had collected sacred, profane, poetic, philosophic, and divine notes of all sorts; and all these he had again reduced into a small piece or two, which were a kind of general indexes, which he made use of at all times when he was to speak or write any thing; which were drawn up in characters for brevity, and thereby so obscured, that they were not of any use, after his death, to any other person. And besides these, he ever kept diaries, in which he entered whatsoever he had heard or saw that was remarkable, which once a year he perused, and out of them extracted whatever was most remarkable.

And from hence it came to pass, that whereas Mr Harding in that great controversy they had, abounded only in words, bishop Jewel overwhelmed him with a cloud of witnesses and citations out of the ancient fathers, councils, and church historians; confirming every thing with so great a number of incontestable authorities, that Mr Harding durst never after pretend to a second perfect and full answer, but contented himself with snarling at some small pieces. The truth is, all the following controversies were in this point beholding to the indefatigable industry of this great leader.

Yet

Yet he was so careful in the use of his own common-place books, that when he was to write his defence of the Apology, and his Reply, he would not trust entirely to his own excerpts or transcriptions, but having first carefully read Mr Harding's books, and marked what he thought deserved an answer, he in the next place drew up the heads of his intended answer, and resolved what authorities he would make use of upon each head, and then, by the directions of his common-place book, read and marked all those passages he had occasion to make use of, and delivered them to some scholars to be transcribed under their proper heads, that he might have them together under his eye, when he came to write; which care and diligence of his, speaks at once both his industry, fidelity, and modesty, in that he would not trust his own transcripts, and is a just reprehension of the falsehood of those who knowingly make false citations, and of the supine negligence of those who take them upon trust from other men, and use them without any examination; by which means great mistakes are made, and controversies spring up to the disturbance of the world. The truth is, a man ought to re-examine his own thoughts; for what may seem very pertinent at a first reading to any purpose, may prove otherwise upon second thoughts, and a close observation of what goes before, or follows after in the author; and few men are so exact in their first extracts, but through haste, inadvertence or mistake, they may more or less err and be deceived; not to say that a man's intention of mind is much exalted by the fixing it upon one particular object, and the expectation of a conviction from his adversary, in case he make the least mistake. This account of our venerable bishop was given by Mr John Garbrand, who was intimately acquainted with him, in an epistle dedicatory before some of his sermons, printed in octavo, in the year 1583.

He was an excellent Grecian, and not unacquainted with the Italian tongue; and as to the Latin, he wrote and spoke it with that elegance, politeness, purity, and fluency, that it might very well be taken for his mother tongue: And certainly he took the right course to be master of it, having made himself in his youth perfectly master of Horace, (upon whom he wrote a large commentary) Tully, and Erasmus, all whose voluminous and excellent works he read over, excerpted and imitated every day, especially during his continuance at Oxford; and he was then wont also to declaim *extempore* to himself in Latin

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in the woods and groves as he walked. He was excellently read in all the Greek poets, orators, and historians, especially in the ecclesiastical historians, and, above all other, loved Gregory Nazianzen, and quoted him on all occasions.

His learning was much improved by his exile, in which, besides his conversation with Peter Martyr and the other learned men at Strasburg and Zurick, and his society with Mr Sands, afterwards archbishop of York, who was his bed-fellow almost all the time they were in exile, his curiosity led him over the Alps into Italy, and he studied some time in Padua, and by the acquaintance he contracted with Seignior Scipio, a great man, seems to have been very much esteemed there.

He was of a pleasant humour, extremely civil and obliging to all; but withal of great gravity, and of so severe a probity and virtue, that he extorted from his bitterest enemies a confession, that he lived the life of an angel; and though he were lame, yet till his being a bishop, he travelled for the most part a-foot, both at home and beyond the seas; he was contented in every condition, and endeavoured to make all others so, by telling them when he was an exile, that neither would their calamity last an age, neither was it reason they should bear no share of the cross of Christ, when their brethren in England fared so much worse.

He was so extremely grateful to all that had done him good, that when he could not express his gratitude to Mr Bowin his schoolmaster, he paid it to his name, and did good to all that were so called for his sake, though they were not related to that good man.

He was a most laborious preacher, always travelling about his diocese, and preaching wherever he came; wherein he laboured to speak to the apprehensions of the people, hating all light gingling discourses and phrases, as beneath the dignity of that sacred place; yet he was careful here too in the choice of his words, and endeavoured to move the affections of his auditory by pathetic and zealous applications, avoiding all high-flown expressions, and using a grave and sedate, rather than sweet way of speaking to them.

He was a man of great moderation, and expressed a great sense of the frailties of mankind, as appears by his letter to Dr Parkhurst when bishop of Norwich. "Let "your chancellor, (saith he,) be harder, but you easier; "let him wound, but do you heal; let him lance, do you

"you plaister; wise clemency will do more good than "rigid severity; one man may move more with an en- "gine, than six with the force of their hands." And accordingly he would often sit in his own consistory with his chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining causes concerning matrimony, adultery, and testaments, &c. not thinking it safe to commit all to the sole care and fidelity of his chancellor and officers. But though as a justice of peace he often sat in the courts of quarter-sessions, yet here he very rarely interposed, except his judgment were desired concerning some scruples of religion, or some other such like difficulty. So exact was his care, not to entangle himself with secular affairs; and yet not to be wanting to his duty in any case.

Though he came to a bishopric miserably impoverished, and wasted, yet he found means to exercise a prodigious liberality and hospitality. For the first, his great expence in the building a fair library for his cathedral church, may be an instance, which his successor Dr Gheast furnished with books, whose name is perpetuated, together with the memory of his predecessor by this inscription: *Hæc Bibliotheca extructa est sumptibus, R. P. ac D. D. JOHANNIS JEWELLI, quondam Sarum Episcopi; instructa vero libris à R. in Christo P. D. Edmundo Gheast, olim ejusdem Ecclesiæ Episcopo, quorum memoria in Benedictione erit. A. D.* 1578.

His doors stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send his charitable reliefs to prisoners, nor did he confine his bounty to Englishmen only, but was liberal to foreigners, and especially to those of Zurick, and the friends of Peter Martyr.

But perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his house half a dozen or more poor lads which he brought up in learning; and took much delight to hear them dispute points of grammar-learning in Latin at his table when he was at his meal, improving them, and pleasing himself at the same time.

And besides these, he maintained in the university several young students, allowing them yearly pensions; and whenever they came to visit him, rarely dismissed them without liberal gratuities. Amongst these was the famous Mr Richard Hooker his countryman, whose parents being poor, must have been bound apprentice to a trade, but for the bounty of this good bishop, who allowed his parents a yearly pension towards his maintenance well

well near seven years before he was fit for the university, and in the year 1567, appointed him to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr Cole, then president of Corpus Christi-college, who, according to his promise to the bishop, provided him a tutor, and a clerk's place in that college; which with a contribution from his uncle Mr John Hooker, and the continued pension of his patron the bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence; and in the last year of the bishop's life, Mr Hooker making this his patron a visit at his palace, the good bishop made him, and a companion he had with him, dine at his own table with him, which Mr Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude, when he saw his mother and friends, whither he was then travelling on foot. The bishop when he parted with him, gave him good counsel and his blessing, but forgot to give him money, which when the bishop bethought himself of, he sent a servant to call him back again, and then told him, "I sent for you, Richard, to "lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, "and I thank GOD with much ease." And presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled many parts of Germany; and then went on, and said, "Richard, I do not give, but "lend you my horse; be sure you be honest and bring "my horse back to me at your return this way to Ox-"ford; and I do now give you ten groats to bear your "charges to Exeter; and here are ten groats more which "I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I "send her a bishop's blessing with it, and beg the conti-"nuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my "horse back to me, I will give you ten more to carry "you on foot to the college; and so GOD bless you, "good Richard." It was not long after this, before this good bishop died, but before his death he had so effectually recommended Mr Hooker to Edwin Sandys, then bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of York, that about a year after he put his son under the tutelage of Mr Hooker, and was otherwise so liberal to him, that he became one of the most learned men of the age. Nor was Mr Hooker ungrateful, but having occasion to mention his good benefactor in that piece, he calls him, bishop [Jewel,] 'the 'worthiest divine Christendom hath bred for the space of 'some hundreds of years.'

But to return to bishop Jewel: he had collected an excellent library of books of all sorts, not excepting the most impertinent of the popish authors; and here it was that he

he spent the greatest and the best part of his time, rarely appearing abroad, especially in a morning till eight of the clock; so that till that time it was not easy to speak with him; when commonly he eat some slight thing for the support of his thin body; and then, if no business diverted him, retired to his study again till dinner.

He maintained a plentiful, but sober table, and though at it he eat very little himself, yet he took care his guests might be well supplied, entertaining them in the mean time with much pleasant and useful discourse, telling and hearing any kind of innocent and diverting stories: For though he was a man of great and exact piety and virtue, yet he was not of a morose, sullen, unsociable temper; and this his hospitality was equally bestowed upon both foreigners and Englishmen.

After dinner he heard causes, if any came in; and dispatched any business that belonged to him (though he would sometimes do it at dinner too;) and answered any questions, and very often arbitrated and composed differences betwixt his people, who knowing his great wisdom and integrity, did very often refer themselves to him as the sole arbitrator, where they met with speedy, cheap, and impartial justice.

At nine at night he called all his servants about him, examined how they had spent their time that day, commended some, and reproved others, as occasion served, and then closed the day with prayers, as he began it: The time of his public morning prayers seems to have been eight.

After this, he commonly went to his study again, and from thence to bed, his servant reading some part of an author to him, to compose his mind, and then committing himself to his GOD and Saviour, he betook himself to his rest.

He was extremely careful of the revenues of the church, not caring whom he offended to preserve it from impoverishing in an age, when the greatest men, finding the queen not over liberal to her courtiers and servants, too often paid themselves out of the church patrimony, for the services they had done the crown, till they ruined some bishoprics intirely, and left others so very poor, that they are scarce able to maintain a prelate.

There is one instance of this mentioned by all that have written our bishop's life; a courtier, (who was a lay-man,) having obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury, and intending to let it to another lay-person for his best advantage, acquainted bishop Jewel with the conditions

between them; and some lawyers opinions about them. To which the bishop replied; "What your lawyers may "answer I know not; but for my part, to my power, I "will take care that my church shall sustain no loss whilst "I live." What was the event of this, none of them have told us.

Nor was he careful of his own church only, but of the whole English church, as appears by his sermon upon Psalm lxix. 9. *The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.* Which he preached before the queen and court, as appears by it in several addresses to her in the body of that sermon. In it he hath this observation. "In other coun-"tries the receiving of the gospel hath always been the "cause that learning was more set by; and learning hath "ever been the furtherance of the gospel. In England, I "know not how it cometh otherwise to pass, for since "the gospel hath been received, the maintenance for "learning hath been decayed; and the lack of learning "will be the decay of the gospel." And a little after he tells us, "Those that should be fosters of learning, and "increase the livings, had no zeal. What said I, in-"crease? Nay, the livings and provisions which were here-"tofore given to this use are, (saith he) taken away." And a little after, "Whereas all other labourers and ar-"tificers have their hire increased double, as much as it "was wont to be; only the poor man that laboureth and "sweateth in the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, hath his "hire abridged and abated." And he applies himself towards the conclusion thus to the great men. "You in-"riched them which mocked, and blinded, and devoured "you; spoil not them now that feed, and instruct, and "comfort you."

His WRITINGS which have rendered his name famous, over all the Christian world, are as follow: 1. *Exhortatio ad Oxonienses.* The substance printed in Humfrey's life of him, p. 35. and seq. edit. 1573, 4to. 2. *Exhortatio in collegio CC. sive concio in fundatoris Foxi commemorationem*, printed *ibid.* p. 45, 46, &c. 3. *Concio in templo* B. M. *Virginis, Oxon.* 1550, preached for his degree of B. D. it is reprinted in Humfrey, *ibid.* p. 49. and again in English by R. at London, 1586, 8vo. 4. *Oratio in aula collegii CC.* His farewel Speech on his Expulsion in 1554, printed by Humfrey, *ibid.* p. 71, &c. 5. A short tract, *De Usura, ibid.* p. 217, &c. 6. *Epistola ad Scipionem, Partritium Venetum,* &c. 1559, and reprinted in the Appendix to Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, in English, by Brent, third edit. 1629, folio. 7. A Letter

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to Henry Bullinger, at Zurick, concerning the State of Religion in England, dated May 22, 1559, printed in the Appendix to Strype's Annals, No. xx. 8. Another Letter to the same, dated Feb. 8, 1556, concerning his controversy with Hardynge, ibid. No. 36, 37. 9. Letters between him and Dr Henry Cole, &c. London, 1560, 8vo. 10. A Sermon preached at St Paul's Cross, the second Sunday before Easter, an. 1560, London, 1560, 8vo. Dr Cole wrote several letters to him on this subject. 11. A Reply to Mr Hardynge's Answer, &c. London, 1566. fol. and again in Latin, by Will. Whitaker, fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge, at Geneva, 1578, 4to. (see his Life, hereafter,) And again, in 1585, in folio, with our Author's *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. 12. *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. London, 1562, 8vo. it was several times printed in England, and abroad, and a Greek translation of it was printed at Oxford, 1614, 8vo. The English translation by the lady Bacon, wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon, entitled, An Apology, or Answer, in Defence of the Church of England, &c. London, 1562, 4to. This apology was approved by the queen, and set forth with the consent of the bishops. 13. A Defence of the Apology, &c. London, 1564, 1567, folio, again in Latin by Thomas Braddock, fellow of Christ's-college, Cambridge, at Geneva, 1600, folio. This was ordered by Q. Elizabeth, K. James, and King Charles, and four successive archbishops, to be read and chained up in all parish churches throughout England and Wales. 14. An Answer to a Book written by Mr Hardynge, entitled, A Detection of sundry foul Errors, &c. London, 1568, and 1570, folio. 15. A View of a seditious Bull, sent into England from Pius V. &c. London, 1582, 8vo. 16. A Treatise of the Holy Scriptures, ibid. 8vo. 17. Exposition on the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, ibid, 1694, 8vo. 18. A Treatise of the Sacraments, &c. ibid. 1583. 19. Certain Sermons preached before the Queen's Majesty, at Paul's Cross, and elsewhere. All these books (except the first eight,) with the Sermons and Apology, were printed at London in 1609, in one vol. folio, with an Abstract of our Author's Life, by Dan. Featly, but full of faults, as Mr Wood says. 20. An Answer to certain frivolous Objections against the Government of the Church of England, London, 1641, 4to, a single sheet. 21. Many Letters in the Collection of Records in Part iii. of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation.

A Letter written to the Reverend Father in God Dr John Jewel, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, by Dr Peter Martyr.

'BY the favour of the bishop of London, (most worthy prelate, and my very good lord,) there was brought me one of your apologies for the Church of England; which neither I nor any others hereabouts before had seen: It is true, in your last letter you rather intimated that it might come out, than signified that it should; but however it came not hither till about the middle of July. And from hence your lordship may consider how much we suffer from the distance of places. It hath not only given me an entire satisfaction, who approve and am strangely pleased with all you do; but to Bullinger and his sons, and his sons in law: And it seems so very wise, admirable, and elegant to Gualter and Wolphius, that they can put no end to their commendations of it, as not thinking there hath been any thing printed in these times of so great a perfection. I do infinitely congratulate this great felicity of your parts, this excellent edification of the church, and the honour you have done your country; and I do most earnestly beseech you to go on in the same way; for though we have a good cause, yet the defenders of it are few in comparison of its enemies; and they now seem so awakened, that they have of late won much upon the ignorant multitude, by the goodness of their style, and the subtilty of their sophistry. I speak this of Staphylus and Hosius, and some other writers of that party, who are now the stout champions of the papal errors. But now you have, by this your most elegant and learned Apology, raised such an hope in the minds of all good and learned men, that they generally promise themselves, that whilst you live, the Reformed religion shall never want an advocate against its enemies. And truly I am extremely glad, that I am so happy as to live to see that day which made you the father of so illustrious and eloquent a production. May the GOD of heaven of his goodness grant that you may be blessed in time with many more such.'

Zurick, Aug. 24, 1562.

JOHN

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

from an original Painting in the Possession of Miss Knox at Edinburgh.

JOHN KNOX,

THE SCOTCH REFORMER.

SCOTLAND had the honour of producing this great and eminent luminary; who became the principal instrument, in GOD's hand, of effecting the REFORMATION in that kingdom, at a time when papal darkness, ignorance, and superstition, had involved the whole nation in shades of deeper than Egyptian night. He was descended of an ancient and honourable family; and was born in the year 1505, at Giffard, near Haddington, in the county of East-Lothian, in Scotland. He received the first part of his education in the grammar-school of Haddington, and from thence was removed to the university of St Andrew's, and placed under the tuition of the celebrated Mr John Mair. He applied with uncommon diligence to the academical learning in vogue at that time; and, by the natural sharpness of his wit, having made a very great progress in these studies in a short space, he obtained the degree of master of arts when very young. As the bent of his inclination led him strongly to the church, he turned the course of his studies early that way, and, by the advantage of his tutor's instructions, soon became remarkable for his knowledge in scholastic theology; insomuch, that he obtained priest's orders before the time usually allowed by the canons; and, from being an auditor of his tutor's instructions, he began himself to teach, with great applause, his beloved science to others. But after some time, upon a careful perusal of the fathers of the church, and particularly the writings of St Jerom and St Austin, his taste was entirely altered. He quitted the subtilizing method of theories and the schoolmen, and applied himself to a plainer and more simple divinity. At

At his entrance upon this new course of study, he attended the preaching of Thomas Guillian, a black-friar, whose sermons were of extraordinary service to him. This friar, who was provincial of his order, was born at Athelston-ford, in East Lothian: And in this year, viz. 1543, he was chaplain to the earl of Arran, then governor of Scotland, and who favoured the Reformation. Sir James Balfour says, he translated the New Testament, and publicly preached against the pope's authority; and that he was winked at by the regent, and supported by the noblemen that had returned lately from England. Which serves to explain what Buchanan says concerning him, that 'he was a preacher of sound judgment and healthsome 'doctrine;' as also of Calderwood, who observes, that he was 'the first from whom Mr Knox received any taste of 'the truth.' Accordingly, Mr Knox himself remarks, in his History of the Reformation, that "the provincial "was learned and sound, of a good utterance, but with "a great vehemence against superstition." The next year, 1544, Mr George Wishart, so much celebrated in the history of this time *, coming from England, with the commissioners sent from K. Henry VIII. our Author being of an inquisitive nature, learned from him, the following year, the principles of the Protestants; with which he was so pleased, that he renounced the Romish religion, and became a zealous Protestant.

He had left St Andrew's a little before, being appointed tutor to the sons of the lairds of Ormiston and Langnidry, who were both favourers of the Reformation. Mr Knox's ordinary residence was at Langnidry, where he not only instructed his pupils in the several parts of learning, but was particularly careful to instil into them the principles of piety and the Protestant religion. This coming to the ear of the bishop of St Andrew's, that prelate prosecuted him with such severity, that he was frequently obliged to abscond, and fly from place to place. Whereupon, being wearied with such continual dangers, he resolved to retire to Germany, where the Reformation was gaining ground; knowing that in England, though the pope's authority was suppressed, yet the greater part of his doctrine remained in full vigour. But this design being much disliked by the fathers of both his pupils, they, by their importunity, prevailed with him to go to St Andrew's about

* For a particular account of this very famous and successful preacher of the gospel, see his Life in vol. I. p. 235.

about Easter, 1547; and for his own safety, as well as that of their children, to betake himself to the castle, where they might all be secure from the efforts of the Papists, and he be in a condition to instruct these young gentlemen with greater advantage. Here he began to teach his pupils in his usual manner. Besides the grammar and the classical authors, he read a catechism to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publicly in the parish church of St Andrew's. He likewise continued to read to them the gospel of St John, proceeding where he left off at his departure from Langnidry.

This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the castle, at which several of the place were present. Among these, Mr Henry Balnaveis, and John Rough, preacher there, being pleased with his doctrines, (for they were zealous for the new [that is, the Reformed] religion,) began earnestly to intreat him to take the preacher's place; but he absolutely refused, alledging, "that he would not run where GOD had not called "him," meaning that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Hereupon they deliberating the matter in a consultation with Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, lyon king at arms, a person of great probity and learning, it was concluded to give Mr Knox a charge publicly by the mouth of the preacher. Accordingly Mr Rough, upon the day appointed, preached a sermon concerning the election of ministers, wherein he set forth, 'what 'power the congregation, how small soever it was passing 'the number of two or three, had above [over] any man, 'in whom they supposed and espied the gifts of GOD 'to be, and how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to 'hear the voice of such as desire to be instructed.' These and other things being declared in general, the preacher then addressed himself particularly to Mr Knox in these words: 'Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit I speak 'unto you that which I have in charge, even from all 'these that are here present; which is this: In the name 'of GOD, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name 'of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge 'you that ye refuse not this holy vocation; but, as ye 'tender the glory of GOD, the increase of Christ's king-'dom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort 'of men, whom ye understand well enough to be op-'pressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon 'you the public office and charge of preaching, even as 'ye look to avoid GOD's heavy displeasure, and desire

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'that he should multiply his graces with you.' Then directing his speech to the audience, he said, "Was not 'this your charge to me, and do ye not approve this vo-'cation?' They answered, 'It was, and we approve it.' At which Mr Knox abashed, burst forth into tears, and withdrew into his chamber. His countenance and behaviour from that day, to the day he was forced to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart: For no man saw any sign of mirth in him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days afterwards.

But on the Sunday appointed, ascending the pulpit, he preached a sermon from Dan. vii. 23—28. when he proved to the satisfaction of his auditors, that the pope was antichrist, and that the doctrine of the Roman church was contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles. He likewise gave the notes both of the true church, and of the antichristian church, &c. of which he gives a full account in his History; and also of a public disputation which he then had with the dean of St Andrew's upon popery, at the end of which the people unanimously called on him to let them hear the same doctrine from the preaching place; which call he accordingly obeyed. This sermon made a great noise, and the popish clergy being much incensed by it, the abbot of Paisley, lately nominated to the see of St Andrew's, and not yet consecrated, wrote a letter to the sub-prior, who, *sede vacante*, was vicar-general, expressing great surprize, that such heretical and schismatical doctrines were suffered to be taught without opposition. Upon this rebuke, the sub-prior called a convention of grey and black-friars, to meet in St Leonard's-Yard; where, both our preachers being convened, they were charged with several offences *. The articles of the charge

* The following are the articles exhibited againſt them. 1. 'No 'mortal man can be the head of the church. 2. The pope is ane 'antichryſt, and ſo is no member of Chriſtis miſtical bodie. 3. Man 'may neither mak nor devyſe a religioun, that is acceptabill to God, 'bot man is bound to obſerve and keip the religioun, that fra God 'is reſſavit, without chopping or chainging thairof. 4. The ſacra-'mentis of the N. Teſtament aucht to be miniſtrate, as they war in-'ſtituted by Chriſt Jeſus, and practiſit by his apoſtles; nothing aucht 'to be addit unto thame, nothing aucht to be diminiſhed frome thame. '5. The maſs is abominabill idolatrie, blaſphemous to the deyth of 'Chriſt, and a prophanation of the Lord's ſupper. 6. Thair is no 'purgatorie, in the whiche the ſoullis of men can nether be pyned or 'purgid efter this lyif. But hevin reſtis to the faithfull, and hell to 'the reprobate and unfaithfull. 7. Praying for the deid is vain, and

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charge being read, the sub-prior entered into a conference with Mr Knox, who, after that, disputed with one of the friars upon several controverted points between the Papists and Protestants. Popery sensibly lost ground by the dispute; and the supporters of it found themselves obliged to take another method to maintain its reputation. An order was passed, obliging every learned person in the abbey and university, to preach in the parish church by turns on Sundays, and, in their sermons, not to touch upon any of the controverted points. But Mr Knox rendered this caution ineffectual, by preaching on the weekdays; when he took occasion to praise GOD that Jesus Christ was preached, and nothing said publicly against the doctrine he had taught them: Protesting withal, that if in his absence they should speak any thing which they forbore while he was present, that his hearers should suspend their judgment till it should please GOD they should hear him again. And he was so successful in his work, that all the people in the castle, and a great number in the town, openly professed the Protestant doctrine, and testified it by partaking of the Lord's supper, in the same manner as it was administered in the church of Scotland, after the Protestant religion was established by law, in the year 1560. And this, in the year 1547, was, perhaps, the first time that the sacrament was administered in Scotland in the way of the Reformed churches. Mr Knox continued thus in the diligent discharge of his ministerial work, till July that year, when the castle was surrendered to the French, upon terms, that all in the garrison should be carried safe to France; and, in case they were not satisfied with the conditions of their liberty there, they should be conveyed at the expence of that king wherever they pleased, Scotland excepted. Mr Knox, with the rest was carried to France, and, from an attentive perusal of this part of his life, in his history of the Reformation in Scotland, printed in 1732, it appears that he remained a prisoner on board the gallies till the latter end of the year 1549; when, being set at liberty, he passed to England; and going to London, was there licensed, and appointed preacher, first at Berwick and next at Newcastle. During this employ, he received a summons, in the year 1551, to appear before Cuthbert Tonstal bishop of Durham, for preaching against the mass. In

'to the deid is idolatrie. 8. Thair is no biſchopis, except they preiche 'evin by thameſelvis, without ony ſubſtitute. 9. The teindis [tenths] 'by Godis law, do not apertein of neceſſitie to the kirkmen.'

In the same year, he was appointed chaplain, to K. Edward VI. * and, the ensuing year, he had the grant of an annuity of forty pounds, payable quarterly out of the augmentation office, till some benefice in the church should be conferred on him. And from some of Mr Knox's original letters, in the hands of the reverend Mr Woodrow, minister of Eastwood, it appears, that he enjoyed this annuity of forty pounds till the beginning of Q. Mary's reign. In a letter to Mrs Bowes his mother-in-law, dated 1553, he tells her, that he was obliged to abscond by reason of the fury of the Papists, and adds, "I will not make you privy how rich I am, but off London I departed with less money than ten groats: But "GOD hath since provided, and will, I doubt not, "abundantly for this life. Either the queen's majesty, "or some treasurer, will be forty pounds richer by me, "for so meikle lack I of duty of my patent; but that "little troubles me." The same year, *viz.* 1551, he came into some trouble, on account of a bold sermon preached at Newcastle on Christmas-day, against the obstinacy of the Papists †. And about the latter end of the year, 1552-3, he returned to London; and being well esteemed by his majesty and some of the court, for his zealous preaching against the errors of the Romish church, he was appointed to preach before the king and council at Westminster, a little before his majesty's departure thence. In this sermon he had several piercing glances against some great ones, who were secretly well-wishers to the popish religion

* In the month of December, 1551, it was thought fit that the king should retain six chaplains in ordinary, who should not only wait on him, but be itineraries, and preach the gospel all the nation over; two of these six to be always present at court, and four absent abroad in preaching; one year, two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year, two in the Marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkshire; the third year, two in Devonshire, and two in Hampshire; the fourth year, two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex; and these six to be Bill, Harley, Pern, Grindal, Bradford, the sixth was dashed out of the king's journal, from whence this is taken, which probably was Knox; for he was one of the preachers of the North at Newcastle, and elsewhere, and had a salary paid him out of the exchequer. But the number was reduced to four, Bradford also being left out, who were styled, *the king's ordinary chaplains.* Strype's Memorials, Vol. II.

† In this sermon he affirmed, that, whosoever in his heart was an enemy to Christ's doctrine and gospel, which was then preached within the realm, was an enemy to GOD, and secret traitor also to the crown and commonwealth of England, and that, as such, thirsted after nothing more than the king's death, which their iniquities would procure. He said they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their idolatry might be erected again.

ligion, though they outwardly submitted to the then present establishment *. But notwithstanding it must have been about this time, that the council sent to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to bestow the living of Allhallows, Bread-Street, in London, upon him, which accordingly was offered him; but he refused it, not caring to conform to the English liturgy as it then stood †. However,

* Strype says, particularly the earl of Northumberland and the marquis of Winchester were both present at the sermon, in character of Achitophel the counsellor, Judas the purse-bearer, and Shebna the scribe, comptroller, and treasurer.

† We have the following account of this matter by Strype, taken from a letter of Mr Knox. 'April 14, 1552-3, Knox was called before the council, who demanded of him three questions, 1. 'Why he refused the 'benefice provided for him in London?' To which he answered, that "his conscience did witness, that he might profit more in some other "place than in London, and therefore had no pleasure to accept any "office there." 2. 'Whether he thought, that no Christian might serve 'in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the rites and laws of 'the realm of England?' To which he said, that "many things at that "time were worthy of reformation in the ministers of England, without "the reformation whereof, no minister did or could discharge his con-"science before GOD; for no ministers in England had authority to "separate the lepers from the heal," [that is, they have not the full power of excommunication,] "which, he said, was a chief point of his "office." 3. They asked him, 'If kneeling at the Lord's table was not 'indifferent?' He answered, that "Christ's actions was most perfect, and "it was done without kneeling; and it was most sure to follow his ex-"ample, and that kneeling was man's addition and invention." About this question there was great contention between the lords of the council and him. There were then present the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer; the bishop of Ely, Goodrick; lord chancellor; lord treasurer; the earls of Bedford, Northampton, Shrewsbury; the lord chamberlain, and both the secretaries. After long reasoning it was said to him, that he was not called of any ill meaning, and that they were sorry to know him of a contrary mind to the common order. He answered, he "was sorry the common order was contrary to Christ's institu-"tion." He was dismissed with some gentle speeches, and they willed him to advise with himself, whether he would communicate according to that order.'

It is affirmed by several writers of good authority, that, besides the living of Allhallows, Mr Knox had the offer of a bishopric made to him in Edward VIth's reign, and that he refused it. Melchior Adam says, 'At that 'time in England reigned Edward VI. who observing Knox's piety, had a 'singular kindness for the man, and he was offered a bishopric by the king's 'command; but he refused it with indignation, vehemently condemning 'those titles, as savouring of the kingdom of antichrist.' Mr Calderwood confirms the above passage, by saying, 'Mr Knox being then resident in 'St Andrew's, and preaching on the Lord's day, February 10, 1572, the 'earl of Mar being present, refused to inaugurate the bishop; yea, in 'open audience of many then present, he denounced *anathema* to the 'giver and *anathema* to the receiver, as I find in a certain manuscript.'

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ever, he still held his place as itinerary preacher; and in the discharge of that office, going to Buckinghamshire, was much pleased with his reception at some towns, particularly at Amersham, in that county; and he continued to preach there and at other places, some time after Q. Mary's accession to the throne. But that year, viz. in February 1553-4, he left England, as appears from two MS. papers in the hands of the Rev Mr Woodrow; one, addressed to Mrs Bowes, his mother-in-law, concludes thus, "upon the very point of my journey, the last of "January, 1553-4. Watch and pra. Your son with "sorrowful heart, J. K." The other bears this title, "John Knox, to the faithful in London, Newcastle, and "Berwick, &c." and thus ends: "From a sair troublit "hairt, upon my departure from Deipe, 1553-4, guhidder "God knawis, John Knox." Having crossed the sea to Dieppe in France, he went from thence to Geneva; where he had not been long, when he was called by the congregation of the English refugees, then established at Frankfort, to be preacher to them. This call he obeyed, (though unwillingly) at the instance of Calvin.

Mr Knox continued at Frankfort, till some of the principal persons of his congregation, (particularly Dr R. Cox, K. Edward VIth's preceptor) finding it impossible to persuade him to use the English liturgy, resolved to effect his removal from the place. In that view, they accused him to the magistrates of treason, committed both against their sovereign, the emperor of Germany, and also against their own sovereign in England, Q. Mary. Upon which, the magistrates not having it in their power to save him, if he should be required either by the emperor, or in his name by Q. Mary, gave him private notice of it; which he no sooner received, than he set out for Geneva; where he arrived March 26, 1555, but staid there only till August following; when, resolving after so long an absence, to make a visit to his native country, he went to Scotland. Upon his arrival there, which was in the end of

And the same writer further observes, that, 'when Mr John Rutherford, 'provost of the Old College, alledged Mr Knox's repining proceeded 'from male-contentment (because he was not made bishop himself,) Mr Knox purged himself the next Lord's day, saying, "I have refused a "greater bishopric than ever it was, which I might have had with the "favour of greater men than he hath his; I did and do repine for the "discharge of my conscience." Mr Petrie gives the same account, with this addition, that Mr Knox said, "I did and do repine for the discharge of "my conscience, that the church of Scotland be not subject to that order."

of harvest, finding the professors of the Reformed religion much increased in number, and formed into a society under the inspection of the following teachers; William Harlow, John Willock, Paul Maffy or Methuen, and John Erskine of Dun, he associated himself with them, and preached to them. Presently after this, he accompanied one of them, the laird of Dun, to his seat in the north; where he stayed a month, teaching and preaching daily to considerable numbers who resorted thither, among whom were the chief gentlemen in that country. From thence returning to Lothian, he resided for the most part in the house of Calder with Sir James Sandilands, a man of great prudence and worth, where he met with many persons of the first rank; viz. the master of Erskine, afterwards earl of Mar; the lord Lorn, afterwards earl of Argyle; lord James Stewart prior of St Andrews, afterwards earl of Murray, and regent of Scotland. With these noble personages he conversed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the Protestant doctrine.

In the winter of 1555, he taught, for the most part, in Edinburgh; about Christmas 1556, he went to the West of Scotland at the desire of some Protestant gentlemen, as John Lockhart of Bar, Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, and others, and preached in many places in Kyle, viz. the houses of Bar, Carnal, Uchiltree, Gathgirth, and the town of Air. In his sermons he insisted much upon the unlawfulness of being present at mass, which he maintained to be an idolatrous worship. In some of these places he celebrated the Lord's Supper after the manner of the Reformed churches. He visited likewise the earl of Glencairn, at Fynlaiston in the county of Renfrew, and administred the sacrament to his lordship's family. From these western parts he returned to the east, and resided some time in Calder, where many resorted to him both for doctrine and the benefit of the sacraments. From thence he went a second time to the laird of Dun's house, in the county of Mearns, where he preached more publicly than before, and administred the sacrament to many persons of note at their desire. The popish clergy being alarmed at this success of Mr Knox, in promoting the Protestant cause, summoned him to appear before them in the church of Blackfriars in Edinburgh, on the fifteenth of May, 1556. Several gentlemen of distinction, among whom the laird of Dun was none of the least considerable, resolving to stand by him, he determined to obey the summons. But the prosecution was dropped upon some informality of the summons, as

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was pretended, when the bishops perceived such a considerable party appearing in his behalf. However, he went to Edinburgh on the day to which he was cited, where he preached to a greater audience than ever he had done before; in the bishop of Dunkeld's great house he taught, both before and after noon, to a great number for ten days.

At this time the earl of Glencairn prevailed with the earl Marischal, and his trustee Henry Drummond, to hear one of Mr Knox's sermons. They were extremely well satisfied with his discourse, and proposed to him to write to the queen regent an earnest letter, to persuade her, if possible, to hear the Protestant doctrine. He complied with their desire, and wrote to her in May, 1556. The letter was delivered by the earl of Glencairn; the queen read it, and gave it to James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, with this sarcasm: 'Please you, my lord, to read 'a pasquil.' This gave occasion to Mr Knox to make some additions to his letter, which he printed afterwards with the additions at Geneva, in the year 1558.

While our Reformer was occupied in Scotland, he received letters from the English congregation at Geneva, earnestly intreating him to come thither: For after his expulsion from Frankfort, several of the congregation went to Geneva. Having seriously considered this invitation, he determined to return to that people, who had so great a regard for him. Accordingly, in July 1556, he left Scotland, and having first sent his mother-in-law Elizabeth Bowes, and her daughter Margery his wife, to Dieppe in France, he followed after, and from thence they went to Geneva. He had no sooner turned his back, than the bishops summoned him to appear before them; and, upon his non-appearance, they passed a sentence of death against him for heresy, and burnt him in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh. Against this sentence he formed, and afterwards printed at Geneva, in the year 1558, his "Appel lation from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland; with his Supplication to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonalty of the said Realm."

On the tenth of March, 1556-7, the earl of Glencairn, lord Lorn, John Erskine of Dun, (for lord Erskine had not yet joined himself to this party,) and James Stewart, afterwards earl of Murray, the chief promoters of the Reformation at that time in Scotland, judging their affairs to be in a pretty good posture, and being sensible of the usefulness

fulness of Mr Knox for the purpose, sent him an express, earnestly desiring him to return home *. This letter coming to his hands in May, 1557, he immediately communicated it to his congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him; but having consulted with Calvin and other worthy ministers, they gave it as their opinion, that he could not refuse such a plain call, unless he would declare himself rebellious to GOD, and unmerciful to his country. The congregation upon this yielded to his return to Scotland, and he wrote back by the messengers who brought the letter, that he would return to them with all reasonable expedition. Accordingly, having provided for his congregation at Geneva, he left them in the end of September, and came to Dieppe, in his way to Scotland, on the twenty-fourth of October. But there he unexpectedly met with letters from thence, contrary to the former, informing him, that new consultations were entered into, and advising him, to stay at Dieppe till the final conclusion of them. This was further also explained in another letter, directed to a friend of Mr Knox, in which he was told, that many of those who had before joined in this invitation, were becoming inconstant, and began to draw back. Upon the receipt of these advices, Mr Knox wrote an expostulatory letter to the Lords who invited him, concerning their rashness; in which he denounced judgments against such as should be inconstant in the religion they now professed. Besides this, he wrote several other letters from Dieppe, both to the nobility and professors of the Reformed religion of an inferior degree, exhorting them to constancy in their profession, and giving some useful cautions against the errors of sectaries, which grew up about this time both in Germany and England.

Mr Knox exciting them in these letters to a greater degree of zeal for the doctrine they had espoused, they came at last to this resolution, that 'They would follow 'forth their purpose, and commit themselves, and what-'soever GOD had given them, into his hands, rather 'than suffer idolatry to reign, and the subjects be defraud-'ed of the only food of their souls;' and that every one might be assured the more of one another, a common bond or covenant was made and entered into by them, dated at Edinburgh, December 3, 1557 †.

Mr

* This letter is printed in his history, p. 97, 98, and is dated Stirling, March 10, 1556. to which, on account of its length, we are obliged to refer the curious Reader.

† The covenant run thus: 'We perceive how Sathan in his mem-'beris,

Mr Knox returned to Geneva in the beginning of the year 1558, and the same year he printed there his treatise, entitled, "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women." Mr D. Calderwood takes notice that the cruel and bloody government of Q. Mary of England, and the endeavours of Mary of Lorrain, queen regent of Scotland, to break through the legal constitution, and introduce tyrannical government, and the domination of the French, were the chief motives which induced Mr Knox to write and publish this piece; that writer adds, that in it he shews his erudition and variety of reading, more than in any other of his treatises. However, it is certain it made a great noise, and was the occasion of much obloquy and reproach against him. Yet it was much approved by several of the exiled Protestants, though disliked by others. Mr Strype observes, that, 'After the death of K. Edward, though Q. Mary was 'acknowledged by the far greater part of the Protestants 'in

'heris, the antichriſtis of our tyme cruelle doeth rage, ſeeking to down-'thring and to deſtroy the evangell of Chriſt and his congregation, aucht, 'according to our boundin dewtie, to ſtryve in our maiſteris cauſe, evin 'unto the deith, being certane of the victorie in him: The quhilk our 'dewtie, being weill conſiderit, we do promeis befoir the majeſtie of 'God and his congregation. That we be is grace, ſall with all diligence 'continuallie applie our haill power, ſubſtance, and our very lyves to 'mantcine, ſet fordward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bliſſit word of God, and 'his congregation: And ſall labour at our poſſibilitie to have faythful 'miniſteris, puirlie and trewlie to miniſter Chriſtis evangel and ſacraments 'to his pepill. We ſall mainten thame, nuriſche thame, and defend 'thame, the haill congregation of Chriſt, and everye member theirof 'at our haill poweris, and wairing of our lyves, againſt ſathan and all 'wicked power that dois intend tirranie or trubile againſt the forſord con-'gregation. Unto the quhilk holie word and congregation we do join us; 'and alſo dois renunce and foirſaik the congregation of ſathan with all 'the ſuperſtitiounis, abominatiounis and idolatrie thereof. And mairover 'ſall declair our ſelfis manifeſtlie enemies thairto, be this our faythfull 'promeis befoir God, teſtified to his congregation, be our ſubſcriptioun 'at thir preſens.

'At Edinburghe the third day of December, 1557 yeirs.

'God callit to witneſs.

'*Sic ſubſcribitur.*

'A. erle of Argyll.

'Glencairne.

'Mortoun.

'Archibald lord of Lorne.

'John Erſkin of Dun,' &c.

Our biographer informs us, that from this bond, thoſe who ſeparated from popery, were called *The Congregation*; becauſe in it they oblige themſelves to maintain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bleſſed Word and his congregation; and the nobility who adopted the Reformed intereſt were called 'the lords of the congregation.'

'in England, yet some few of them appeared for lady 'Jane Grey; and Mr Goodman, with some others, de- 'clared against the lawfulness of the government of wo- 'men, an opinion not peculiar to them, but adopted by 'several learned men, and maintained by the whole king- 'dom of France. The Protestants in England, who were 'of this opinion, are accounted 'Mr Knox's disciples.' Mr Strype also informs us, that Fox the martyrologist had expostulated with Knox about the matter of "The Blast," and that Mr Knox returned him an answer in a letter, dated at Geneva, March 18, 1558; in which he makes a modest apology for writing this book, not excusing any vehement or rash expressions he had used in it, but still affirmed, that he was persuaded of the truth of the positions laid down in it. He designed to have written a subsequent piece, which was to have been called "The Second Blast." But Q. Mary of England dying soon after "The First Blast" was published, and he having a great esteem for Q. Elizabeth, and entertaining great hopes of signal advantages to the Protestant cause from her government, whom he looked upon as an instrument raised up by the good providence of GOD for the good of his people, he went no farther.

In a letter to secretary Cecil, dated April 10, 1559, Mr Knox writes thus concerning "The Blast." "It is bruted, "that my book is, or shall be written against. If so be, "Sir, I greatly fear, that flatterers shall rather hurt than "help the matter, which they would seem to maintain; "for except my errors be plainly shewn and confuted by "better authority, than by such laws as from year to "year may and do change, I dare not promise silence in "so weighty a business, lest in so doing I should appear "to betray the verity, which is not subject to the muta- "bility of the time. And if any think me either enemy "to the person, or yet to the regiment, of her whom "GOD hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived "of me. For the miraculous work of GOD comforting "his afflicted by an infirm vessel I do acknowledge, and "the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom "best pleaseth his mercy, to suppress such as fight against "his glory) I will obey, albeit, that both nature and "GOD's most perfect ordinance repugn to such regi- "ment: More plainly to speak, if Q. Elizabeth shall "confess, that the extraordinary dispensation of GOD's "great mercy, maketh lawful unto her, which both na- "ture and GOD's law doth deny unto all women; then

"shall none in England be more willing to maintain the "lawful authority than I shall be; but if (GOD's wonderous Work set aside) she ground (as GOD forbid) "the justness of her title, upon consuetude, laws, or ordinances of men, then I am assured, that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend GOD's supreme "Majesty, so do I greatly fear that her ingratitude shall "not long want punishment. And this, in the name of "the eternal God, and of his Son Jesus Christ (before "whom both you and I shall stand to make account of all "counsel we give) I require you signify unto her grace "in my name; adding, that only humility and dejection "of herself before GOD shall be the firmity and stability of her throne, which I know shall be assaulted "more ways than one." He wrote also in the same strain to Q. Elizabeth herself. "If thus, (says he) in GOD's "presence you humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify "God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within "England, under you a weak instrument; so will I, with "tongue and pen justify your authority and regiment, as "the Holy Ghost has justified the same in Deborah, that "blessed mother in Israel. But if the premises (as GOD "forbid) neglected, you shall begin to brag of your birth, "and to build your authority and regiment upon your "own law, (flatter you who so list) your felicity shall "be short." There was this year, 1559, printed at Strasburg, an answer to it, written by John Aylmer an exile, formerly archdeacon of Stowe, and preceptor to lady Jane Grey, and afterwards made bishop of London, by Q. Elizabeth. The title of it is, 'An Harborough for faithful and true Subjects, against the late blown Blast concerning the Government of Women; wherein are confuted all such Reasons, as a Stranger of late made in that behalf, with an Exhortation to Obedience.' With all deference we conceive, that with questions of this kind our Reformers had nothing to do. The kingdom of Christ *is not of this world*, and his people are chosen expressly out *of the world*. Let the *potsherds of the earth strive*—but *the servants of the Lord* MUST NOT *strive*. They are pilgrims and strangers upon earth, and as such walk, or should walk, in a very different spirit from the men of the world. Earthly rule or dominion stand or fall according to the designs of Providence; but true believers belong to a kingdom which cannot be shaken. The whole frame of it is peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; and, generally, the way to it, is the way of peace. While, therefore, we gladly present

present our Readers with all that is excellent in good men, we must beg leave to consider that they were *but men*, and that we do not mean to defend or propose for examples their failings and infirmities along with their gifts and graces.

We will only add, that Strype, in his life of Aylmer, gives a summary of the controversy, which was handled by Aylmer with great decency and respect to Knox, and with the fairer advantage of the argument. This is the more remarkable, as Aylmer was naturally of a warm temper; and therefore this conduct may well be imputed to his great regard for his opponent. Indeed, he says himself, that he believes Knox would not be offended on his proving the truth to be against him. 'For, (adds he) I 'have that opinion of the man's honesty and godliness, 'that he will not disdain to hear better reasons, nor be 'loth to be taught in any thing he misseth; knowing 'that no man's judgment is so sound, no man's wit so 'ripe, no man's learning so perfect, but he may some-'times miss the question, and fall into error.' STRYPE's Life of Aylmer, p. 238.

In April 1559, he determined to return to his native country; and having a strong desire in his way thither to visit those in England, to whom he had formerly preached the gospel, he applied to Sir William Cecil, his old acquaintance, to procure leave for that purpose. But this petition was so far from being granted, that the messenger, whom he sent to solicit that favour, very narrowly escaped imprisonment. Upon this he made the best of his way to Scotland, where he arrived on the second day of May, 1559, and was very active in promoting the Reformation there, as appears from the second book of his history, which contains a full account of his conduct, till the Protestants were obliged to apply to England. For carrying on which transaction, in July this year, he was pitched upon to meet Sir William Cecil, *incognito* at Stamford*; but his journey being retarded by the danger of passing near the French, who lay at Dunbar, he was afterwards sent in company with Mr Robert Hamilton, another Protestant minister, to negotiate these affairs between the Protestants in Scotland and Q. Elizabeth. When they came to Berwick, they remained some days with Sir James Crofts the governor, who undertook to manage their business

* Sir William Cecil's letter desiring that meeting, is dated at Oxford, July 14th, 1559, and printed in Knox's History, p. 212, 213.

ness for them, and advised them to return home; which they did. Secretary Cecil sent also an answer to the Protestant nobility and gentry, concerning their proposals to Q. Elizabeth; which was so general, that they were very near resolving to break off the negotiation, had not Mr Knox interposed with so much earnestness, that they allowed him once more to write to the secretary.

To Knox's letter there was quickly sent an answer, desiring that some person of credit might be sent to confer with the English at Berwick; and the same letter informed them, that there was a sum of money ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cause; assuring them, that if the lords of the congregation were willing to enter into a league with Q. Elizabeth upon honourable terms, they should want neither men nor money. Upon this answer, Mr Henry Balnaveis, a man well respected in both kingdoms, was sent to Berwick, who soon returned with a sum of money, which defrayed the public expence till November; when John Cockburne of Ormiston being sent for the second support, received it, but fell into the hands of Earl Bothwell, who took the money from him. In the interim, Mr Knox was chosen minister of Edinburgh in July; but being obliged to attend the lords, while the agreement was in dependance, Mr Willock was left in Edinburgh to officiate in his room. The effect of these negotiations was the sending an army under the command of the duke of Norfolk; which being joined by almost all the great men in Scotland, at last a peace was procured and concluded between the two kingdoms, on the eighth of July in the year 1560.

Mr Knox and the rest who had formed themselves into congregations, being freed by this peace from any disturbance, made several regulations for the farther propagating and establishing the Protestant religion; and in order to have the Reformed doctrine preached through the kingdom, a division was made of it into twelve districts (for the whole number of the reformed ministers at this time was only twelve,) and the district of Edinburgh was assigned to Mr Knox. These twelve ministers also composed a confession of faith, which was afterwards ratified by parliament; they also compiled the first books of discipline for that church.

In December this year, Mr Knox buried his first wife Margery Bowes, an English woman, for whose loss he was much grieved. In January the following year, viz. 1561, we find our Author engaged in a dispute concerning the contro-

controverted points of religion, against Mr Alexander Anderson, sub-principal of the King's-college at Aberdeen, and Mr John Leslie, parson of Une, afterwards bishop of Ross.

In March 1560-1, Mr John Spottiswood was admitted superintendant of Lothian by Mr Knox. And the same year, August 20th, 1561, the queen arrived at Leith from France. From her first arrival, her majesty set up a private mass in her own chapel, which afterwards, by her protection and countenance, was much more frequented: This excited the zeal of Mr Knox, who expressed himself with great warmth against allowing it; and an act of the privy-council being proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, forbidding any disturbance to be given to this practice under pain of death, on the twenty-fifth of that month, Mr Knox openly, in his sermon the Sunday following, declared, "that one mass was more frightful to "him, than ten thousand armed enemies, landed in any "part of the realm." This freedom of speech gave great offence to the court, and the queen herself had a long conference with him upon that and other subjects. In this conference, her majesty having charged him with writing the "Blast," he avows it, and then proceeds thus: "I hear that an Englishman hath written against it, but "I have not read him. If he hath sufficiently improved "my reasons, and established his contrary propositions "with as evident testimonies as I have done mine, I "shall not be obstinate, but shall confess my error and "ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet "think myself alone to be more able to sustain the things "affirmed in that my WORK, than any ten in Europe "shall be able to confute it." The queen likewise charged him with denying her just authority: To which he pleads the privilege of the learned in all ages, and cites Plato in particular, who had publicly taught doctrines contrary to the common opinion, without disturbing the society, bearing with patience the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. "Even so, "(says he,) madam, am I content to do in uprightness "of heart, and with the testimony of a good conscience "I have communicate my judgment to the world; if "the realme finds no inconveniency in the regiment of "a woman, that which they approve shall I not farther "disallow than within my own breast, but I shall be as "well content to live under your grace as Paul was to "live under Nero; and my hope is, (concludes he,) that

so

" so long as you defile not your hands with the blood of " the saints of GOD, that neither I nor the book shall " either hurt you or your authority; for, in very deed, " Madame, that book was written most especially against " that wicked Jezebel of England." What part he bore in the affairs of the church, during the remainder of this year, 1561, may be seen in his History, to which we refer the curious Reader.

In the year 1562, we find him employed in reconciling the earls of Bothwell and Arran, which is an evidence how much he was regarded by the most eminent persons of the kingdom, and how much interest he had with them. The same year, the queen being informed that her uncles were like to recover their former interests at the court of France, received the news with great joy: Mr Knox hearing of her behaviour, and apprehending that the power of the queen's relations would produce dismal effects, in prejudice of the Reformed interest in these parts, thought fit to preach a sermon, wherein " he taxed the ignorance, " vanity, and despite of princes, against all virtue, and " against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of " virtue appeared." This and other expressions, in reproof of dancing for joy at the displeasure taken against GOD's people, coming to the ears of the queen, her majesty sent for him, and had a second conference with him. The message was brought by Alexander Cockburne, who had been formerly his scholar, and the conference ended with the queen's declaring, she had been misinformed. This year he was appointed, by the general assembly, commissioner to the counties of Kyle and Galloway; and, by his influence, several of the most eminent gentlemen of Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick, entered into a bond, or covenant at Air, either the same, or one similar to that entered into at Edinburgh, in the year 1557, which was subscribed September the fourteenth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two.

Mr Knox went from the shire of Air and Nithsdale and Galloway, and had several conferences about matters of great importance with the master of Maxwell; and from this county he wrote to the duke of Chatelherault, giving him cautions against both the bishop of St Andrews and the earl of Huntly, whose counsels he judged might prove prejudicial to the Reformed interest. At this time he accepted a challenge made by an eminent person among the Papists, a Mr Quintin Kennedy, a son of the house of Cassils, to a public dispute about the mass, which was held

held in the village of Maybole, in Carrick, and continued for the space of three days, and was afterwards printed.

In the beginning of the queen's first parliament, in May, 1563, Mr Knox endeavoured to excite the earl of Murray to appear with zeal and courage, to get the articles of Leith established by law; but finding him cooler than he expected, there followed a breach between them, which continued for a year and a half. And after the bill was rejected, the parliament not being dissolved, he preached a sermon before a great many of the members, in which he expressed his sense of that matter with vehemency, and at the close declared his abhorrency of the queen's marrying a Papist. This gave great offence to the court; and her majesty, sending for him, expressed much passion, and thought to have punished him, but was prevailed upon to desist at that time.

The ensuing year, Lord Darnley being married to the queen, was advised by the Protestants about court to hear Mr Knox preach, as thinking it would contribute much to procure the good-will of the people. At their desire he went, on the nineteenth of August, to the high-church, but was so much offended at the sermon, that he complained to the council, who immediately ordered Mr Knox before them, and forbad him to preach for several days. His text was in Isaiah xxvi. 13—17. *O Lord our GOD, other lords than thou have reigned over us, &c.* From these words he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who for the sins of the people are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them. And amongst other things, he said, "that GOD sets in that room, (for the "offences and ingratitude of the people,) boys and wo-"men." There were also some other words uttered by him which gave great offence to the king, as "that "GOD justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because "he would not take order with that harlot Jezebel." These words the council told him had given great offence to his majesty, and they desired him to abstain from preaching fifteen or twenty days, and let Mr Craig supply the place. He answered, that he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey so far as the word of God would permit him. The publisher of Mr Knox's history in 4to adds in the margin, that in answering he said more than he had preached; for he added, "that as the king had for pleasure of the "queen gone to mass, and dishonoured the Lord GOD, "so should GOD in his justice make her an instrument

" of his ruin;" and so it fell out in a very short time; but the queen being incensed at these words, fell into tears, and to please her, John Knox must abstain from preaching for a time.

The general assembly, which met in December this year in their fourth session, appointed Mr Knox to draw up a consolatory letter in their name, to encourage ministers, exhorters, and readers, to continue in their vocations, which many were under great temptation to leave for want of subsistence, and to exhort the professors of the realm to supply their necessities. He was also appointed by this assembly to visit, preach, and plant, the kirks of the south, till the next assembly, and to remain as long as he could at that work.

Mr Knox requested the general assembly, which met at Edinburgh in December, 1566, that he might have leave to go to England to visit two of his sons, probably then at school, and for necessary affairs in that kingdom. Before he set out, he had ample testimonials from the assembly of his life, doctrine, and usefulness, and was by them recommended to all to whom he should come. The assembly limited his abode in England to the meeting of the next general assembly, to be held in June following. The general assembly being informed, that some worthy and learned divines in England were prosecuted by the bishops, because they refused to use the habits appointed by law for church-men, caused a letter to be written and sent by Mr Knox, in which with great earnestness they intreated, that they might deal gently with such ministers as scrupled the use of those vestments. As this letter is too long for our insertion, we must refer those that are curious to read it, either to bishop Spottiswood's History of the Troubles at Frankfort, or to Mr Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.

In the year 1567, Mr Knox preached a sermon at the coronation of K. James the Sixth of Scotland, and afterwards the First of Great Britain. This sermon is much commended by Buchanan in his History of Scotland. This year is very remarkable in Scotland, upon account of the great turn of affairs there by Q. Mary's resigning the government, and by the appointment of the earl of Murray to be regent. The first parliament which was called by the earl met on the fifteenth of December. It was a very numerous convention of all the estates, and Mr Knox preached a very zealous sermon at the opening of it; and he was extremely afflicted at the regent's death in 1569.

We

We are told that he apprehended the interest of religion would be exposed to the utmost danger by the earl of Murray, or regent's fall; and, on that account, expressed himself with great concern both in public and private.

In the year 1571, the Hamiltons and others, who had entered into a combination against the earl of Lennox, then regent, began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, a council was held by them in the castle on the fourth of May, where the laird of Grainge, captain of the castle, proposed that they might give security for the person of Mr Knox, which was also much desired by the town's-people. The Hamiltons answered, that they could not promise him security upon their honour, because there were many in the town who loved him not, besides other disorderly people, that might do him harm without their knowledge. Upon this answer, which plainly shewed no good intention to Mr Knox, his friends in the town, with Mr Craig his colleague at their head, intreated him to leave the place, by reason of the impending danger to him, and to them too upon his account, in defending him from the attempts of the contrary party; which, being also the strongest, would most probably be able to execute their designs against him. Accordingly, leaving Edinburgh on the fifth of May, he went first to Abbotshall in Fife, and thence to St Andrews, where he remained till the twenty-third of August, in the year 1572.

That year there was a convention of the ministers at Leith, where it was agreed, that a certain kind of episcopacy should be introduced into the church, which was zealously opposed by our Reformer. The matter stood thus: The courtiers had got the far greater part of the revenues of the bishoprics, but they could not get a colourable title to these rents, as the law then stood, except they had a conveyance from those who had the title of bishops; for this reason it was thought a good expedient by the great ones, who had a longing mind to enjoy the profits of the bishoprics, that this sort of bishops should be brought into the church, and indeed all of them, by certain pactions, conveyed the far greater part of the revenues to their patrons, reserving a very small part to themselves. Among the rest, the archbishopric of St Andrews coming to the share of the earl of Morton, that nobleman designed Mr John Douglass, rector of the university there, in whom his lordship had an entire confidence to be elected to that see: For this purpose the electors

electors were convened February 8th, 1572, where, after some opposition, he was elected archbishop. Mr Knox being then in St Andrews, was much displeased with this election; and the next Lord's-day, being to preach in the forenoon where the earl of Morton was present, he not only peremptorily refused to inaugurate and receive the new-elected bishop, but publicly denounced an anathema both to the giver and receiver of this bishopric. Notwithstanding this opposition, Mr Douglass was admitted archbishop according to the order for admitting superintendants and ministers; for they had not as yet framed any particular form for admitting bishops. Mr J. Rutherford, provost of the Old College of St Andrew's, and messieurs Arch. and John Hamilton, professors in the New College, spread a report next week, that Mr Knox's opposition to the bishops proceeded from a pique that he was not elected himself. This coming to his ears, he vindicated himself from the pulpit next Lord's-day, in words to the following purpose: "I have refused a far "greater bishopric than ever it was, which I might have "had with the favour of greater men than ever he had "his; I did and do repine, not from malecontent, but "for the discharge of my conscience, that the kirk of "Scotland be not subject to that order." This seems to refer to the offer that we have observed was made him of a bishopric in England in Edward VIth's time.

The troubles of the country being much abated, and the people of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they sent two of their number, viz. Nicol. Edward and John Johnston, scribe, to St Andrews, to invite Mr Knox to return to them, and to ask his advice about the choice of another minister to assist him during the time of the troubles: For they were exceedingly displeased with the conduct of Mr Craig during the times of the troubles, he having made too great compliance, as they thought, with those who appeared against the authority of the young king and his regents, and were unwilling any longer to submit to his ministers. With their commissioners they sent a letter, inviting him to return.

The superintendant of Lothian was with them, when they presented the letter; which, when Mr Knox had perused, he consented to return upon this condition, that he should not be desired in any sort to cease speaking against the treasonable dealings of those who held out the castle of Edinburgh; and this he desired them to signify

to

to the whole of the brethren, lest they should repent afterwards of his austerity against those in the castle, or fear to be treated the worse on his account; and after his return, he repeated these words more than once to his friends there, before he entered the pulpit; they answered, that they never meant to put a bridle on his tongue, but desired him to speak according to his conscience, as in former times. They also requested his advice in the choice of a minister; and, after some debates, they agreed upon Mr James Lawson, sub-principal of the King's College at Aberdeen. Mr Knox left St Andrews, August 17th, and came to Leith on the twenty-third. Upon the last day of that month, he preached in the great kirk; but his voice was become very weak, and therefore he desired another place to teach in, where his voice might be heard, if it were but to a hundred persons; which was granted. Immediately after this agreement commissioners were sent, by whom Mr Knox sent the following letter.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"SEEING GOD of his mercy, far above my ex-
"pectation, hath called me once again to Edinburgh, and
"yet I feel nature so decayed, and daily to decay, that I
"look not for a long continuance of my battle, I would
"gladly once discharge my conscience, unto your bosom,
"and unto the bosom of others, in whom I think the
"fear of GOD remaineth. If I had the ability of body,
"I should not have put you to the pains to which I re-
"quire you now, that is, once to visit me, that we may
"confer together of heavenly things; for in earth there is
"no stability except the kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fight-
"ing under the cross, to whose protection I heartily com-
"mit you.

"From Edinburgh, seventh of September, 1572.

"*Accelere, mi frater, alioqui serò venies.*"

Mr Lawson came to Edinburgh September 15th, and preached on the Friday after, to the great satisfaction of the people, and continued preaching, till he was admitted to the charge of the ministry at Edinburgh. Mr Knox preached in the Tolbooth as long as he had strength of body; but his health was greatly impaired by the news of the massacre of the Protestants at Paris about this time. It was brought to Edinburgh about the twelfth of September, by Mr Killigrew, ambassador from Q. Elizabeth. However, he introduced it into his next sermon, with his usual denunciation of GOD's vengeance thereon, which he

he desired the French ambassador, monsieur La Croque, might be acquainted with. The denunciation was to this purport, "Sentence is pronounced in Scotland against that "murderer the king of France, and GOD's vengeance "shall never depart from him nor his house, but his name "shall remain an execration to posterity; and none, that "shall come of his loins, shall enjoy the kingdom in "peace and quietness, unless repentance prevent GOD's "judgment." The ambassador being told it, applied to the regent and council, and complained that his master was called a traitor and murderer of his subjects, under a promise and trust; and desired that an edict might be published, prohibiting the subjects of Scotland to speak any thing to the dishonour of his master, especially the ministers in their sermons. This was waved by the council, and the ambassador was told, that they could not hinder the ministers from speaking even against themselves.

On Sunday, November the ninth, in the year 1572, he admitted Mr Lawson, a minister of Edinburgh. But his voice was so weak, that very few could hear him; he declared the mutual duty between a minister and his flock; he praised GOD, who had given them one in his room, who was now unable to teach, and desired that GOD might augment his graces to him a thousand fold above that which he had, if it were his pleasure, and ended with pronouncing the blessing. From this day he hastened to his end. Upon the eleventh, he was seized with a violent cough and great pains of the body; breathing, continually, with more and more difficulty, till he breathed his last. When his friends advised him to send for some physicians, he smilingly consented; saying, "I would not "either despise, or neglect, ordinary means; but of this "I am certain, that GOD will shortly put an end to my "warfare below."

The day after, he ordered his servants to be paid their wages; whom, at the same time, he earnestly exhorted "to walk in the fear of the Lord; and to live so, as be-"came Christians educated in that family." His disorder growing worse and worse, he was forced to prætermit his ordinary method of reading; which used to be, every day, some chapters of the New Testament, and in the Old, particularly the Psalms; and some useful portion of ecclesiastical history. In the meanwhile, he requested his wife (Margaret Stewart, a devout woman, and a most affectionate partner of his faith and cares,) and Richard Ballantine,

Ballantine, his servant, who was always very dear to him for his remarkable piety, that they would take care to read to him, every day while he lived, the seventeenth chapter of St John's gospel, one or other of the chapters of the epistle to the Ephesians, and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah: Which injunction they never once omitted.

He was always peculiarly fond of the book of Psalms, GOD having greatly blessed them to his soul. With some select portions of those admirable compositions, he was much comforted in life, and strengthened in death.

The day following, he rose from his bed by seven o'clock: And being asked, 'Why, when he was so weak 'and sick, he would not rather chuse to rest himself?' he answered, "I have been this whole night taken up with "the meditation of the resurrection of Jesus Christ my "Lord; and would with joy get into the pulpit, that I "might communicate to others the comfort I have inward-"ly enjoyed from reflecting on that blessed subject." So intent was he on the work of the Lord, even to his last breath; and when, for want of strength, he could scarce be lifted out of bed by the assistance of two servants!

A few days after, he sent for all the ministers of the several churches in Edinburgh, to whom, being assembled round his bed, he thus addressed himself: "That day is "now at hand, which I have so often and intensely "longed for; in which, having finished my labours, and "gone through my various sorrows, I shall be dissolved, "and be with Christ. And I appeal to GOD, whom I "have served in the Spirit in the gospel of his Son, that "I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrines "of his word: Having made this my main view, through "the whole course of my ministry, to instruct the igno-"rant; to edify and comfort believers; lift up and con-"firm, with the promises of grace, those who were weak, "fearful, and doubting, through the fear of wrath and "and consciousness of sin; and to beat down haughty re-"bellious sinners, with the threatenings and terrors of the "Lord. And although many have frequently complained "of my harshness in preaching, yet, GOD knows, that "I did not thus deal out thunders and severity, from "hatred to the persons of any: Though this I will ac-"knowledge, that the sins, in which they indulged them-"selves, were the objects of my keenest hatred and resent-"ment; and, in my whole ministry, this was my single "aim, if I might by any means gain over their souls to "the Lord. My motive, for speaking freely and plainly,

"what-

"whatever the Lord gave me to say, without respect of "persons, was nothing but reverence to that GOD, who "called me by his grace, and made me the dispenser of "his divine mysteries: Before whose tribunal I knew I "must one day stand, to give account for my discharge "of that embassy and commission wherewith he had in- "vested me. Wherefore I profess, before GOD and his "holy angels, that I have never knowingly *adulterated* "his sacred word, *hold back* any of his counsels from my "people, studied to *please* men, or give way to my own "or other corrupt *affections* or secular *interest*; but have "faithfully expended the talents committed to me, for "the good of the church over whom I was in the Lord. "To the truth of this, my conscience beareth testimony; "which is a comfort to me, notwithstanding the various "slanders which some have made it their business to cast "upon me. And do ye, my dearest brethren in the faith "and labour of Jesus, persist in the everlasting truths of "his gospel: Look diligently to the flocks, with whose "oversight GOD hath intrusted you; and which he hath "redeemed to himself by the blood of his Son. And "do you, my brother Lawson, fight the good fight, and "finish the work of GOD, to which you are called, with "alacrity and faithfulness. May GOD shower down his "blessing from on high, upon you and your several charges "in this city! which, so long as they continue to hold "fast those doctrines of truth, which they have heard of "me, the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail a- "gainst. And beware of those, who have not only oppos- "ed the royal government, but even forsaken the truth "which they once professed: Against whom I denounce, "that, unless they sincerely repent, and return to the good "way which they have left, they shall one day miserably "perish in soul and body. I would say more; but can- "not, as I am scarce able to draw my breath." With these words he dismissed them: And afterwards spoke in private to those who attended him, to admonish one Grange; on whom that judgment afterwards fell, which Knox had predicted. He was then visited by the chief nobility of the town, among whom was lord Morton, afterwards viceroy of the kingdom; as also by some godly ladies of the first quality: None of whom he suffered to depart, without a word of comfort or exhortation, as their separate cases required.

Perceiving death to approach nearer and nearer, he gave orders for his coffin to be made: After which, he burst forth

forth to this effect: "Lord Jesus, sweetest Saviour, into "thy hands I commend my spirit. Look, I beseech thee, "with favour, upon this church which thou hast re-"deemed, and restore peace to this afflicted common-"wealth. Raise up pastors after thine own heart, who "may take care of thy church; and grant that we may "learn, as well from the blessings as from the chastise-"ments of thy providence, to abhor sin, and love thee "with full purpose of heart." Then, turning to those about him, he said, "O wait on the Lord with fear, and "death will not be terrible: Yea, blessed and holy will "their death be, who are interested in the death of the "Son of GOD." Being asked, by an intimate friend, "whether he felt much pain?" he replied, "I cannot "look upon that as pain, which brings on the end of "mortality and trouble, and is the beginning of life." Having then ordered those passages of Scripture, above-mentioned, to be distinctly read to him, he repeated the Lord's prayer and the apostles' creed; enlarging, as he went on, most sweetly and spiritually, upon each of the separate petitions and articles, to the great comfort and edification of them that were by. Afterwards, lifting up his hands toward heaven, he cried out, "To thee, Lord, "do I commit myself. Thou knowest, how intense my "pains are; but I do not complain: Yea, Lord, if such "be thy will concerning me, I could be content to bear "these pains for many years together: Only do thou "continue to enlighten my mind through Christ Jesus." He passed that night, with more ease and complacency, than usual; the fifteenth chapter of 1 Cor. being frequently read to him, at his own desire: Which being done, he would cry out, "O what sweet and heavenly "consolations does my Lord afford me, from this blessed "chapter!" But, when one of his eyes grew blind, and his speech began to fail, he cried, faintly, "Turn "to the seventeenth of St John, and read it carefully; "for there I cast my first anchor." When that was read, he rested a little: But soon began to utter very heavy groans and deep sighs; so that the by-standers plainly perceived, he was grappling with some very great temptation. There were, at this time, present in the room, one John Johnson, a holy man, and Robert Campbell, a great friend to the gospel; Mrs Knox, and others; who, observing his agonies, thought him to be in the pains of death. At length, however, contrary to their expectation, he recovered, like one awaked from sleep: And, being

being asked how he did, answered, "Many have been "my conflicts with Satan, in the course of my frail life, "and many the assaults which I have sustained: But that "roaring lion never beset me, so furiously and forcibly, "as now. Often has he set my sins in array before "me; often has he tempted me to despair; and often "strove to ensnare me with the enticements of the world: "But, I being enabled to hew his snares in pieces with "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of GOD, "he was not able to prevail against me. But now he "has found out a new way. That crafty serpent has "endeavoured to persuade me, that, because I have faith- "fully and successfully discharged my ministerial office, "I am on that account *deserving* of eternal life and an "happy immortality. But GOD was pleased to make "me triumphant over this temptation also, by power- "fully suggesting to my memory those texts, *What hast "thou, that thou didst not receive? and, By the grace of "GOD, I am what I am: And, Not I, but the grace of "GOD which was with me*: And others, with which I "foiled the enemy, and quenched his fiery darts. I thank "my GOD, therefore, through Christ, who has vouch- "safed me the victory; and I have a certain persuasion "in my own breast, that Satan shall not be permitted to "return, or molest me any more, in my passage to glory: "But that I shall, without any pain of body, or agony "of soul, sweetly and peacefully exchange this wretched "life for that blessed and immortal one, which is through "Christ Jesus." Then evening prayers were said; and being asked, whether he could hear them distinctly? he answered, "Would to GOD you all heard with such ears, "and perceived with the same mind, as I am enabled to "do! And now, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" Where- upon, certain symptoms of immediate death appearing, he was desired to give some sign, whereby they might know, that he died in the stedfast belief and enjoyment of those gospel truths, which he had taught when living; and, likewise, of his comfortable assurance of a blissful immortality through Christ. On which, as if he had re- ceived fresh strength, he triumphantly lifted his hand to- ward heaven, and continued waving it, for a considerable time: And then quietly departed to the rest which remain- eth for the people of GOD, on November 24, 1572, about eleven o'clock at night.

He was interred on the twenty-sixth, in the kirk-yard of St Giles's, the corpse being attended by several lords who

who were then at Edinburgh, and particularly the earl of Morton, that day chosen regent, who, as soon as he was laid in the grave, said, 'There lies a man, who in his 'life never feared the face of a man, who hath been often 'threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his 'days in peace and honour. For he had GOD's provi-'dence watching over him in a special manner, when his 'very life was sought.' The following among many other instances is very remarkable: It was his custom to sit at the table-head in his own house with his back to a window; yet, on a certain night he would neither sit there in his own chair, nor allow any other person to sit in it; but sat in another chair with his back to the table, when a bullet was shot in at the window purposely to kill him; but the conspirators missed him, and the bullet grazed on the chair in which he used to sit, and lighted on the candlestick, and made a hole in the foot of it, which is yet to be seen: And I am assured the identical chair is now in the hall of the trustees of the widow's scheme, in Edinburgh.

Mr Knox was twice married, first, to Margery Bowes, an Englishwoman, whose mother, Mrs Bowes, was a person of great knowledge and singular piety; by Margery he had two sons, Nathaniel and Eliezer, and one daughter, who was married to Mr Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthbert's in Edinburgh, and for some time lord of session. His sons were both educated at the university of Cambridge, and admitted of St John's College, December 2, 1572, presently after the death of their father. Nathaniel took his first degree in arts in the year 1576, and the following year was admitted fellow of the college. He proceeded master of arts in 1580, and died in that year. The second son, Eliezer, took the degree of batchelor of arts in 1577, was admitted fellow of his college, March 22, 1579, commenced master of arts in 1581, was appointed university-preacher in 1587-8, made vicar of Clacton-magna, May 17, 1587. and proceeded B. D. the following year. He died in the year 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St John's College.

For his second wife, Mr Knox married Margaret Stewart, daughter to Andrew lord Ochiltrie, a zealous promoter of the Reformation, and sister to James earl of Arran. This lady surviving Mr Knox, was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Ker of Foudonside. She brought Mr Knox three daughters, to whom, with their mother, in the year 1573, was granted the following pension; viz. five

hundred marks in money, two chalders of wheat, six chalders of bear, [barley] and four chalders of oats. This favour is said to be granted on account of Mr Knox's long and fruitful travels in the kirk, and for the education and support of his wife and children. One of these daughters was married to Mr John Welsh, minister at Air; and another to Mr James Fleming, also a minister, and grandfather by another wife to the excellent Mr Robert Fleming.

An account of his WRITINGS.

"1. A faithful Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ within the kingdom of England, 1554. It was reprinted at the end of his history in 1644 and 1732. 2. A Letter to Mary, Q. Regent of Scotland, 1556. printed with additions in 1558; and again at the end of his history. 3. The Appellation of John Knox, from the cruel and unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland; with a Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonality of the same Realm, 1558; and again at the end of his history, where is subjoined, An Admonition to England and Scotland, to call them to Repentance, by Anthony Gilbie; as also Mr Knox's Advertisement, concerning the Second Blast of the Trumpet. 4. The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women, 1558, 8vo. reprinted with his history in 1732, fol. 5. A brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel, heretofore by the Tyranny of Mary suppressed and banished, 1559; and again, with his history in 1644 and 1732. 6. An Answer to a great Number of blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversary of GOD's eternal Predestination, by John Knox, Minister of GOD's Word in Scotland, Geneva, 1560. 7. The Confession of Faith, ratified by the Parliament of Scotland, 1560; as also the First Book of Discipline, the Form and Order for admitting Superintendants and Ministers, and of Excommunication and Fasting, all approved in the G. Assembly, were composed chiefly by our Author. 8. A Reply to the Abbot of Crosrag-well's [or Crossregal] Faith, or Catechism; as also an Account of his Conference with that Abbot in 1562. A Sermon before the King [Henry Darnley] on Isaiah xxvi. 13—17. in 1566. 9. An Answer to a Letter written by James Tyria, a Jesuit, Edinburgh, 1568. Mr Knox's Answer was published in 1571. These were published in our Author's life-time."

After

After Mr Knox's death came out his famous History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, &c. probably first printed in London, 1586, 8vo; again at London in 1644, fol. and the same year at Edinburgh, in 4to, and a fourth time at Edinburgh, 1732, fol. This edition is printed from a MS. in the library of the college at Glasgow, an account of which, and of three others is given by the editor, in our Author's life prefixed to it. Besides his printed works, there were also, in 1732, some MSS. of his in the hands of Mr Robert Woodrow, minister of Eastwood, and others are preserved in Mr David Calderwood's large history of the church of Scotland. Those in the hands of Mr Woodrow are;

I. A volume in folio, in an old hand fairly written, and seems to have been copied by John Gray, scribe to the G. Assembly, for the use of Margaret Stewart, Mr Knox's widow, both their names being written upon it. The contents of it are, A Preparation to Prayer, four sheets. 2. The sixth Psalm of David godly expounded, ten sheets, written in 1553, when our Author was leaving England 3. The Epistle sent to several Congregations in England, shawand the Plaigs, which sall schortlie cum upon that Realm, for refusing God's Worde, and imbrassing Idolatrie, John Knox. 4. To the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick.

II. A volume in 4to, containing 518 pages. Upon the title-page is written, The Epistles of Mr John Knox, worthy to be read, &c. And in another hand are the following words: This book belonged some time to Margaret Stewart, widow to Mr Knox, afterwards married to the Knight of Fadounside, sister she was to James earl of Arran. The contents are, 1. Mr Knox's Confession before the Bishop of Durham, April 4, 1550. 2. His Declaration in a sum concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. 3. A Declaration what true Prayer is, by John Knox. This is distinct from the treatise in the other volume, and consists of four sheets. 4. The Exposition upon the sixth Psalm, the same with that in the other volume. 5. John Knox to the Faithful in London, &c. ibid. 6. Knox's Admonition to the Professors in England. This is printed. 7. Certain Epistles and Letters of the Servant of GOD, John Knox, to and from divers Places to his Friends in Jesus Christ. These epistles are forty-six in number, written from the year 1553 to 1557.

HENRY BULLINGER.

THIS excellent divine was born the eighteenth of July, 1504, at Bremgarten, a small town on the frontiers of the canton of Zurick, in Switzerland. His father was a man of considerable fortune; but brought up his children as if he had been in indigent circumstances. He sent this son, at twelve years of age, to a good school at Emmeric, in the duchy of Cleves, where he studied the classics under Mosellanus. His father only gave him a suit of clothes, when he sent him to this school, where he continued three years, and maintained himself by what he got in singing from door to door. He was put to such straits by his father, to make him one day more sensible of the prayers of the poor.

Bullinger had a mind to turn Carthusian when he went to Emmeric. Teissier says, he resolved to turn Carthusian, when he had made an end of his studies. He would have been of that order, but his elder brother dissuaded him from it.

At fifteen years of age he was sent to Cologne, where he applied himself more earnestly to classical learning, because he began to perceive the barbarous manner in which philosophy was then taught. In 1520, he even wrote five dialogues against the school-divines. The two first attacked those divines directly: The two following were an apology for Reuchlin against Pipericorne, a converted Jew: And the title of the fifth was Promorotes: But they were not printed.

Bullinger continued at Cologne till 1522, and the nature of his studies there disposed him to forsake the Romish communion, as soon as occasion offered. He is said to have been converted by the writings of Melancthon. In 1523, he passed some months at his father's house, and was invited by the abbot of Cappel to teach in his convent. It was an abbey of the Cistercian order near Zurick; and that order was founded, in 1098, by Robert, abbot of Citeaux in France. Bullinger discharged his duty with great reputation, till 1527, at this convent, when he became the chief instrument of establishing the reformation of

From an Original Engraving published under the Inspection of Beza's.

of Zuinglius there. It does not appear that Bullinger was a clergyman in the communion of the see of Rome: And it is expressly remarked, that he performed no manner of Roman-catholic function in the abbey of La Cappel. 'His religion was entirely pure; nor had he any share in 'the monastic vows, or order, habit, singing, choir, or 'any other popish superstition.'

Zuinglius, assisted by Oecolampadius and Bucer, had established the doctrine of *evangelical truth*, at Zurick, in 1523. Bullinger attended the lectures of Zuinglius at Zurick, five months, in 1527; which occasioned him to renew his study of the Greek language, and to begin that of the Hebrew. He preached publicly by a mission from the synod; and in 1528, he accompanied Zuinglius at the famous dispute that was held at Bern.

In 1529, when he was in the twenty-fifth year of his age, he was made pastor of the Reformed at Bremgarten. He was scarce quietly settled in his church, with regard to those of the Romish communion, when he was engaged in disputes with the Anabaptists: But he disputed publicly against them, and wrote several books in which he confuted their erroneous opinions. The same year, he married Anne Adlischwiler, by whom he had many children.

The victory obtained by the catholic cantons over the Reformed, in 1531, obliged Bullinger to forsake his country, together with his father, brother, and colleague. He retired to Zurick, and there had the honour to fill the place vacant by the death of Zuinglius.

Bullinger has been rudely called an apostate, and a married priest; which is false, and Simler has shewn the contrary. He edified the church of Zurick, by his preaching and writings. He was obliged to refute the boasts and impertinencies of John Faber, who had been the principal antagonist of Zuinglius: But Bullinger shewed him, that the goodness of a religion was not to be judged of by the good or bad success of a battle.

From that time, Bullinger was employed in several ecclesiastical negotiations, by which Bucer laboured to reconcile the Zuinglians and the Lutherans. Bullinger conducted himself in such a manner, that no suspicion was entertained of him; and in 1536, he shewed, that the love of concord should never bring him to promote a *formulary*, that was captious and contrary to sound words.

In 1538, the Magistrates of Zurick, by his persuasion, erected a new college; and he also prevailed with them to build, in a place that had formerly been a nunnery, a new

school, in which fifteen youths were trained up under an able master, and supplied with all necessaries.

It has been observed, that Erasmus may be justly censured, 'for his weakness in flattering a party whose 'sentiments and conduct he in many things disapproved; 'and in finding fault with those, whom upon the whole 'he resembled much more than he did their adversaries. 'But he died in a friendly and charitable disposition to-'wards Pellicanus and Bullinger, two Protestant divines.' He had been at variance with the former: But he makes honourable mention of the latter. We are told this by Rodolph Hospinian, one of the greatest authors of Switzerland, who, in 1576, formed the history of the errors of Popery, to shew the Romanists that they vainly boast of the conformity of their doctrines with antiquity.

Bullinger wrote some books every year, and particularly one against Luther in 1545. The Switz churches had kept a long silence, notwithstanding Luther wrote in a very passionate manner against their doctrine concerning the Sacrament: At last it was thought fit to answer him in his life-time, lest, if it was deferred till after his death, occasion might be given to some disadvantageous surmises. Besides, it was thought, that a very vigorous answer would make Luther more moderate for the future, and prevent his abusing that respect which was shewn him. Bullinger, who advised silence, was the man charged with the business of answering him, and he acquitted himself worthily: For the Switzers thought, that though Luther had deserved exceeding well of the church, he wanted moderation in his writings. But it is an idle tale that Luther, who died about this time, should break his heart with vexation, because he could not answer Bullinger's apology. The Landgrave of Hesse, who knew that people complained of the church of Zurick on account of these insults, informed Bullinger of it, who wrote an apologetic letter to him in the name of his colleagues. In 1549, Bullinger and Calvin drew up a formulary of the conformity of faith between the church of Zurick, and that of Geneva.

Bullinger's Decads were held in high estimation by the Reformed. Archbishop Whitgift, in full convocation, 1586, procured an order to be made, that every minister of a certain standing should procure a copy of them, read one of the sermons contained in them every week, and make notes of the principal matter contained in the course of reading. A greater testimony of the excellence and utility

utility of any man's work can scarcely be conceived. Zanchius, in a letter to Bullinger, mentions with high commendation Bullinger's book *De origine erroris*, and relates an anecdote of Montallinus a monk, who was burnt at Rome for the cause of truth, that the said good man, before Zanchius had seen the tract, persuaded him earnestly to peruse it; adding, that, if it could not be had upon other terms, he might esteem it a good bargain, to pluck out his right eye for the purchase, and to read it with his left. I soon bought the book, says Zanchius, without losing my eyes; and found it the delight of my soul.

The same year Bullinger alledged so many reasons against renewing the alliance to which Henry II. of France courted the Switz, that the proposition was rejected. One of his reasons was, "That it was not just for a man to let himself "to hire, to kill those who have done him no injury." 'I shall not examine, (says Bayle) whether Bullinger was 'in the wrong or no, as to the republic of Switzerland: 'I shall only say, that I do not see what answer can be 'made him, as to private persons who enlist themselves 'voluntarily to kill the allies of their country.' The Switz cantons sacrifice the lives of their subjects in the quarrels of other nations, and hire their troops to both parties, one of which must have an unjust cause. It may agree with state policy; but it is contradictory to moral honesty. The government of this country, which in many cantons lodge the supreme power in the hands of men of little understanding and small experience, is calculated entirely for mutual defence and union, and unequal to any great undertaking. The difference of religion is another obstacle to the extending their dominions. Besides, every canton and ally are in some sort constitutionally an independent state; from whence it is obvious, that the councils of the republic must be weak, slow, and divided. And to this it may be imputed, that, although the Swiss are numerous and brave, they have made little other use of their valour, than to let it out to foreign princes and states. The Switzers, as at this day, preserved their liberty without attempting the oppression of any. They sold their troops to their most opulent neighbours. They were themselves poor, ignorant of the sciences, and of all the arts which luxury introduces; but they were wise and happy. Zuinglius, and the other Reformers of that country, had the same scruples as Bullinger.

In 1551, Bullinger wrote a book to shew that the council of Trent had no other design than to oppress the truth; and that no regard should be had to the pope's invitation to the cantons, to send deputies there. In 1553, he wrote to Calvin about Servetus, and said, "The Lord has given "the magistrates of Geneva a fair opportunity of clearing themselves and the church from heresy, by delivering Servetus into their hands." And in 1555, he proved a very good friend to Bernard Ochinus, who subscribed the confession of faith of the church of Zurick, and was called to be minister of the Italian church that was formed there, where he officiated till 1563, when he was expelled for publishing some dialogues which favoured polygamy. Most of the arguments, which have been since used on this subject, have been taken from him. Ochinus was unsound in the faith respecting other things, and easily fell into a scheme, which favours the lust and licentiousness of fallen nature. Beza answered him; and the Elder Spanheim has concisely confuted Ochinus's opinion in his *Dubia Evangelica.*

This good man was a great friend to the English refugees in the time of Q. Mary, for which we find many of them expressing their most grateful acknowledgements. Bullinger afterwards diligently employed himself in defending the Reformation for several years; and, in 1561, his dispute began with Brentius, about the doctrine of ubiquity. Bullinger published a book, wherein he shewed, that Jesus Christ, as to his human nature, is no where but in heaven, at the right hand of GOD. Brentius answered it, like a zealous Ubiquitarian; and the contest continued two years.

He also opposed, in the same year, the blasphemies of Blandrata against the divinity of Christ. "If Christ (says "he, in a letter to prince Radzivil) be not co-equal and "co-eternal with the Father, he is not Jehovah; and, "in that case, cannot be the head, nor saviour, nor "high-priest of the church for eternity. Thus our faith "would be vain, and we should have a worse hope than "either Turks or Jews."

In 1564, Bullinger lost his wife, by whom he had six sons, and five daughters. She died of the plague; as also did three of their daughters, who were all married to ministers of Zurick; to Hulric Zuinglius, son of the Reformer Zuinglius; to Lewis Lavator; and to Josias Simler: The second died the same year as her mother, and the other two in 1565. As for the sons, three of them died "young;

young; two were ministers; and another died in France, in the troops of the prince of Orange, in 1569. Their father would never marry a second wife, for which he was blamed. He was sixty years of age when his wife died; Was not that a sufficient excuse for not marrying again? He made no doubt that GOD permitted the ministers of the gospel to marry a second time; but he always said the first was still living in his heart.

In 1571, Bullinger wrote against the last will and testament of Brentius, which was published at Wittenberg, for the purpose of forewarning all states not to allow the Zuinglians a toleration. The same year, the national synod of Rochel condemned those, who rejected the word *substance*, and *substantially*, in speaking of the Eucharist. The ministers of Zurick were of opinion, that *they* were condemned by that canon; and they wrote to Beza concerning it, who answered, by order of the synod, that it did not point at them. However, Bullinger represented to Beza, that the expressions of the decree ought to be so altered, that no one might think there was any difference of opinion between the churches. That letter of Bullinger was effectual; for, in 1572, the synod of Nismes gave all the explications that the church of Zurick could require. The ministers of Zurick took upon them what concerned the fundamentals of doctrine, and left Bullinger only the trouble of answering what related to himself. His last work was an answer, which he made in 1575, to the apology for the will of Brentius, composed by James Andrews. He exceeded his usual bounds in this piece, and severely ridiculed his adversary. As that was the last piece of his works, this was the last year of his life.

In 1575, he relapsed into a severe disease, which had attacked him for three months in the year before; but, though his pains were excruciating, he never appeared impatient or unresigned, either by word or gesture, but prayed the more fervently. In the intervals of ease, he discoursed very pleasantly with his friends. He said, at one time, "If the Lord will make any farther use of me "and of my ministry in the church, I shall willingly "obey him; but if he shall please (as I much desire) to "take me out of this miserable life, I shall exceedingly "rejoice; as I shall be delivered from a wretched age, "to go to my Saviour Christ. Socrates was glad when "his death approached; because, as he thought, he "should go to Homer, Hesiod, and other learned men, "whom he supposed he should meet with in the other "world.

" world. How much more do I rejoice, who am sure that " I shall see my Saviour Christ, the saints, patriarchs, " prophets, apostles, and all the holy men, who have " lived from the beginning of the world? Since, I say, " I am sure to see them, and to partake of their joys; " why should not I willingly die, to be a sharer in their " eternal society and glory?" He took his leave of the ministers and other friends with tears, which, he said, proceeded not from fear of death, but as Paul's, from his great love to them; having made before them a declaration of his faith. He desired the magistrates, whom he thanked for all their kindness to him, to appoint Ralph Gualter to be his successor. On the day he died he was much in prayer, repeating the fifty-first, the sixteenth, and forty-second Psalms. He departed on the seventeenth of September, 1575. He was seventy-one years of age at his death, and had exercised his ministry during forty-three years. His funeral oration was made by John Stuccius: His life was wrote by Josias Simler: And his memory was celebrated, in different kinds of verse, by several hands. He was beloved by all good men, and particularly by doctor Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, who was martyred in 1555.

Bullinger was Author of a great many books: His printed WORKS make ten volumes: And he wrote several others that are preserved in manuscript.

" 1. A Catechism for the Tigurine Schoolmasters. 2. An Epitome of Christian Religion, in ten Books. 3. Sermons on the Heads of Christian Religion. 4. A Confession and Exposition of the Orthodox Faith. 5. A Declaration proving the Protestant Churches to be neither Heretical or Schismatical. 6. A Compendium of the Popish and Protestant Tenets. 7. The old Faith and Religion. 8. Of GOD's eternal Covenant. 9. An Assertion of the two Natures in Christ. 10. Institution of Christian Matrimony. 11 Instructions for the Sick. 12. Declarations of GOD's Benefits unto the Switzers. 13. Exhortations to Repentance. 14. A Treatise of the Sabbath, and of Christian Feasts. 15. Of the Office of Magistrates, and of an Oath. 16. Of Repentance. 17. Of Conversion unto GOD. 18. An Explanation of Daniel's Prophecies. 19. Of the Office Prophetical. 20. An Exhortation unto Ministers to leave off Controversies. 21. Of the Original of Mahometanism. 22. Of the Persecutions of the Church. 23. A Preface to the Latin Bible. 24. Sixty-six Homilies on Daniel. 25. Epitome of the Times

From an Original Painting in Lambeth Palace.

Times from the Creation to the Destruction of Jerusalem. 26. Homilies on Isaiah. 27. Sermons on Jeremiah. 28. An Exposition on the Lamentation. 29. Commentaries on Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. 30. On the Acts of the Apostles. 31. A Series of Times and Actions of the Apostles. 32. Commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul. 33. Sermons on the Revelation. 34. A demonstration of Christian Perfection to Henry II. king of France. 35. Of the Authority of the Scripture. 36. Of the Institution of Bishops."

MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OUR excellent prelate was the second Protestant archbishop of Canterbury, and was born August 6, 1504, in the parish of St Stephen's, in the city of Norwich. He had the misfortune to lose his father when he was only twelve years of age; but his mother took a very particular care of his education. In September, 1520, he was admitted into Corpus-Christi, or Bennet-college, in Cambridge; of which house he was chosen scholar, or bible-clerk, the twentieth of March following: And applying himself closely to his studies, took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1523; but, according to others, in 1524. In April, 1527, he was ordained deacon; in June, priest; and in September, created master of arts, and chosen fellow of his college. By this time he had rendered himself so conspicuous for learning, that he was one of those eminent scholars who were invited from Cambridge, to the magnificent foundation of cardinal Wolsey's [now Christ's Church] college, in Oxford: But by the persuasion of his friends, he stayed where he was, diligently following his studies. And having, within five or six years, read over the fathers and councils, and rendered himself an accomplished divine, he became a licensed, and frequent preacher, at court, at St Paul's-cross, and other public places and occasions. In 1533, or 1534, he was made chaplain to Q. Anne Bolein; who had so much regard and esteem for him, (he being a zealous promoter of the Reformation) that, a little before her

her death, she gave him a particular charge, to take care of her daughter Elizabeth, that she might not want his pious and wise counsel.

July 14, 1534, he commenced bachelor in divinity. And being presented, on the fourth of November following, by the favour of the queen his mistress, to the deanery of Stoke, near Clare in Suffolk, he was installed the thirteenth of the same month. At this place he founded a grammar-school, and made new statutes for the college. March 1, 1537. after the queen's death, K. Henry took him into his own service, and made him one of his chaplains: As he was afterwards to K. Edward the sixth. During the rebellion that broke out that year, he preached at Clare, against popish superstitions, for which he was articled against by some of his neighbours; but his own vindication was so satisfactory to the lord chancellor Audeley, that he bid him go on, and not fear such enemies. On the first of July, 1538, he was created doctor in divinity: And, October 28, 1541, installed prebendary of the second stall in the cathedral of Ely, having been nominated thereto by K. Henry the eighth, in his new charter for that cathedral. In 1542, he was presented by the chapter of Stoke to the rectory of Ashen in Essex, conveniently situated both for Cambridge and Stoke. He held this living not full two years, but resigned it April 30, 1544, and the next day was presented to the rectory of Birlingham All-saints in his own country of Norfolk; which he resigned October 1, 1550. December 4, 1544, upon the king's letters commendatory to the college, dated November 30, he was chosen master of Corpus-Christi, or Bennet College, to which he afterwards became a special benefactor, and compiled for it a new book of statutes. January 25, 1544-5, he was elected vice-chancellor of the university, which office he discharged afterwards in the year 1549. The twenty-second of September, 1545, he was presented by his college of Corpus-Christi, to the rectory of Landbeach, in Cambridgeshire, to which he was admitted December 1st. Notwithstanding all his endeavours to the contrary, he lost his deanery of Stoke by the dissolution of that college, April 1, 1547; but, in consideration of his merit, he had a yearly pension of forty pounds settled on him, in lieu of it, and a promise of the deanery of Lincoln. In the same year, on the twenty-fourth of June, he married Mrs Margaret Harlestone, daughter of Robert Harlestone of Mattishal in Norfolk, gent. Happening to be in Norfolk, in 1549, during Ket's rebellion, he had the resolution to go

to

to the rebels' camp; and, preaching to them out of the "Oak of Reformation," took an opportunity to exhort them to temperance, moderation, and submission to the king. In January 1550-1, he was put into a commission for correcting and punishing some Anabaptists, newly sprung up in the kingdom. Mr Strype gives us this account of their opinions: 'They would not baptize their 'children; held as the Arians in the doctrine of the God-'head, and as Pelagius in the doctrine of free-will and 'predestination: All these came under the denomina-'tion of Anabaptists. Many also administered the sacra-'ments in other manner than was prescribed by the book 'of Common-Prayer.' The February following, he preached a funeral sermon for doctor Martin Bucer, regius professor of divinity in Cambridge. June 1, 1552, he was presented by K. Edward VI. to the prebend of Coringham, or Caldingham, in the cathedral church of Lincoln; and being nominated, a few days after, by his majesty, to the deanery of the same church, he was elected July 30, and installed the seventh of October following.

Thus he lived in great reputation under K. Henry VIII. and Edward VI. But, upon Q. Mary's coming to the crown, he was reduced to low circumstances, and suffered much; though still contented and chearful: For, in the second year of her reign, he was deprived of all his preferments, of which the pretence was his being married. According to his own account, "In December 1553, "he resigned his mastership of Corpus-Christi-college to "Laurence Moptye, whom in a kind of necessity he chose "his successor. April 2, 1554, he was deprived of his "prebend of Ely, and rectory of Landbeach. May 21, "so he was of his deanery and prebend of Lincoln."—— "After that, (adds he) I lived privately; so joyful in my "conscience before GOD; and so neither ashamed nor "dejected, that the most sweet leisure for study, to which "the good providence of GOD recalled me, gave me "much greater and more solid pleasures, than that for-"mer busy and dangerous kind of life ever afforded me." He had so heartily espoused the Reformation, which rendered him obnoxious, that he was fain to abscond, and to retire privately into Norfolk, among his friends, with his wife and family. He was often and diligently sought for, yet by shifting from place to place, without, however, going out of the kingdom, he escaped those bloody times, and was reserved for better days. One time, narrow search being made in order to take him; he receiving notice of it,

it, fled in the night in great distress, and got so dangerous a fall from his horse, that he never recovered it. During this retirement, he turned the book of Psalms into English verse; and wrote a defence of the marriage of priests. Q. Elizabeth's accession, in 1559, made a great change in his condition: For, he not only became free from all fear and danger, but was exalted to the highest station in the English church, to the archbishopric of Canterbury. A station for which he was looked upon as the fittest man; his great prudence, courage, conduct, learning, and experience, being wanting and necessary, for the Reformation that was now to be set on foot, and carried on with the utmost vigour. He was so far from seeking that high dignity, that it seems he earnestly avoided it. In the mean time, he was appointed one of the visitors of the university of Cambridge. And he privately addressed the queen, to dissuade her from exchanging the temporal revenues of bishoprics for impropriations, as she was impowered to do by act of parliament, upon a vacancy; which was a very unequal exchange. He likewise advised her to remove crucifixes and lighted tapers out of churches, particularly out of her own chapel.

Having been elected archbishop August 1, 1559, by the dean and chapter of Canterbury, he was confirmed, Dec. 9. in the church of St Mary le Bow; and consecrated the seventeenth of the same month, in Lambeth-chapel, by William Barlow, late bishop of Bath and Wells, and then elect of Chichester, John Scory, late bishop of Chichester, and then elect of Hereford, Miles Coverdale late bishop of Exeter, and John Hodgkin suffragan bishop of Bedford. The Romanists invented afterwards a tale, that he had been consecrated at the Nag's-head inn, or tavern, in Cheapside: But that story hath been so thoroughly confuted by our English authors and others, and withal disproved by many Catholics; that, to believe it now-a-days, requires more even than the faith of a papist. Archbishop Parker being thus constituted primate and metropolitan of the church of England, took care to have the several sees filled with learned and worthy men, and well-affected to the Reformation: And soon after performed his metropolitical visitation of the several dioceses. It has been observed, that in the space of fifteen years and five months (during which he was metropolitan) he either consecrated or confirmed the bishops of all the dioceses throughout the kingdom: A circumstance, which has occurred to him alone of all the archbishops of Canterbury. In 1560, he and the bishops of

of London and Ely addressed the queen, to enter into the blessed state of Wedlock; but she chose to reign alone. He likewise, and some other bishops, exhorted her to remove images entirely out of churches, which she inclined to retain. By his encouragement it was, that a free-school was founded, in 1563, at Sandwich in Kent; and he likewise recovered the stipend of the school-master of Stoke near Clare. In 1564 he completed the reparation and building of his palace at Canterbury, the expence whereof amounted to above one thousand four hundred pounds; and, about the same time, founded a free-school at Rochdale in Lancashire. One of his main designs and endeavours, was to introduce into this church an uniformity both in habits and ceremonies; but he met therein with great opposition from that wicked great man the earl of Leicester, and some other courtiers; and from the whole bulk of the Puritans, who have severely treated him upon that account. June 24, 1567, he founded three grammar-scholarships, or exhibitions, in Bennet-college. And again, in May 1569, he founded five more scholarships; and, the August following, two other scholarships, and two fellowships, in the same college. And, in July 1568, obtained also of the queen, for that college, the advowson of St Mary Ab-church in London; for which he gave in exchange the rectory of Penshurst in Kent. This last-mentioned year, came out the great English Bible, commonly called "the Bishops Bible;" which was put out chiefly through the archbishop's procurement and care.

His heart was much set upon this great work, from the many defects which appeared in the bibles then in use. He was the great spring which set this business in motion. He distributed the book in parts to several learned bishops and other divines, and revised the whole for the press. Edwin Sandys, then bishop of Worcester; Guest, bishop of Rochester, who had the Psalms; Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich; Davies, bishop of St David's; Cox, bishop of Ely; and other eminent men; were employed in this translation. Strype says, 'So highly pleased was this good prelate, when he saw an end put to this great work, that 'he seemed to be in the same spirit with old Simeon, using 'his very words, *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart 'in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!* This was 'that which was commonly called the Bishops Bible, 'because the archbishops and the bishops had the chief 'hand in correcting, reviewing, and publishing it. Law-'rence, a man very famous for his knowledge in Greek,

'had

'had the care of the New Testament.' The second edition of this bible was published in 1572, much improved and embellished.

In 1570, he repaired the great hall at Lambeth, covering it with shingles; and made the long bridge into the Thames near the palace. He also made the regent-walk, leading from the west of St Mary's church in Cambridge to the public schools, paving it, and building a brick wall on each side. In 1571, he gave handsome presents of plate, and other benefactions, to several colleges in that university, and in particular founded one scholarship in Trinity-hall, for the study of the law. The seventh day of September, 1573, he magnificently entertained Q. Elizabeth at Canterbury, as he had entertained her several times before. Taking umbrage at the prophesyings set up in several dioceses, particularly in that of Norwich, he endeavoured to suppress them, which exposed him to fresh censures from some warm Puritans: And made them use their utmost efforts to ruin him at court. Towards the end of the year 1574, he gave a hundred volumes to the library of the university of Cambridge; whereof twenty-five were valuable manuscripts: And, added further benefactions to his favourite college of Corpus-Christi. At length being arrived to the seventy-second year of his age, and finding himself in a declining condition; April 5, 1575, he signed his will, wherein he bequeathed legacies and gifts to several persons and places. He died the seventeenth of May following, of the stone and strangury; and was buried with great solemnity, in his own private chapel, within his palace at Lambeth.

His magnificent, as well as generous and charitable disposition, is sufficiently manifest from what hath been said of him in this article. As to his other virtues; he was pious, sober, temperate; modest even to a fault, being upon many occasions over-bashful; unmovable in the distribution of justice; a great patron, and zealous defender of the church of England, against the attacks both of Puritans and Papists; in which he acted with great stoutness and resolution, it being his rule "in a good cause "to fear nobody;" notwithstanding he is for that censured by some, as having too much roughness, and want of courtship. Among his other valuable episcopal qualities, he was a frequent preacher; and given to hospitality without profusion or offence; his family and entertainments, though large, being conducted with the utmost decency, elegance, regularity, and sobriety. Of his learning, the several

several books published by him are a sufficient evidence. Particularly he was a great lover and preserver of manuscripts, and other antiquities; and a hearty encourager, if not the first reviver, of the study of the Saxon tongue in this kingdom. He recovered many books in that language, which would otherwise have been inevitably lost; and some of them were published by himself, or by his direction. The best antiquarians in his time, had the honour of standing in the number of his most intimate friends and acquaintance.

His WORKS were as follow: "1. A Defence of Priests Marriages, established by the Imperial Lawes of the Realm of England: Against a Civilian naming himself Thomas Martin, Doctor of the Civil Lawes, going about to disprove the said Marriages, lawful by the eternal Word of GOD, and by the High Court of Parliament: Only forbid by foreign Lawes and Canons of the Pope, coloured with a Visor of the Church. Which Laws and Canons were extinguished by the Parliament, and so abrogated by the Convocation in their Synod by their Subscriptions. Printed in 1562, without his name. 1. Ælfric, [Abbot of St Albans, about the year 996.] his Saxon translation of a Latin Homily, entitled, A Sermon of the Paschal Lamb, and of the Sacramental Bodie and Blood of Christ, written in the old Saxon tongue before the Conquest, and appointed in the reign of the Saxons to be spoken unto the People at Easter, before they should receive the Communion. Or, A Testimony of Antiquity, shewing the Ancient Faith of the Church of England, touching the Sacrament of the Bodie and Blood of the Lord, here publicly preached, and also received, in the Saxons time, above 700 years ago. With Two Epistles of Ælfric. 3. The world is also obliged to him for the publication of four of our best English historians; Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Asser's Life of King Ælfred, and Thomas Walsingham.—Matthew of Westminster he published in 1570, fol. under this title, *Flores Historiarum per Matthæum Westmonasteriensem collecti, præcipuè de rebus Britannicis ab exordio mundi usque ad Annum Domini*, 1307. With a large preface. 4. Matthew Paris was published by him in 1571, fol. and entitled, *Matthæi Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli Historia major.* 5. And the Life of K. Ælfred, by John Asser, bishop of Sherbourne, came out in 1574, entitled, *Alfredi Regis res gestæ ab Asserio Shirburnensi Episcopo conscriptæ:* Printed in Saxon letters, the same as the original manuscript was written in; on pur-

pose to bring gentlemen to the knowledge and study of the Saxon tongue. To which is subjoined, *Hostoria brevis Thomæ Walsingham ab Edvardo primo ad Henricum quintum*; with his *Upodeigma Neustriæ vel Normanniæ*. i. e. "The "History of Thomas Walsingham from Edward I. to Hen- "ry V. with his Account of Normandy." 6. It was through his advice and encouragement, that the learned John Fox published K. Ælfred's Saxon Translation of the Gospels; and *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, 1571, 4to. 7. Another considerable work of his was, "The Lives of his Predecessors Archbishops of Canterbury, entitled, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ & Privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem* LXX. London, 1572, fol." Though London is put in the title-page, it is said to have been printed at Lambeth, where the archbishop had workmen of all sorts. He caused only a few copies to be printed, which he occasionally distributed amongst his friends. It is very remarkable, that there are hardly any two copies alike; and most of them want the account of his own life, he having, out of modesty, caused it to be suppressed while he lived. Mr Strype has therefore inserted it in the appendix to our archbishop's life.——A wretched edition of that book was printed again at Hanaw in 1605, full of faults and imperfections. But, a very beautiful and elegant one was at length reprinted at London in 1729, folio, by Samuel Drake, D. D. fellow of St John's College, Cambridge; adorned with the figures of the several archbishop's monuments, and other sculptures, exquisitely performed. Some have ascribed this work to John Josceline, our archbishop's secretary, or chaplain, a very learned antiquarian. But what share Josceline had in it, was only this, that he made collections for it out of ancient historians: And the digester and compiler of them was the archbishop himself. This is undeniable from two letters of the archbishop published by Dr Drake, and Mr Strype; wherein he calls that work, "My BOOK of my "Canterbury predecessors——my small Travels——my "pore collection, &c."

PETER

PETER VIRET.

AS Farel was a 'son of thunder,' and stood distinguished for his vehemence in the cause of GOD and truth; so his very intimate friend Viret was as remarkable for the meekness and gentleness of his carriage, and for the moderation of his language and temper. Both were eminent for their success in converting souls, not merely from Popery to Protestantism, (which may be done, and the men be as worldly and carnal as they were before) but from the dominion of Satan unto GOD. They were both instruments of grace to effect the same work; and they did it with all their might. When one considers the learning and the labours of such men as these, and of others treated of in these volumes; it gives a regret upon the comparison of them with many drones in the present day, who either study but little, or little to the purpose of their profession. Modern times have discovered *politer studies* than that of the holy scriptures; and modern confidence (as is usual with shallowness in all sciences) has affected to despise the theological erudition of worthies, who had no time to spare for the idle amusements of the world, or for those attentions by which it is become the fashion to rise in it. With respect to divinity, we are run backwards instead of forwards; and (omitting the generality of frothy publications at present in vogue upon religious subjects) there needs no other proof of it, than that melancholy one, the increased irreligion and infidelity of the times.

This excellent man was born at a little town in the district of Bern, near Burgundy, in France, and educated at Paris, where he first became acquainted with Farel. From Paris he went to Lausanne, and was chosen pastor there, where he spent many years of his time with great success in preaching and writing. But when Calvin was sent to the conference at Worms, in the year 1541, and from thence to Ratisbon, he obtained of the senate of Lausanne that Viret should supply his place at Geneva till his return. Calvin was so well satisfied with Viret's abilities and conduct during his absence, that he turned every stone

to get him to continue with him at Geneva, declaring how much he thought the church there would be benefited by his labours; but he could not prevail upon him; for Viret was resolved to return to Lausanne his former charge. Notwithstanding afterwards, the French churches earnestly entreated him, with better success than Calvin, to go to Lyons; where, in the midst of civil wars, and the pestilence which followed, he, with his colleagues, presided over that church with great prudence. But at length the jesuits obtained a proclamation to be made in the year 1563, that none but such as were natives of France should be preachers in the Protestant churches. Viret, being obliged to leave Lyons in consequence of the above proclamation, took up his residence at a small town near the Pyrenæan mountains, which divide France and Spain, at the request of the pious queen of Navarre, where he continued to the time of his death, which was in 1571, and in the sixtieth year of his age.

His death was much regretted by all good men. He was of a weakly constitution, which received additional injury by the poison which a priest gave him at Geneva, with a design to destroy him; and likewise by the stabs with a knife that another priest gave him afterwards, leaving him for dead. He was of a most amiable disposition, very learned, and so engaging in his public speaking, that many became his hearers, who were no friends to the doctrines he taught. His auditory in general were so charmed with his eloquence, that they always wished he would preach longer. When he was at Lyons, a populous city, he used to preach abroad, in the open air, in so powerful and successful a manner, that some thousands were apparently converted to the faith of Christ. And many, who were occasionally passing by, have been so fixed by his preaching, that they could not leave the spot, till he had finished his discourse. It seems to have been, in some places, the usage to preach *sub dio*, without cover, as it was in England, particularly at Paul's Cross and before the court. The place, however, is of less importance than the doctrine. In the one case, convenience may be considered; but, in the other, nothing but faithfulness and truth.

It has been remarked by Beza and others, that the Protestant church in France was exceedingly happy in its three great ministers at one time, viz. Calvin, Farel, and Viret. The first was admired for his profound erudition, the second for his zeal and vehemence, and the last for his enchanting eloquence. And it is also admirable, that they

they were all three most cordial friends to each other, properly esteeming those talents and grace, which GOD had bestowed upon each of them.

He wrote many books of great use to the faithful of his time, in preserving them from popish superstitions, and in furnishing them with arguments against their adversaries. Melchior Adam has preserved a long list of his principal publications, to which we must refer the learned Reader, who wishes to know more of them.

EDWARD DEERING.

WE can find but little more concerning the birth and education of this good man, than that he was descended from a very ancient family in Kent, became a fellow of Christ's-College in Cambridge, and was a very famous preacher. His printed discourses are full of divine learning and consolation. Though, content with his fellowship, he sought not preferment, he was appointed a preacher at St Paul's in London; and he filled up that appointment with a series of faithful labours in the work of the Gospel.

In his last sickness, perceiving his approaching dissolution, he said to some friends who were on a visit to him, "The good Lord pardon my great negligence, that while "I had time, I used not the precious gift more for the "advancement of his glory, as I might have done: Yet, "I bless GOD, I have not abused the gift on ambition, "and vain studies. When I am dead, my enemies will "be reconciled to me; except they be such, as either "knew me not, or have no sense of the truth; for I have "faithfully, and with a good conscience, served the Lord "my GOD."

A minister, standing by, said unto him, It is a great blessing to you, that you shall depart in peace, and be taken from many troubles that your brethren shall behold and suffer. To whom he answered, "If the Lord hath "appointed that his saints shall sup together in heaven; "why do I not go to them? but if there be any doubt or "hesitation resting on my spirit, the Lord will reveal the "truth unto me."

After he had laid still a while, a friend of his who then attended him, having said, that he hoped his mind had been employed in holy meditation while he lay so silent, he replied in the following manner:—"A poor wretch, "and miserable man, as I am, the least of all saints, and "the greatest of all sinners; yet I trust in, and, by the "eye of faith, I look upon Christ my Saviour. Yet a "little while, and we shall see our hope. The end of "the world is come upon us; and we shall quickly re- "ceive the end of our hope, which we have so much "looked for. Afflictions, diseases, sickness, and grief, "are but parts of that portion which GOD hath allotted "to us in this world. 'Tis not enough to continue for "a little while: we must persevere in the fear of the "Lord all the days of our lives; for in a moment we "shall be taken away. Take heed therefore, that you "do not make a pastime of, nor lightly esteem the word "of GOD. Blessed are they, who, while they have "tongues, use them for GOD's glory."

He was very near his death, when being set up in his bed, some of his friends requested him to speak something to them that might be for their edification and comfort; whereupon he took occasion from the sun, which then shone in his face, to speak in the following manner:—— "As there is but one sun in the world, so there is but "one righteousness, and one communion of saints. If "I were the most excellent of all creatures in the world, "equal in righteousness to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, "yet would I confess myself to be a sinner, and that I "expected salvation only in the righteousness of Jesus "Christ; for we all stand in need of the grace of GOD. "As for my death, I bless God, I find and feel so much "comfort and joy in my soul, that if I were put to my "choice, whether to die or live, I would a thousand "times, rather choose death than life, if it may stand "with the holy will of GOD."—Accordingly soon afterwards this excellent man sweetly fell asleep in the Lord, in the year 1576.

A prayer, which Mr Deering used before his lectures.

"O Lord GOD, who hast left unto us thy holy word "to be a lantern unto our feet, and a light unto our "steps, give unto us all thy Holy Spirit; that, out of the "same word, we may learn what is thy eternal will, "and frame our lives in all holy obedience to the same,

"to

" to thy honour and glory, and increase of our faith, " through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."

His WRITINGS have been collected and printed in one volume, small 4to, containing, " 1. Certaine godly and comfortable Letters, full of Christian Consolation: Written by Mr Ed. Deering, unto sundry of his Friends: And now published, for the Profit of the Church of GOD. London, printed 1614. 2. Twenty-seven Lectures, or Readings, upon part of the Epistle written to the Hebrues. Made by Maister Ed. Deering, B. D. London, 1614. 3. A briefe and necessarie Catechisme or Instruction, very needfull to be known of all Householders: Whereby they may teach and instruct their family in such poynts of Christian Religion as is most meete: With certaine Prayers and Thanksgivings to the same adioyning. *ibid.* 4. A Sermon preached before the Queen's Majesty the 25th day of February, from Psalme lxxviii. 70. with a preface to her Majesty: By Maister Ed. Deering, 1569. *ibid.* 5. A Sermon preached at the Tower of London. *ibid.*

RICHARD COX,

BISHOP OF ELY.

THIS venerable bishop was born at Whaddon, in Buckinghamshire, of mean parentage, in the year 1499. He had, probably, his first education in the small priory of Snelshall in the parish of Whaddon: But being afterwards sent to Eton school, he was thence elected into a scholarship at King's-College in Cambridge, of which he became fellow in the year 1519. Having the same year taken his bachelor of arts degree, and being eminent for his piety and learning, he was one of those bright scholars who were invited to Oxford by Cardinal Wolsey, to fill up his new foundation. He was accordingly preferred to be one of the junior canons of Cardinal-College; and on the seventh of December, 1525, incorporated bachelor of arts at Oxford, as he stood at Cambridge. Soon after, performing his exercises, he was, on the eighth of February following, licensed to proceed in arts, in which he took the degree of master, July 2, 1526. He was reputed one of the greatest scholars of his age; and his poetical compositions

positions were in great esteem among the best judges. His piety and virtue were not inferior to his learning, and commanded the respect of all impartial persons. But shewing himself averse to many of the popish superstitions, and declaring freely for some of Luther's opinions, he incurred the displeasure of the governors of the university, who stripped him of his preferment, and threw him into prison on suspicion of heresy. When he was released from his confinement, he left Oxford; and, some time after, was chosen master of Eton school, which was observed remarkably to flourish under his vigilant and industrious care. In 1537, he commenced doctor in divinity at Cambridge: And on the fourth of December, 1540, was made archdeacon of Ely; as he was also appointed, in 1541, the first prebendary in the first stall of the same cathedral, upon the new founding of it by K. Henry VIII. on the tenth of September, 1541. He was likewise, the third of June, 1542, presented by the same king to the prebend of Sutton with Buckingham, in the church of Lincoln, and installed the eleventh of that month. But this he surrendered up in 1547.

In the year 1543, he supplicated the university of Oxford, that he might take place among the doctors of divinity there, which was unusual, because he was not then incorporated into that university, as doctor in divinity; nor was he so till June, 1545. When a design was formed, of converting the collegiate church of Southwell into a bishopric, Dr Cox was nominated bishop of it. On the eighth of January, 1543-4, he was made the second dean of the new-erected cathedral of Osney near Oxford; and in 1546, when that see was translated to Christ-church, he was also made dean there. These promotions he obtained by the interest of archbishop Cranmer, and bishop Goodrich, to the last of whom he had been chaplain: And, by their recommendation, he was chosen tutor to the young prince Edward, whom he instructed with great care in the true principles of religion, and formed his tender mind to an early sense of his duty, both as a Christian and a king. On that prince's accession to the throne, he became a great favourite at court, and was made a privy-counsellor, and the king's almoner. The twenty-first of May, 1547, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford; installed July 16, 1548, canon of Windsor; and, the next year, made dean of Westminster. About the same time he was appointed one of the commissioners to visit the university of Oxford, in which he is accused of having much abused his commission. In 1550, he was ordered to go

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down into Sussex, and endeavour, by his learned and affecting sermons, to quiet the minds of the people, who had been disturbed by the factious preaching of Day, bishop of Chichester, a violent Papist. And when the noble design of reforming the canon law was in agitation, he was appointed one of the commissioners. Both in this and the former reign, when an act passed for giving all chantries, colleges, &c. to the king, through Dr Cox's powerful intercession, the colleges in both universities were excepted out of that act.

Soon after Q. Mary's accession to the crown, he was stripped of his preferments; and on the fifteenth of August, 1553, committed to the Marshalsea. He was indeed soon discharged from this confinement; but foreseeing the inhuman persecution likely to ensue, he resolved to quit the realm, and withdraw to some place, where he might enjoy the free exercise of his religion, according to the form established in the reign of K. Edward. He went first to Strasburg in Germany, where he heard with great concern of the rash proceedings of some of the English exiles in Frankfort, who had thrown aside the English liturgy, and set up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models; of which we have this account, 'After having perused the English liturgy, it was 'concluded amongst them, that the answering aloud after 'the minister should not be used; the litany, surplice, 'and many other things, also omitted, because in the Re-'formed churches abroad such things would seem more 'than strange. It was farther agreed upon, that the 'minister, in the room of the English confession, should 'use another, both of more effect, and also framed, ac-'cording to the state and time. And the same ended, 'the people to sing a psalm in metre in a plain tune, as 'was and is accustomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, 'Spanish, and Scottish churches: That done, the minister 'to pray for the assistance of GOD's holy Spirit, and 'so to proceed to the sermon. After the sermon, a ge-'neral prayer for all estates, and for England, was also 'devised: At the end of which prayer was joined the 'Lord's prayer, and a rehearsal of the articles of the be-'lief; which ended, the people to sing another psalm as 'afore. Then the minister pronouncing this blessing, 'The peace of GOD, &c. or some other of like effect, 'the people to depart. And as touching the ministration 'of the sacraments, sundry things were also by common 'consent omitted, as superstitious and superfluous.' On the

the thirteenth of March, 1555, he came to Frankfort in order to oppose this innovation, and to have the Common-prayer book settled among the English congregation there, which he had the satisfaction to accomplish. Then he returned to Strasburg for the sake of conversing with Peter Martyr, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship at Oxford, and whom he loved and honoured for his great learning and moderation. After the death of Q. Mary he returned to England; and was one of those divines who were appointed to revise the liturgy. And when a disputation was to be held at Westminster between eight Papists and eight of the Reformed clergy, he was the chief champion on the Protestants side. He preached often before Q. Elizabeth in lent; and, in his sermon at the opening of her first parliament, exhorted them in most affecting terms, to restore religion to its primitive purity, and banish all the popish innovations and corruptions. These excellent discourses, and the great zeal he had shewn in support of the English Liturgy at Frankfort, so effectually recommended him to the queen's esteem, that in June 1559, she nominated him to the bishopric of Norwich; but her mind altering, she preferred him to the see of Ely, in the room of Dr Thirlby, who was deprived. His *congé d'elire* bore date July 15, 1559. He was elected the twenty-eighth day of the said month, had the royal assent December the eighteenth, was confirmed in the church of St Mary le Bow the twentieth of the same month, consecrated at Lambeth the next day, and received the temporalities the twenty-third of March following. Before his consecration he joined with Dr Parker elect archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops elect of London, Chichester, and Hereford, in a petition to the queen, against an act lately passed, for the alienating and exchanging the lands and revenues of the bishops: And sent her several arguments from scripture and reason against the lawfulness of it; observing withal, the many evils and inconveniencies both to church and state that would thence arise.

He enjoyed the episcopal dignity about twenty-one years and seven months, reckoning from the time of his consecration; and was, all that time, one of the chief pillars and ornaments of the church of England. Both to archbishop Parker, and his successor Grindal, he was very serviceable; and by his prudence and industry, contributed to the restitution of our church in the same beauty and good order, it had enjoyed in king Edward's reign. He was indeed no great favourite of the queen; but that

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is to be imputed to his zealous opposition to her retaining the crucifix and light on the altar of the royal chapel, and his strenuous defence of the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy, against which the queen had contracted a most inveterate and unaccountable prejudice. He scrupled for a great while to officiate there upon that account; and when he did it, it was with a trembling conscience, as he said. To excuse himself, and to give his humble advice to the queen, he wrote to her a most submissive letter; wherein he sets down certain considerations, why he could not yield to have images set up in churches. And concludes in these words, "yet my "meaning is not hereby to enter into consideration of "such as are otherwise minded, much less of your ma- "jesty, (GOD forbid,) who I believe meaneth not to "use the thing to any evil end.——Bear with me, most "gracious sovereign; for the tender mercy of GOD, "force not my conscience so sore." He was a great patron to all learned men, whom he found well affected to the church; and shewed a singular esteem for Dr Whitgift, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, whom he made his chaplain, and to whom he gave the rectory of Teversham in Cambridgeshire, and a pretend of Ely. He did his utmost to get a body of ecclesiastical laws (which was drawn up by archbishop Cranmer, and other learned divines, of whom himself was one, in the latter end of K. Edward's reign) established by authority of parliament; but through the unreasonable opposition of some of the chief courtiers, this noble design miscarried a third time.

As he had, in his exile at Frankfort, been the chief champion against innovations, so he now continued, with the same vigour and resolution, to oppose all attempts against the discipline and ceremonies of the established church. At first he tried to reclaim, or win them over, by gentle means: But finding, that, instead of behaving themselves with due moderation, they only grew more audacious, and reviled both church and bishops in scurrilous libels, he thought timely severities necessary. Therefore he wrote to archbishop Parker, to go on vigorously in reclaiming or punishing them, and not be disheartened at the frowns of those court favourites who protected them; assuring him, that he might expect the blessing of GOD on his pious labours, to free the church from their dangerous attempts, and to establish uniformity. And when the privy-council interposed in favour of the Puritans, and endeavoured to screen them from punishment, he wrote a bold

bold letter to the lord treasurer Burleigh; wherein he warmly expostulated with the council, for meddling with the affairs of the church, which, as he said, ought to be left to the determination of the bishops; admonished them to keep within their own sphere; and told them he would appeal to the queen, if they continued to interpose in matters not belonging to them.

He is blamed by some for giving up several manors and other estates belonging to his see; but he rather, in some respects, deserves commendation, for his great firmness in resolving to part with no more, and for being proof against the strongest solicitations, and most violent attacks. Several he had to encounter, even from those which were most in favour at court, and were backed by royal command and authority. In the years 1574 and 1575, Sir Christopher Hatton, a noted favourite of the queen, endeavoured to wrest Ely-house in Holborn from him; so that, in order to preserve it to his see, he was forced to have a long and chargeable suit in chancery, which was not determined in 1579. The lord North also attempted, in 1575, to oblige him to part with the manor of Somersham, in Huntingdonshire, one of the best belonging to his bishopric; and with Downham Park: Which he refusing to yield, that lord endeavoured to stir up the queen's indignation against him, and do his utmost to have him deprived. For that purpose, North, and some others of the courtiers, examined and ransacked his whole conduct since his first coming to his see, and drew up a large body of articles against him, which he was to give answers to before the privy-council. But the bishop, in his replies, so fully vindicated himself from all aspersions, and so clearly confuted the groundless and malicious calumnies of his enemies, that the queen was forced to acknowledge his innocence; though the lord North boasted, he had found five *præmunire's* against him. However, vexed and wearied with the implacable malice of the lord North, and other his adversaries, he desired, in 1577, leave to resign his bishopric, but the queen put him off. North, though disappointed in his former attempt, yet not discouraged thereby, brings three actions against the poor old bishop for felling of wood; whereupon the bishop offered again, in 1579, to resign; provided he had a yearly pension of two hundred pounds out of his see, and Donnington, (the least of five country houses belonging to Ely bishopric) for his residence during life. The lord treasurer Burleigh, at the bishop's earnest desire, obtained leave of the queen for him to resign; and

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in February 1579-80, upon the bishop's repeated desires, forms of resignation were actually drawn up. But the court could not find any divine of note, who would take that bishopric on their terms, of surrendering up the best manors belonging thereto. The first offer of it was made to Freak, bishop of Norwich; and, on his refusal, it was proffered to several others: But the conditions were so ignominious and base, that they all rejected it: By which means bishop Cox enjoyed it till his death, which happened on the twenty-second of July, 1581, in the eighty-second year of his age.

By his will he left several legacies, amounting in all to the sum of nine hundred and forty-five pounds; and died worth, in good debts, two thousand three hundred and twenty-two pounds. He had several children. His body was interred in Ely cathedral, near bishop Goodrich's monument, under a marble-stone, with an inscription; which having been defaced, there are only four verses of it now legible. Many things, of which he was author, have been published chiefly since his decease. As to his character; he was a man of sound judgment, and clear apprehension, and attained to great perfection in all polite and useful learning. He wanted no advantages of education, and improved them with such diligence and industry, that he soon became an excellent proficient both in divine and human literature. The holy Scriptures were his chief study; and he was perfectly well versed in the original language of the New Testament. He was extremely zealous for the true interest of our Reformed church, and a constant and vigorous defender of it against all the open assaults of its popish adversaries, and, what he thought in some particulars, the no less dangerous designs of the Puritans. He is accused by some of having been a worldly and covetous person; and is said to have made a great havock and spoil of his woods and parks, feeding his family with powdered venison to save expences. Several complaints, and long accusations, were exhibited against him and his wife, in 1577, to Q. Elizabeth, upon those accounts, by some false and evil disposed persons; but the bishop fully vindicated himself, and shewed, that all those complaints were nothing but malicious calumnies, and groundless imputations. It is likewise said, that he appears to have been of a vindictive spirit, by reason of his prosecution of, and severity to, the deprived Catholics in his custody; and especially by his complaints against Dr Feckenham the last abbot of Westminster. But the

the bishop alledges in his own excuse, that the doctor was a very troublesome guest, and good for nothing: And that his endeavours to convert him, were by order of the court. It must be remembered of this bishop, that he was the first who brought a wife to live in a college; and that he procured a new body of statutes for St John's-college in Cambridge, of which, as bishop of Ely, he was visitor.

His Works,—They are, "1. An Oration at the beginning of the Disputation of Dr Tresham and others with Peter Martyr. 2. An Oration at the conclusion of the same. These two orations, which are in Latin, were printed in 1549, 4to, and afterwards among Peter Martyr's works. The second is also printed in the appendix to the Memorials of archbishop Cranmer, by J. Strype. 3. He had a great hand in compiling the first Liturgy of the church of England: And was one of the chief persons employed in the review of it in 1559. 4. He turned into verse the Lord's Prayer, commonly printed at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins's Psalms. 5. When a new translation of the Bible was made in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, now commonly known by the name of the 'Bishops Bible,' the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans, were allotted to him, for his portion. 6. He writ Resolutions of some Questions concerning the Sacraments; in the collection of Records at the end of Dr Burnet's History of the Reformation. 7. He had a hand, in the Declaration concerning the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests: And in the Answers, to the Queries concerning some Abuses of the Mass. 8. Several Letters, and small pieces of his, have been published by the industrious Mr Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation; namely, 1. A Letter to Wolfgang Weidner at Wormes, 20 May, 1559. 2. To the Queen, wherein he excuses himself for refusing to minister in the Royal Chapel, on account of the Crucifix there. 3. To Bullinger, on occasion of his answer to the Pope's Bull against the Queen. 4. To the Queen, upon her requiring his house in Holbourn for Mr Hatton. 5. To the same, upon her desiring him to surrender Somersham. 6. Reasons sent to the lord Burleigh to tender the state of GOD's Ministers. 7. Answers to the accusations of the lord North, and others against him. 8. To the lord Burleigh, upon the Queen's having ordered Archbishop Grindal to be suspended. 9. Letter congratulatory to the Queen in her progress, and to excuse himself for not waiting upon her. 10. To the lord Burleigh, upon the Queen's

Queen's granting him leave to resign his Bishopric. 11. To the same, informing him he had received intelligence, that twelve thousand Spaniards were to be sent by the Pope and Spaniard against the realm, 1580. 12. Account of his conference with Dr Feckenam. 13. To the lord Burleigh, of the ill state of St John's College, Cambridge, for want of Statutes. 14. Proofs and Evidences from ancient Grants, to shew, that his Manor and House in Holbourn is exempt from the jurisdiction of the city of London. He also had a hand in Lily's Grammar."

BERNARD GILPIN,

CALLED,

THE NORTHERN APOSTLE.

THIS faithful and zealous pastor, usually distinguished in his time by the character of *Apostle of the North*, was born in the year 1517, about the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. His forefathers had been seated at Kentmire-hall in Westmoreland from the time of K. John; in whose reign this estate had been given by a baron of Kendal to Richard Gilpin, as a reward for some considerable services, alluding probably to the following, among others, as related by bishop Carleton, who says, 'This is that 'Richard Gilpin, who slew a wild boar, which, raging in 'the neighbouring mountains, like the boar of Erymanthus, brought great damage upon the country-people.' Hence it was, that his family afterwards gave a boar for their arms. From this gentleman the estate at Kentmire descended to Bernard's father, Edwin Gilpin, who became prematurely possessed of it by the death of an elder brother, killed at the battle of Bosworth, in the cause, most probably, of Richard III. whose studied behaviour, and very popular government, had established him greatly in the esteem of the northern counties. Edwin had several children, of which Bernard was one of the youngest, who discovered an extraordinary genius and disposition in his childhood, and from his earliest youth was inclined to a contemplative life, thoughtful, reserved, and serious.

A begging friar came to his father's house, where, according to the custom of those times, he was received in a very

a very hospitable manner. The plenty set before him was a temptation too strong for his virtue, of which it seems he had not sufficient to save appearances. The next morning, however, he ordered the bell to toll, and from the pulpit expressed himself with great vehemence against the debauchery of the times, and particularly against drunkenness. Young Gilpin, then a child by his mother's knee, seemed for some time exceedingly affected with the friar's discourse, and at length, with the utmost indignation, cried out, "Oh! mamma, do you hear how this fellow dares speak against drunkenness, and was drunk himself yesternight at our house?"

Instances of this kind soon discovered the seriousness of his disposition, and determined his parents to breed him to the church. He was first put to a grammar school, and, after passing through all the classes with great approbation, was sent to Oxford and admitted a scholar on the foundation of Queen's College in the year 1533. Here he stuck close to the academical studies of logic and philosophy, and became a distinguished disputant in the schools; at the same time he made himself master of Erasmus's works, which were then in vogue, and acquired a singular knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues. In the last of these he was instructed by Thomas Neale, then fellow of New College, who afterwards became Hebrew professor. On March 21, 1541, he proceeded master of arts, having taken his bachelor's degree at the usual term before. He was now also chosen fellow of his college, being much beloved for the sweetness of his disposition and unaffected sincerity of his manners. At the same time, his eminence for learning was such that he was made choice of for one of the first masters to supply Christ-Church-College, after the completing of its foundation by Henry VIII.

In July, 1549, he commenced bachelor in divinity. And as he had been bred in the Roman Catholic religion, so he continued hitherto steady to that church, and in defence of it, while he resided at Oxford, held a disputation against bishop Hooper, afterwards a martyr for the Protestant faith. But in K. Edward VI.'s time, being prevailed upon to hold a disputation with the famous Peter Martyr, against certain Protestant doctrines maintained by him in his divinity-lecture at Oxford, Mr Gilpin soon found his adversary's arguments too strong for him, coming with all the force of scriptural authority; and publicly owned, that he could not maintain his ground, and

and determined to enter into no more controversies, till he had gained the full information he was in pursuit of. This ingenious regard for truth was shewn in the more advantageous light by the bigotry of his fellow-disputants; whose inflamed zeal, and fierceness of temper, discovered little of the scholar, and less of the Christian. This difference of behaviour Peter Martyr took notice of; and would frequently say, that 'As for Chedsey, Morgan, Wes-'ton, and the rest of those hot-headed zealots, he could 'not, in truth, be much concerned about them; but Mr 'Gilpin seemed a man of such uprightness of intention, 'and of so much sincerity, both in his words and actions, 'that it went to his heart to see him still involved in pre-'judice and error. The rest, he thought, were only a 'trifling, light sort of men, led into an opposition more 'by vain-glory, and a desire to distinguish themselves, 'than through any better motives; but Mr Gilpin's in-'genuousness of behaviour, and irreproachable life, left 'room for no such suspicion with regard to him; and he 'could not but own, he considered his espousing any cause 'as a very great credit to it.' He would often likewise tell his friends, 'It was the subject of his daily prayers, 'that God would be pleased at length to touch the heart 'of this pious Papist with the knowledge of true reli-'gion.' And he prayed not in vain; for Mr Gilpin, from this time, became every day more inclined to the Reformation.

In this temper he applied for further instruction to Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of Durham, who was his mother's uncle. That prelate told him, that, in the matter of transubstantiation Pope Innocent III. had done unadvisedly in making it an article of faith, and confessed that the pope had also committed a great fault in taking no better care than he had done in the business of indulgences and other things. After this, Mr Gilpin conferred with one Dr Redman, whose virtue and learning he had a great opinion of; and this friend affirmed that the book of Common-prayer was a holy book and agreeable to the gospel. These things threw him into many distracting thoughts. Afterwards, one of the fellows of Queen's-College in Oxford told him, that he had heard Dr Chedsey, one of our author's old acquaintance, say among his friends, the Protestants and us must compound the matter, they must grant us the real presence, and we must give way to them in the point of transubstantiation. Dr Weston also, another of his fellow students, made a long oration to shew that the

eucharist should be administered in both kinds, and Mr Morgan, a third brother Oxonian, told him, that Dr Ware, a man most famous for life and learning, had affirmed to him, that the principal sacrifice of the church of GOD was the sacrifice of thanksgiving. Mr Gilpin further observed, that the most learned bishops at that time confuted the primacy of the pope both in words and writing. And to conclude, one Harding, being newly returned home out of Italy, in a long and famous oration so plainly set out and painted to the life the friars and unlearned bishops, who had met at the council of Trent in their green gowns, that it abated in him, as well as in many others, a great deal of that opinion and confidence, which they had reposed in general councils.

Hence continuing his diligence in searching the scriptures and the fathers, he began to observe many great abuses, and some enormities in popery, and to think Reformation necessary.

Whilst he was going on in this course, having taken holy orders from the bishop of Oxford, he was over-ruled by the persuasions of his friends to accept, against his will, of the vicarage of Norton in the diocese of Durham. This was in 1552, and being a grant from king Edward VI. before he went to reside, he was appointed to preach before his majesty, who was then at Greenwich. His sermon was greatly approved, and recommended him to the notice of many persons of the first rank, particularly to Sir Francis Russel and Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Bedford and Leicester, and to secretary Cecil, afterwards lord treasurer Burleigh, who obtained for him the king's licence for a general preacher during his majesty's life, which however happened to be not much above the space of half a year after. Thus honoured he repaired to his parish, entered upon the duties of it, and, as occasion required, made use of the king's licence in other parts of the country. But here he soon grew uneasy: However resolved as he was against popery, he was scarcely settled in some of his religious opinions; he found the country overspread with popish doctrines, the errors of which he was unable to oppose. In this unhappy state he applied to bishop Tonstall (then in the Tower.) That prelate advised him to provide a trusty curate for his parish, and spend a year or two abroad in conversing with some of the most eminent professors on both sides the question. The proposal was just Mr Gilpin's own wish with regard to travelling abroad, which he therefore resolved upon, but,

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at the same time, determined to resign his living, as he accordingly did, to a person very deserving of it. This done, he set out for London to receive the bishop's last orders and embark.

His resignation gave his lordship much concern: It was done out of a scruple of conscience very uncommon, and which the bishop could see no foundation for, since he could have procured him a dispensation. However, after some words of advice to look better to his interest, he was reconciled, promised to support him abroad, and at parting put into his hands a treatise upon the eucharist, which the times not suiting to be printed here, he desired might be done under his inspection at Paris. With this charge he embarked for Holland, and upon landing went immediately to Malin to visit his brother George, who was then a student there. But after a few weeks he went to Louvain, which he pitched on for his residence, proposing to make occasional excursions to Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, and other places in the Netherlands. Louvain was then one of the chief places for students in divinity: some of the most eminent divines on both sides of the question resided there; and the most important topics of religion were discussed with great freedom. Our Author made the best use of his time, soon began to have juster notions of, and greater satisfaction in the doctrine of the Reformed; when he was alarmed with the news of K. Edward's death, and the accession of Q. Mary to the throne.

However, this bad news came attended with an agreeable account of bishop Tonstall's release from the Tower, and re-establishment in his bishopric. But the consequence of this was not so agreeable; for afterwards he received a letter from his brother George, inviting him to Antwerp upon a matter of great importance. Coming thither he found the business was a request of the bishop's to persuade our Author to accept of a living of considerable value, which was become vacant in his diocese. George used all his endeavours for the purpose, but in vain. Bernard was too well pleased with his present situation to think of a change, and excused himself to his patron on the same scruple of conscience as before, against taking the profits, while another did the duty. "And whereas, (concludes he,) I know well your lordship is careful how I "should live, if GOD should call your lordship, being "now aged, I desire you let not that trouble you. For "if I had no other shift I could get a lectureship I know "shortly, either in this university, or at least in some

" abbey hereby; where I should not lose my time: And " this kind of life, if God be pleased, I desire before " any benefice." This letter was dated November 22, 1554: The bishop was not offended at it: The unaffected piety of it led him rather to admire a behaviour in which the motives of conscience shewed themselves so superior to those of interest. In the mean time our Author was greatly affected with the misfortune of the English exiles from Q. Mary's persecution, and was not a little pleased to find that though unable personally to assist them, yet his large acquaintance in the country furnished him with the means of being useful to many of them by very serviceable recommendations.

He had been now two years in Flanders; and had made himself perfect master of the controversy as it was there handled. He left Louvain therefore and went to Paris. Where his first care was printing his patron's book, which he performed entirely to his lordship's satisfaction this same year 1554, and received his thanks for it. Here popery became quite his aversion, he saw more of its superstition and craft than he had yet seen, the former among the people, the latter among the priests, who scrupled not to avow, how little truth was their concern. In this city he met with his old acquaintance and Hebrew master, Mr Neal, of New-College: He had always been a favourer of popery, and was now a bigot to it; and he tried his strength upon his quondam pupil, but found him above his match. This was the same Neal, who was afterwards chaplain to bishop Bonner, and distinguished himself by being the sole voucher of the silly story of the *Nag's-head* consecration.

After three years absence, having satisfied his conscience in the general doctrines of the Reformation, Mr Gilpin returned to England in 1556, a little before the death of Q. Mary. As his return was probably at the bishop of Durham's request, so his lordship received him with great friendship, and in a very little time gave him the archdeaconry of Durham, to which the rectory of Easington was annexed. He immediately repaired to his parish, where, notwithstanding the persecution, which was then in its height, he preached boldly against the vices, errors, and corruptions of the times, especially in the clergy. This was an infallible way to draw vengeance upon himself; and accordingly, a charge consisting of thirteen articles was drawn up against him, and presented in form to the bishop. But Tonstall, who was a prelate of great discernment

discernment as well as humanity, and being much practised in the world, easily found a method of dismissing the cause in such a manner, as to protect his nephew, without endangering himself. The malice of his enemies could not however rest; his character, at least, was in their power, and they created him so much trouble, that not able to undergo the fatigue of both his places, he begged leave of the bishop to resign either the archdeaconry or his parish, which his lordship thought fit; to which the bishop answered, that the income of the former was not a support without the latter, and that they could not be separated. In the mean time he managed a dispute against transubstantiation with the bishop's chaplains, and in his presence, with so much prudence as well as learning, as greatly pleased his lordship; and the rich living of Houghton le Spring becoming vacant he presented him to it, on his resignation of the archdeaconry, at his own request. This generous patron also, soon after urged him to accept of a stall then vacant, in the cathedral of Durham, telling him, there lay not the same objection to this as to the archdeaconry, that it was quite a sinecure, &c. But he urged in vain; our Author told the bishop, he had already more wealth than he was afraid he could give a good account of, and begged not to have an additional charge.

He now lived retired, and gave no immediate offence to the clergy; the experience he had of their temper, made him more cautious not to provoke them. Indeed, he was more cautious than he could afterwards approve, for in his future life he would often tax his behaviour at this time with weakness and cowardice. But all his caution availed nothing. He was soon formally accused to the bishop a second time: And was again protected by his lordship; who, however, thought proper, perhaps in the view of his own safety, to shew his dislike of his nephew's conduct, by striking him out of his will, of which he had before made him the executor. This loss gave Mr Gilpin no concern; he was at a great distance from all worldly mindedness; it was not less than he expected, nor more than he was well provided for. His enemies were not thus silenced: Enraged at this second defeat, they delated him to Dr Bonner, bishop of London; and here they went the right way to work. Bonner was just the reverse of Tonstall, and immediately gave orders to apprehend him. Mr Gilpin had no sooner notice of it, but being no stranger to this prelate's burning zeal, he pre-

pared for martyrdom, and commanding his house-steward to provide him a long garment, that he might go the more comely to the stake, he set out for London. It is said, that he happened to break his leg in the journey, which delayed him; however that be, it is certain, that the news of Q. Mary's death met him on the road, which proved his delivery.

Upon his return to Houghton, he was received by his parishioners with the sincerest joy, and though he soon after lost his patron, bishop Tonstall, yet he quickly experienced, that worth like his could never be left friendless. When the popish bishops were deprived, the earl of Bedford recommended him to the queen for the bishopric of Carlisle, and took care that a *congé d'elire*, should be sent down to the dean and chapter for that purpose. But Mr Gilpin declined this promotion, on account of the particular inconvenience of it to himself, as having so many friends and acquaintances in that diocese, of whom he had not the best opinion, that he must either connive at many irregularities, or draw upon himself so much hatred, that he should be less able to do good there than any body else; declaring, that if he had been chosen in like manner to any bishopric elsewhere, he would not have refused it, in the view of being able to do more good in that station. But in this he was never tried; and indeed, he could not be a stranger to the court maxim, that he who refuses the first kindness, forfeits all pretensions to a second. It is true, this refusal has been ascribed chiefly to lucrative motives by some, who have observed that Houghton was better than the bishopric. However that be, it is certain, he refused an offer the following year, which seems to have been more to his taste. Q. Elizabeth, at her accession to the throne, had procured one Dr Francis, a Protestant physician, to be chosen provost of Queen's-college. This was complied to with great reluctance by the fellows, who were attached to popery: And the doctor finding his situation uneasy among them, determined to resign, and made an offer of the place to Mr Gilpin. But though he loved the university well, and this college in particular, of which he had been fellow, and was assured likewise, that the present fellows had a very great respect and esteem for him; yet all was not able to move him from his parsonage.

It is true, the rectory of Houghton was of considerable value (four hundred pounds *per annum* at least,) but the duty of it was proportionably laborious. It was so extensive,

tensive, that it contained no less than fourteen villages. But this he looked on as an ample field, opened for exercising his faculties and talents in the duties of a parish-priest; and he fulfilled them all. Upon taking possession, he found the parsonage-house gone so entirely to decay, that he could not reside in it; repairing of this was therefore his first business; part of it was fitted up as soon as possible for his reception; and he continued improving and enlarging it, till it became suitable to the hospitality he was resolved to keep in it. His house, (says bishop Carleton) was like a bishop's palace; superior, indeed, to most bishops' houses, with respect both to the largeness of the building, and the elegance of the situation. In this house, his hospitable manner of living soon became the admiration of the whole country. He spent in his family every fortnight forty bushels of corn, twenty bushels of malt, and a whole ox; besides a proportionable quantity of other kinds of provision. Every Thursday throughout the year, a very large quantity of meat was dressed wholly for the poor; and every day they had what quantity of broth they wanted. Twenty-four of the poorest were his constant pensioners. Four times in the year a dinner was provided for them, when they received from his steward a certain quantity of corn, and a sum of money: And at Christmas they had always an ox divided among them. Every Sunday from Michaelmas till Easter was a sort of public day with him. During this season, he expected to see all his parishioners and their families. For their reception he had three tables well covered; the first was for gentlemen, the second for husbandmen and farmers, and the third for day-labourers. This piece of hospitality he never omitted, even when losses, or a scarcity of provision, made its continuance rather difficult to him. Even when he was absent, no alteration was made in his family expences; the poor were fed, and his neighbours entertained as usual. Strangers and travellers found a chearful reception; all were welcome that came; and even their beasts had so much care taken of them, that it was humorously said, if a horse was turned loose in any part of the country, it would immediately make its way to the rector of Houghton's.

To any one who knows that hospitality was the boast of the Romish clergy before the Reformation; the prudence of this part of our Author's conduct will appear in its proper light. And the rest was of a piece with this. He set out with making it his endeavour to gain the affec-

tion of his parishioners. To succeed in it, however, he used no servile compliances. His behaviour was free without levity, obliging without meanness, insinuating without art. To this humanity and courtesy, he added an unwearied application to the immediate duties of his function. Not satisfied with the advice he gave in public, he used to instruct privately, and brought his parishioners to come to him with their doubts and difficulties; he laid himself out in forming the youth to godliness, suffering none to grow up in ignorance of their duty. He was very assiduous in preventing all law-suits, and his hall is said to have been often thronged with people, who came on that account; he shewed such a hearty concern for all under affliction, that he was considered as a good angel by all such.

He used to interpose, likewise, in all acts of oppression; and his authority was such, that it generally put a stop to them: For instance, after the rebellion raised by the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland was quelled, though the rebels had forced him to withdraw, and in his absence had ravaged and plundered his house and grounds at Houghton; yet, when he saw too much severity used against them by the marshal, Sir George Bowes, he interceeded for them so earnestly, that, either persuaded by what he said, or paying a deference to his character, the marshal grew more mild, and shewed many instances of mercy not expected from him.

The bishop once requiring him, upon his canonical obedience, to preach a visitation sermon, he found himself obliged to comply; though without any previous notice, and after the clergy were assembled. This prelate was a well meaning, but a weak man, and wholly in the hands of his chancellor. Mr Gilpin thought this no unfavourable opportunity to open his lordship's eyes, and induce him to exert himself, where there was so great reason for it; private information had often been given him without success, Mr Gilpin was now resolved, therefore, to venture upon a public application. In this spirit, before he concluded his sermon, turning towards the bishop, he thus addressed him: "My discourse now, reve-
"rend father, must be directed to you. GOD hath
"exalted you to be bishop of this diocese, and requireth
"an account of your government thereof. A reforma-
"tion of all those matters, which are amiss in the church,
"is expected at your hands. And now, lest perhaps,
"while it is apparent, that so many enormities are com-

mitted

" mitted every where, your lordship should make answer, " that you had no notice of them given you, and that " these things never came to your knowledge," [for this, it seems, was the bishop's common apology to all complainants]; " behold, I bring these things to your know- " ledge this day. Say not then, that these crimes have " been committed by the fault of others, without your " knowledge; for whatever either yourself should do in " person, or suffer by your connivance to be done of " others, is wholly your own. Therefore, in the pre- " sence of GOD, his angels, and men, I pronounce " you to be the author of all these evils: yea, and in " that strict day of the general account, I will be a wit- " ness to testify against you, that all these things have " come to your knowledge by my means; and all these " men shall bear witness thereof, who have heard me " speak unto you this day." This freedom alarmed every one; the bishop, they said, had now got that advantage over him, that had been long sought for. But when our Preacher, before he went home, went to pay his compliments to his lordship, 'Sir, (said the bishop), I purpose 'to wait upon you home myself.' This he accordingly did; and as soon as Mr Gilpin had carried him into a parlour, the bishop turned suddenly round, and seizing him eagerly by the hand, 'Father Gilpin, (says he), I 'acknowledge you are fitter to be bishop of Durham, 'then I am to be parson of this church of yours.—I ask 'forgiveness for past injuries.—Forgive me, father.—I 'know you have enemies, but while I live bishop of Dur- 'ham, be secure; none of them shall cause you any far- 'ther trouble.'

Notwithstanding all this painful industry, and the large scope it had in so extended a parish, our Pastor thought the sphere of his benevolence yet too confined: It grieved him extremely, to see every where in the parishes round him so much ignorance and superstition, occasioned by the very great neglect of the pastoral care in the clergy of those parts *. These bad consequences induced him to supply

* The following instance shews how low preaching ran at this time; Mr Tavernour of Water-Eaton in Oxfordshire, high-sheriff of the county, came, it is said, in pure charity, not out of ostentation, and gave the scholars at Oxford a sermon in St Mary's church, with his gold chain about his neck, and his sword by his side, and accosted them thus: 'Arriving 'at the mount of St Mary, in the stony stage where I now stand, I have 'brought you some fine biscuits baked in the oven of charity, and carefully 'conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and 'the sweet swallows of salvation.' Fuller's Church History.

supply as far as he could, what was wanting in others. For this purpose, every year he used regularly to visit the most neglected parishes in Northumberland, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland: And that his own parish in the mean time might not suffer, he was at the expence of a constant assistant. And as he had all the warmth of an enthusiast, though under the direction of a very calm judgment, he never wanted an audience, even in the wildest parts; where he roused many to a sense of religion, who had contracted the most inveterate habits of inattention to every thing of a serious nature. Whereever he came, he used to visit all the jails, and places of confinement, few in the kingdom at that time having an appointed minister; and by his labours, and affectionate manner of behaving, he is said to have reformed many very abandoned persons in those places. He would employ his interest, likewise, for such criminals, whose cases he thought attended with any hard circumstances, and often procured pardons for them.

There is a tract of country upon the borders of Northumberland, called Reads-dale and Tine-dale, of all barbarous places in the North, at that time, the most barbarous. Before the union, this place was called the debateable land, as subject by turns to England and Scotland, and the common theatre where the two nations were continually acting their bloody scenes. It was inhabited by a kind of desperate banditti, rendered fierce and active by constant alarms; they lived by theft, used to plunder on both sides of the barrier, and what they plundered on one, they exposed to sale on the other; by that means escaping justice. Such adepts were they in the art of thieving, that they could twist a cow's horn, or mark a horse, so as its owners could not know it, and so subtle, that no vigilance could guard against them. For these arts they were long afterwards famous. A person telling K. James I. a surprising story of a cow, that had been driven from the north of Scotland to the south of England, and, escaping from the herd, had found her way home: 'The most surprising part of the story, replied 'the king, you lay the least stress on, viz. that she passed 'unstolen through the debateable land.'

In this dreadful country, where no man would even travel that could help it *, Mr Gilpin never failed to spend some

* Mr Camden, describing these places, writes thus: 'Both these Dales 'breed notable bog-trotters, and have such boggy-topped mountains, as

some part of every year: He generally chose the holidays of Christmas for this journey, because he found the people at that season most disengaged, and most easily assembled. He had set places for preaching, which were as regularly attended, as the assize town of a circuit. This was a very difficult and laborious employment on several accounts; the country was so poor, that what provision he could get, extremity only could make palatable; the badness of the weather, and the badness of the roads through a mountainous country, and at that season covered with snow, exposed him, likewise, very often to great hardships. The Saxon custom of deciding differences by the sword prevailed here. Nay, these wild Northumbrians went beyond the ferocity of their ancestors; they were not content with a duel: Each contending party used to muster what adherents he could, and commence a kind of petty war; so that a private grudge would often occasion much bloodshed.

It happened that a quarrel of this kind was on foot once when Mr Gilpin was at Rothbury, in those parts; during the two or three first days of his preaching, the disputants observed some decorum, and never appeared at church together; at length, however, they met. One party had been early at church, and just as Mr Gilpin began his sermon, the other entered; they stood not long silent; inflamed at the sight of each other, they began to clash their weapons, for they were all armed with javelins and swords, and mutually approach. Awed, however, by the sacredness of the place, the tumult in some degree ceased: Mr Gilpin proceeded; when again, the combatants began to brandish their weapons, and draw towards each other. As a fray seemed near, he stepped from the pulpit, went between them, and addressing the leaders, put an end to the quarrel for the present, but could not effect an entire reconciliation. They promised him, however, that till the sermon was over, they would make no further disturbance. He then went again into the pulpit, and spent the rest

'are not to be crossed by ordinary horsemen. We wonder to see so many 'heaps of stones in them, which the neighbourhood believe to be thrown 'together in memory of some persons there slain. There are also in both 'of them, many ruins of old forts. The Umfranvilles held Reedsdale 'as Doomsday book informs us, in fee and knight's service, for guarding 'the Dale from robberies. All over these wastes you see, as it were, the 'ancient Nomades, a martial people, who from April to August, lie in 'little tents, which they call sheals or shealings, here and there dispersed 'among their flocks.' CAMDEN's Britannia.

rest of the time, in endeavouring to make them ashamed of what they had done. His behaviour and discourse affected them so much, that, at his farther intreaty, they promised to forbear all acts of hostility, while he continued in the country. And so much respected was he among them, that whoever was in fear of his enemy, used to resort where Mr Gilpin was, esteeming his presence the best protection.

One Sunday morning coming to a church, before the people were assembled, he observed hanging up a man's glove; and being informed by the sexton, that it was meant as a challenge to any one that should take it down; upon the sexton refusing, he took it down himself, and put in his breast. In his sermon he took this occasion to rebuke them for these inhuman challenges. "I hear, (says "he,) that one among you hath hanged up a glove even "in this sacred place, threatening to fight any one who "takes it down; see here, I have taken it down:" And holding it out to the congregation, he shewed how unsuitable such practices were to Christianity, and pressed them by the most affectionate persuasives to mutual love. The disinterested pains he thus took among these barbarous people, added to his good offices and charities to them, (which were so liberal, that though he set out on this journey with ten pounds in his purse, yet he returned twenty nobles in debt, which he always paid in a fortnight,) drew from them the sincerest expressions of gratitude. Of this we have one pregnant instance. By the carelessness of a servant, his horses were one day stolen. The news was quickly propagated, and every one expressed the highest indignation at it. The thief, however, was rejoicing over his prize, when, by the report of the country, he found whose horses he had taken. Terrified at what he had done, he instantly came trembling back, confessed the fact, returned the horses, and declared he believed the devil would have seized him directly, had he carried them off when he knew they belonged to Mr Gilpin.

Such actions as these are not, it is confessed, the brilliant and striking part of his historical memoirs; but they certainly are not the least useful. Persons in high life can be examples only to few, in comparison of those who move in a lower sphere, and fill an inferior station; and among these, there is no character so amiable, nor which spreads its influence so extensively, as that of a worthy parish-priest. Such, undeniably, was Mr Gilpin's, and that to such a degree too, as deserves to be distinguished

by

by particular notice to the present age, as much as he was distinguished in his own, when he merited and obtained the desirable titles of the FATHER OF THE POOR, and THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH. But this character was not fully completed in him, by the particulars hitherto mentioned, extraordinary as they are. There is still another, which alone would have been sufficient to fill up the whole sphere of an ordinary activity, and which, therefore, neither justice to him, nor to the Reader, will suffer to be omitted.

We have already mentioned the first method taken by our Author, as being the most pressing and urgent to supply the want of able preachers. Q. Elizabeth was very sensible of this scarcity, and, among other ways of providing a relief, recommended to her council the founding seminaries of good learning. No good work ever went forward, which Mr Gilpin did not promote as far as he was able. In this he joined to the utmost of his abilities, and, as was commonly indeed thought, beyond them. His manner of living was the most affluent and generous; his hospitality made daily a great demand upon him, and his bounty and charities a much larger. His acquaintance, therefore, could not but wonder to find him, amidst such great expences, entertain the design of building and endowing a grammar-school: A design, however, which his very exact economy soon enabled him to accomplish, though the expence of it amounted to upwards of five hundred pounds. The effects of this endowment were very quickly seen. His school was no sooner opened than it began to flourish, and to afford the agreeable prospect of a succeeding generation, rising above the ignorance and errors of their forefathers. That such might be its effects, no care on his part was wanting: He not only placed able masters in his school, whom he procured from Oxford, but himself, likewise, constantly inspected it: and, that encouragement might quicken the application of his boys, he always took particular notice of the most forward; he would call them his own scholars, and would send for them into his study, and there instruct them himself. There was so great a resort of young people to this school, that in a little time the town was not able to accommodate them. Seeing this, he fitted up a part of his own house for that purpose, where he seldom had fewer than twenty or thirty children; some were sons of persons of distinction, whom he boarded at easy rates: But the greater part were poor children, who could not so

easily

easily get themselves boarded in the town, and whom he not only educated, but clothed and maintained: He was at the expence, likewise, of boarding many others in town.

One method used by him to fill his school was a little singular. Whenever he met a poor boy upon the road, he would make trial of his capacity by a few questions, and if he found it such as pleased him, he would provide for his education *. Thus he used to bring several every year from the different parts where he preached, particularly Reads-dale and Tine-dale. Nor did his care end here; from his school he sent several to the universities, where he maintained them wholly at his own expence; for that end he yearly set apart sixty pounds; this sum he always laid out, often more: His common allowance to each scholar was about ten pounds a-year, which, for a sober youth, was at that time a very sufficient maintenance; so that he never maintained fewer than six. To others, who were in circumstances to do something for themselves, he would give the farther assistance they needed. By which means he induced many parents to allow their children a liberal education, who otherwise would not have done it. Our author's care of them went still farther. He considered himself as their proper guardian, and seemed to think himself bound to the public for their usefulness. With this view he held a punctual correspondence with their tutors; and made the youths themselves frequently write to him; so solicitous, indeed, was he about them, that once every year he generally made a journey to the universities to inspect their behaviour. Nor was this uncommon care unrewarded; few of his scholars miscarried, many of them, says Carleton, bishop of Chichester, (who was one himself) became great ornaments to the church, and very exemplary instances of piety.

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* It was in this manner that he first picked up, in his road to Oxford, the famous Hugh Broughton, whom he sent to Cambridge and supported there; among other studies applying himself principally to the Hebrew tongue, he became by far the most eminent person in his time, he not only spoke it fluently himself, but taught several others to do the same. See Dr Lightfoot's article in *Biographia Britannica*. But he acted a most base and ungrateful part to his Benefactor. Insinuating himself into the bishop of Durham's [Barnes] favour, he found means to prejudice him against Mr Gilpin, in the view of supplanting him at Houghton. But the bishop was reconciled, as has been mentioned in the text, and promised that his enemies should not hurt him, meaning particularly Broughton; who thereupon left Durham, and went to seek his fortune elsewhere. Broughton, though indeed a scholar, was one of the vainest men of his time.

The settlement of this school was the last business of a public nature, in which he was engaged. It answered his expectation so well, that when he grew old it became his chief concern. His infirmities obliged him now to relax a little from those very great fatigues, he had undergone abroad, and to draw his engagements nearer home. His school, situated near his house, afforded him when most infirm an employment, and he could hardly die in peace till he had settled it to his mind. What he had principally at heart, was to compose for it a set of good statutes, to provide it a better endowment, and fix all by a charter. As to the statutes, he was daily employed in improving his first draught. With regard to a better endowment, as it was not in his power to do any thing more himself, he applied to a neighbouring gentleman, John Heath, Esq. of Kepier, with whom he had lived many years in great intimacy, and prevailed with him to double the original endowment: This, with some other contributions, procured by him, raised the revenues answerable to his wishes. The last thing was to obtain a charter. For this, he applied to his friend, the earl of Bedford, who easily procured it of the queen in March, 1571.

Towards the latter part of his life, Mr Gilpin went through his duty with great difficulty; his health was much impaired; the extreme fatigue, he had during so many years undergone, had now quite broke his constitution, and while he was thus struggling with these difficulties, there happened an affair, which entirely destroyed his health. As he was crossing the market-place at Durham, an ox ran at him, and threw him down with such violence, that it was imagined he had received his death's wound. He lay long confined; and though he got abroad again, he never recovered even the little strength he had before, and continued lame as long as he lived. But sickness was not the only distress, which the declining years of this excellent man had to struggle with. As age and infirmity began to lessen that weight and influence he once had, the malice and opposition of his enemies of course prevailed more. He was charged by some with maintaining the unlawfulness of marriage in the clergy; others taxed him with hypocrisy; and a third, with refusing to pay his just debts: While chancellor Barnes laid aside all decency in oppressing him. Such a load of calumny, ingratitude, and ill usage, may justly be supposed to lie heavy upon him, already sinking under a weight

weight of years. Yet he bore it with great fortitude, strengthening himself with such consolations, as a Christian hath in reserve for all extremities. His resignation, however, was not long exercised.

About the beginning of February, 1683, he found himself so very weak, that he was sensible his end must be drawing near. He told his friends his apprehensions; and spoke of his death with the most happy composure. He was soon after confined to his chamber; but his senses continued perfect to the last. A few days before his death, he ordered his friends, acquaintance, and dependants to be called; and being raised in his bed, he made several most pathetic discourses; first, to the poor, next to his scholars, and then to his servants; after which, sending for several persons, who had hitherto made no good use of his advice, he pressed it now again, in hopes that his dying words might prove more effectual: His speech began to faulter, before he finished these last exhortations. The remaining hours of his life he spent in prayer, and in broken converse with some select friends; mentioning often the consolations of the gospel, declaring they were the only true ones, and that nothing else would bring a man peace at the last. He died upon the fourth of March, 1583, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and was interred in his own church.

As to his character. His person was tall and slender, in the ornament of which he was at no pains. He had a particular aversion to the fopperies of dress. In his diet he was very temperate, rather abstemious. His parts were very good; his imagination, memory, and judgment, were lively, retentive, and solid. His acquirements were as considerable: By an unwearied application he had amassed a great store of knowledge; and was ignorant of no part of learning at that time in esteem: In languages, history, and divinity, he particularly excelled. He read poetry with a good taste; and was himself no mean poet: But he laid out little time in the pursuit of any study foreign to his profession. His temper was naturally warm; and in his youth there are instances of his giving way to passion; but in time, by grace, he got more command of himself, and at length was enabled to subdue that infirmity. His disposition was serious, yet among his particular friends he was commonly cheerful, sometimes facetious. His general behaviour was very affable; his severity had no object but himself; to others he was humble, candid, and indulgent. Extravagance with him was another word for injustice.

injustice. Amidst all his business he found leisure to look into his affairs; well knowing that frugality is the support of charity. His intimacies were but few; it was his endeavour, as he thought the spirit of Christianity required, to dilate, rather than to contract his affections. Yet where he professed a particular friendship, he was a religious observer of its offices. He was a most candid interpreter of the words and actions of others; where he plainly saw failings, he would make every possible allowance for them. He used to express a particular indignation at slander; often saying, it more deserved the gallows than theft. For himself he was remarkably guarded, when he spoke of others; he considered common fame as the falsest medium, and a man's reputation as his most valuable property. His sincerity was such as became a Christian minister; and he had the strictest regard to truth, of which his whole life was a continual instance: All little arts, and sinister practices, those ingredients of worldly prudence, he disdained. His perseverance in so commendable a part, in whatever difficulties it might at first involve him, in the end raised his character above malice and envy, and gave him that weight and influence in every thing he undertook, which nothing but an approved sincerity can give. Whatever his other virtues were, their lustre was greatly increased by his humility. To conquer religious pride is one of the best effects of religion; an effect, which his religion in the most amiable manner produced. Thus far however he hath had many imitators. The principal recommendation of him, and the distinguishing parts of his character were his conscientious discharge of the duties of a faithful, laborious pastor; his extensive benevolence; and his exalted piety.

In his charitable distributions he had no measure but the bounds of his income; of which the least portion was always laid out on himself. Nor did he give as if he was granting a favour, but as if he was paying a debt; all obsequious service the generosity of his heart disdained. He was more particularly careful to give away in his lifetime whatever he could save for the poor, as he had often seen and regretted the abuse of posthumous charities. "It is "my design, at my departure, (says he, writing to a friend), "to leave no more behind me, but to bury me, and pay "my debts." What little he did leave, he left wholly to

the poor, deducting a few slight tokens of remembrance that he bequeathed to his friends.

He was buried in his own church, but without any monument besides that of his example, which one would imagine had its influence upon the rectors of Houghton; for perhaps few parishes in England can boast of such a succession of worthy pastors, as that parish can, since Mr Gilpin's death. The late archbishop Secker was one of those pastors.

A sermon preached in the court at Greenwich, before K. Edward VI. the first Sunday after the Epiphany, in the year 1552, is the only revised composition of Mr Gilpin's that survived him. He spent his time more actively than in literary avocations: Yet to what good purpose he might have employed it in his closet, this piece may convince us. It was thought in K. Edward's time a very pathetic strain of eloquence, well adapted to the irregularities then prevailing in the court of that prince. It hath since been taken notice of by most of the writers who treat of the ecclesiastical affairs of those times, and is mentioned by them as a remarkable instance of that commendable zeal and noble freedom, which the illustrious Reformers of our church exerted in the cause of the Protestant religion. But on account of its length, we must refer the curious Reader to the sermon itself, published by his Name-sake, from whom the name of Gilpin has received an additional honour.

EDMUND GRINDAL,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THIS great and good man was born in the year 1519, at Hinsingham, in the parish of St Begh's, in Cowpland, a small village in the county of Cumberland. After

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From an Original Picture in Lambeth Palace.

a suitable foundation of learning at school, he was sent to Magdalen-college in Cambridge, but removed from then to Christ's, and afterwards to Pembroke-hall, where having taken his first degree in arts, he was chosen fellow in the year 1538, and commenced A. M. in 1541; having served the office of junior bursar of his college the preceding year. In the year 1542, he was appointed proctor of the university, and is said to have often sat as assessor to the vice-chancellor in his courts. In 1549, he became president [vice-master] of his college, and being now B. D. was unanimously chosen lady Margaret's public preacher at Cambridge; as he was also one of the four disputants in a theological extraordinary act performed that year for the entertainment of K. Edward's visitors.

Thus distinguished in the university, his worth was observed by Ridley, bishop of London, who made him his chaplain in 1550, perhaps by the recommendation of Bucer, the king's professor of divinity of Cambridge, who soon after his removal to London, in a letter to that prelate, styles our divine a person "eminent for his learning and piety, a "chief member of Christ, and his associate in the most "sacred ministry of the word of GOD."

Thus a door being opened to him, he rose by quick advances into notice and esteem; his patron the bishop being so much pleased with him, that he designed him the prebend of Cantrilles, in St Paul's church, and wrote to the council (some of whom had procured it for the furnishing the king's stables) for leave to give this living, as he says, to his well-deserving chaplain, who was without preferment, and to whom he would grant it, with all his heart, that so he might have him continually with him and in his diocese to preach, adding, that he was known to be both of virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom, and learning. What effect this address had, does not appear; but the chanter's place becoming vacant soon after, his lordship, August 24, 1551, collated him to that dignity, which was of much greater value, and likewise procured him to be made chaplain to his majesty (with the usual salary of forty pounds) in December the same year. July 2d, in the year 1552, he obtained a stall in Westminster-Abbey; this, however, he afterwards resigned to Dr Bonner, whom he afterwards succeeded in the bishopric of London. In the mean time, there being a design, on the

death of Dr Tonstall, to divide the rich see of Durham into two, Mr Grindal was nominated for one of these, and would have obtained it, had not one of the courtiers got the whole bishopric dissolved, and settled as a temporal estate upon himself.

In the year 1553, he fled from the persecution under Q. Mary into Germany, and settling at Strasburg, made himself master of the German tongue, in order to preach in the churches there: And in the disputes that happened at Frankfort about a new model of government and form of worship, varying from the last liturgy of K. Edward, he sided with Dr Cox and others against John Knox and his followers.

One of Grindal's great businesses now was to collect together the writings and stories of the learned and pious sufferers in England, and to publish them: For which purpose he had a great correspondence here. In the year 1555, had come to his hands Ridley's Disputations at Oxford; also Marcus Antonius Constantius's Objections to archbishop Cranmer's book against Stephen bishop of Winchester, and the answers to those objections, which were either framed by the said archbishop, or Ridley, in prison: And a treatise in English against transubstantiation, which was Ridley's. This last, by the counsel of Grindal and others, was resolved to be put into Latin; and so it was. But these writings Grindal with his friends there made some stop to put in print as yet, lest it might irritate the enemies of those holy men then in captivity; and therefore reckoned it better to defer it for a while. And concerning this, Grindal being now at Frankfort, and having an opportunity here, sent a letter to the said bishop Ridley, to know his pleasure herein. And because in the letter are other matters relating to the present state of the exiles, I shall here insert it; and the rather, because the answer to it from Ridley is preserved in Fox, and mention only made of this letter.

'*Gratiam & consolationem à Domino, & Servatore nostro*
'*Jesu Christo.*'

"SIR, I have often been desirous to have written to "you, and to have heard from you, but the iniquity of "the times hath hitherto always put me forth of all hope "and comfort. Now at this present GOD seemeth to "offer some likelihood, that these might come to your "hands

" hands, which I thought to use, referring the rest to " GOD's disposition. Your present state, not I only " (who of all other am most bound) but also all other our " brethren here, do most heartily lament, as joyned with " the most miserable captivity that ever any church of " Christ hath suffered. Notwithstanding, we geve GOD " most humble thanks, for that he hath so strengthened " you and others, your concaptives, to profess a good " profession before so many witnesses. And I doubt no- " thing, but that he that hath called you and them not " only to believe upon hym, but also to suffer for hym, " doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable com- " fort, which he useth to minister abundantly to his in " the schole of the cross. He graunte that his name may " be glorified in you, whether it be by life or death, as " may be most to his honour, and your everlasting con- " solation!

" Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partely of our " state in these partes. We be here dispersed in divers " and several places. Certayne be at Tigurye, good stu- " dents of either university a number; very well entreated " of maister Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the " whole citye. Another number of us remayne at Argen- " tine, and take the commodity, of maister Martyr's les- " sons, who is a very notable father. Maister Scory, and " certayne other with hym be in Frysland, and have an " English church there, but not very frequent. The greatest " number is at Frankford, where I was at this present by " occasion; a very fayre city, the magistrates favourable " to our people, with so many other commodities as exiles " can well look for. Here is also a church; and now (GOD " be thanked) well quieted by the prudency of maister " Coxe, and other which met here for that purpose. So " that now we trust GOD hath provided, for such as will " flye forth of Babylon, a resting place, where they may " truly serve hym, and hear the voice of their true pastor. " I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well " nigh an hundreth students and ministers on this side the " seas. Such a Lord is GOD to work dyversly in his, " according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth " best what is in Man.

" We have also here certayne copies of your aunswers " in the disputation. Item *Antoniana Objecta cum Respon-* " *sione:* The treatise in English against transubstantia-

" tion,

" tion, which in tyme shall be translated into Latine. It " hath bene thought best not to print them till we see " what God will do with you, both for incensyng of " their malicious fury, and also for restraining you and " others from writing hereafter; which should be a " greater loss to the church of Christ, than forbearing of " these for a tyme. If I shall know your will to be other- " wise in it, the same shall be followed. This much I " thought good to lét you understand concerning these " matters, and concerning the poor state of men here. " Who most earnestly and incessantly do cry unto GOD " for the delivery of his church, to behold the causes of " the afflicted, and to hear the groans of hys imprisoned: " Knowing that you, who in this state have more familiar " access unto GOD, do not forget us.

" GOD comfort you, ayd you, and assist you with his " Spirit and grace, to continue his unto the end, to the " glory of his name, the edification of his church, and the " subversion of antichrist's kyngdom. Amen."

From Frankford, E. G.
the 6th of May, 1555.

Whilst Grindal remained in these parts, he took occasion to visit some places of eminency in Germany, as did the other exiles commonly. One of those places which he saw was Spires; where he was courteously entertained and harboured by one Leach a Scotchman: To whom he afterwards shewed himself a true friend in his necessity, by interposing seasonably for him to the secretary of state, when by false witness he was in very great danger in Ireland.

The other great work our painful countryman laboured in this time of his exile, in conjunction with Mr Fox, was the History of the Persecutions of the Church of Christ, and especially in the latter times of it. Many accounts of the acts and disputations, of the sufferings and ends of the godly men under Q. Mary, came from time to time to Grindal's hands; who had a correspondence with several in England for that end and purpose; and as they came to his hand, he conveyed them to Fox. Nor did he only do this; but withal frequently gave Fox his thoughts concerning them, and his instructions and counsels about them; always shewing a most tender regard to truth; and suspending upon common reports

and

and relations brought over, till more satisfactory evidence came from good hands. And because a complete account of all particulars of those that suffered in that sharp persecution, could not so soon be procured, he advised Fox, for the present, to print separately the acts of some particular men, of whom any sure and authentic relations came to hand: And that a larger and completer history of these martyrs should be printed together afterwards, when he should be supplied with fuller accounts of the whole persecutions. And, finally, that his history might be both in Latin and English, for the more general benefit.

In short, by what appears from Grindal's and Fox's own letters, he was an earnest assistant in compiling Fox's Martyrology; both by his continual counsel, and by supplying him with materials for it; much whereof he sent him drawn up, and methodized by his own pen in English; and Fox's work was chiefly to translate into Latin. And by his advice also, Fox published there at Basil many examinations and histories of the English bishops and divines at sundry times in single pieces, soon after their respective martyrdoms. And it was his advice to Fox, to digest them altogether in a more large volume; but thought not convenient, that he should make too much haste to put it forth, till he could make the relations of the persecution more full and complete, and might obtain more certainty of truth to depend upon.

We will only add of Grindal, with respect to Fox's work; that he also supplied him with collections of matters, that happened before these times, of which one was so remarkable, that by setting Grindal's name under it, he might acknowledge whence he had the relation. The passage is concerning the death of the pious Mr Stafford, reader of divinity in Cambridge, about 1528, when religion first began to shew itself there. The story was this: There was one there of great fame for his skill in the black art (as it was called,) and therefore was commonly called Sir Henry Conjurer. This man at last fell sick of the plague; out of compassion to whose soul at this time, that good man ventured his own life by resorting to him; and there so effectually argued with him of his former wicked life and practices, that he brought him to repentance, and caused all his books upon the subject of divination

nation to be burnt before his face. Thus he endeavoured to save that man's soul, though he lost his own life by it: For he got the infection, went home and died. To this story are subjoined these words, *Ex Testimonio D. Ridlei & Edmundi Episc. Lond.* The meaning whereof I suppose was, that Ridley might have told this to his chaplain Grindal, and he to Fox.

Grindal, returning to England on the accession of Q. Elizabeth, was employed, among others, in drawing up the new liturgy to be presented to the queen's first parliament, and was also one of the eight Protestant divines chosen to hold a public dispute with the popish prelates about that time. His talent for preaching was likewise very serviceable, and he was generally appointed to that duty before the queen, privy council, &c. on all public occasions. At the same time, he was appointed one of the commissioners in the north, on the royal visitation for restoring the supremacy of the crown, and the Protestant faith and worship.

This visitation extended also to Cambridge, where Dr Young being removed, for refusing the oath of supremacy, from the mastership of Pembroke-Hall, Mr Grindal was chosen by the fellows to succeed him, in 1559. Particularly he was for having his church there under the government of a single person superior to the rest, and not several, all of equal dignity and power; and for this purpose, he wrote to Scory, afterwards bishop of Hereford, then an exile at Embden, to go to Frankfort and govern the English church there.

In July the same year, he was nominated to the bishopric of London, vacant by the deposition of Dr Bonner. The juncture was very critical, and the fate of the church's revenues depended upon the event. An act of parliament had lately passed, by which her majesty was empowered to exchange the ancient episcopal manors and lordships for tithes and impropriations. This was extremely regretted by these first bishops, who scrupled whether they should comply in a point so injurious to the revenue of their respective sees, which must suffer considerably by these exchanges; and which too would cut off all hope of restoring the tithes, so long unjustly detained from the respective churches, for the maintenance of the incumbents. In this important point, our new nominated bishop consulted Peter Martyr, in a letter dated in August

this

this year, nor did he accept of the bishopric till he had received his opinion in favour of it from that divine, to whom he also communicated his scruples concerning the habit, and some customs then used in the church. But before he received his answer to the whole, he was consecrated, December the first; when the exchange of lands with the queen not being fully settled, he could not compound for his first fruits, and consequently he was hindered from exercising his episcopal function, and was obliged to have the queen's express authority for that purpose.

It may gratify some of our readers to insert Peter Martyr's answer to Grindal's inquiry. We will therefore lay it before them out of Strype. 'That reverend man, in 'the beginning of November, gave his answer. And first, 'as for impropriations, he thought Grindal needed not 'to be so solicitous. For that it was a thing lay not in 'his power, whence or how it pleased the queen to pro-'vide wages and food for her bishops and the parish mi-'nisters. And then, as for going in a cap, whether round 'or square, and in a gown, in ordinary conversation, 'when they were not employed about holy things, his 'judgment was, that they should not wrangle more than 'need was about them; since superstition seemed not 'properly to be concerned herein. But in the next place, 'as for the habits to be used in the ministry of holy 'things, since they carried an appearance of the mass, 'and were merely remainders of popery, it was, he said, 'the learned Bullinger, the chief minister of Zurick, his 'opinion, that they were to be refrained from by Grindal, 'lest, by his example, a thing that was scandalous should 'be confirmed. But Martyr said, that though he was 'always against the use of such ornaments, yet he saw 'the present danger, lest they should be put from the 'office of preaching; and that perhaps some hope might 'be, that as altars and images were already taken away, 'so also those appearances of the mass might in time be 'taken away too; if he and others, who had taken upon 'them episcopacy, earnestly laboured therein. But not-'withstanding, if it came not to so good effect; yet, 'should he decline the office, another might succeed in his 'place, who would not care to have those relics reject-'ed, but perhaps would rather defend, cherish, and main-'tain them. He was therefore, he said, more backward 'to advise him rather to refuse the bishopric, than to

'submit

'submit to the use of those vestures. But because he saw 'scandals of that kind were altogether by all means to be 'avoided, therefore he more easily had yielded to Bullin-'ger's opinion aforesaid. But if altars and images had 'been continued and preserved, then he did freely, as he 'had wrote in other letters, judge, that Grindal ought by 'no means to minister.

'In general, he advised him to do nothing against his 'conscience; he acknowledged the questions which he 'sent him had difficulty in them; and therefore he ex-'cused himself that he had no sooner imparted his coun-'sel, since it could not so easily be given. He added, 'that when he was at Oxford, though he were a canon, 'yet he would never wear the surplice in the choir: He 'knew his example was no just confirmation of Grindal. 'But that which moved him then, and still did the same, 'might perhaps have some force with Grindal, namely, 'that that was not to be done, which might confirm the 'practice of what his conscience did not approve.'

And again, in a subsequent letter, he says: 'Of the 'square cap, and the external episcopal habits, he thought 'there was no need much to dispute, when the wearing 'thereof was without superstition, and especially when it 'might have a civil reason in this kingdom.

'Of the garments which they termed holy, he con-'fessed they somewhat stuck with him: So that he won-'dered they should be so stiffly retained; and he wished 'all things, in the service of GOD, might be done in 'the most simple manner. Yet he subjoined, that in case 'peace might be obtained between the Saxon and Helvetian 'churches, as to doctrine, this sort of garments should 'never make a separation: For though they should not ap-'prove of them, yet they would bear them. Therefore 'he allowed, that Grindal might use that attire, either 'when he preached, or administred the sacraments: Yet 'so, as to continue to speak and teach against the use of 'them. But he added, that he could never advise, that 'when he preached or administred the Lord's Supper, he 'should have the image of the crucifix upon the table.

'Grindal also desired to know this great divine's judg-'ment, as to the state's dealing with obnoxious Papists; 'and what he advised as to the inflicting punishment upon 'them, in respect of the many advantages that might be 'taken against them for their irregular and lawless doings 'in the last reign. Likewise whether he thought advise-

'able,

'able, that popish priests should be continued in their 'places, or that such should be admitted to livings. But 'Peter Martyr piously counselled, that for peace sake 'matters past should be forgotten; remembering that pu-'nishments in the church have sometimes been intermit-'ted, and sometimes a total pardon granted: And that 'Heretics have been received with the continuance of their 'former honours and degrees, they subscribing to sound 'religion. But he advised withal, that care should be 'taken, that for the time to come, nothing should be ad-'mitted which was contrary to the religion now enter-'tained. And as for such as should hereafter be pre-'sented from patrons to the bishops for spiritual livings, 'that they should not be by them instituted, unless they 'should subscribe to the religion established.'

The good bishop, now above all, thought it highly needful to provide ministers to supply the vacancies, and to furnish the church with men of learning, honesty, and good religion, in the room of such priests, as had either voluntarily relinquished their places, or were put out. Therefore the bishop, soon after his own consecration, proceeded to the ordination of ministers; of whom he ordained considerable numbers; consisting in a great measure, as it seems, of such young persons, as had left the universities in the late reign, and studied abroad at Zurick, Strasburg, and other places.

In all this ordination none were ordained that were under twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, but most were upward of thirty. Some of the deacons were no scholars, or of any university, but men of sober conversation, and that could read English well; who nevertheless, in this present necessity, were ordained, that they might be readers in the churches, to read the Common Prayers and Homilies.

March 3. Our bishop preached again at Paul's Cross in his habit, i. e. in his rochet and chimere; and so continued to wear them, as often as he preached. There was then a large audience; for the people were greedy to hear the gospel. And sermon being ended, a psalm was set, and sung by all the congregation (for now it became commonly practised in churches) with the organ.

In the year 1560, he was made one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, in pursuance of an act of parliament to inspect into the manners of the clergy, and regulate all matters of the church; and the same year he joined with

Cox,

Cox, bishop of Ely, and Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, in a private letter to the queen, persuading her to marry. In 1561, he held his primary visitation. In 1563, he assisted the archbishop of Canterbury, together with some civilians, in preparing a book of statutes for Christ-church, Oxford, which as yet had no fixed statutes. This year he was also very serviceable, in procuring the English merchants, who were ill used at Antwerp, and other parts of the Spanish Netherlands, who had been very kind to the exiles in the late reign, a new settlement at Embden in East Friesland; and the same year, by the request of Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, he wrote animadversions upon a treatise entitled, *Christiani Hominis Norma*, &c. 'The Rule of a Christian man;' the author whereof, one Justus Velsius, a Dutch enthusiast, had imprudently, in some letters to the queen, used some menaces to her majesty, and being at last cited before the ecclesiastical commission, was charged to depart the kingdom *.

Towards the latter end of the year, I find our bishop much concerned about two clergymen in London, the one a very good man, and the other a very bad one; earnest for

* 'He was a learned man, but hot-headed, and enthusiastical, and 'held peculiar opinions, and had some followers and admirers. And being 'very forward to discover himself, he drew up a certain summary of his 'religion under this title, *Christiani Hominis Norma*, &c. that is, The Rule 'of a Christian Man, according to which every one ought to try himself. 'It was composed by way of question and answer. The first question 'was, What is a Christian? To which the answer he framed was, One who 'by participation and grace is rendered, and to be rendered, that which 'Christ was, and is, of himself, and by nature. The next demand being, 'What Christ was and is of himself, and by nature? it is answered, God 'in man, and afterwards Man-God. He writ also in this *Norma*, That 'while the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us, he brought down God 'from heaven to us, joined and united him to our passible nature. And 'that by his glorious resurrection the flesh was made the Word, and 'dwelt in God, and lifted up man to God. He spake of a double regene-'ration, one of the internal man, and the other of the external. And 'that the one made Christians God in man in this world; and the other 'made them men-gods in the world to come: And divers other such kind 'of odd and blasphemous expressions did his writing contain. And in the 'conclusion, he affirmed, That he knew no other rule for a Christian man 'but this: And that he, and all that would not deceive themselves, were 'to examine and try themselves by it. And that because out of true af-'fection and charity he endeavoured to bring men to this rule, he was 'served as the psalmist speaks of himself, *They requited me evil for good, and 'hatred for his love.* But his beloved in Christ (some particular persons of 'his own sect and party) he diligently warned and exhorted, that they 'never put away this rule from the eyes of their minds, but to try and 'direct their whole life by it: For so alone they could be saved. And to 'this he subscribed his name.' STRYPE.

for the preferring of the one, and as desirous of opposing the other. This latter was one Barton, parson of Abchurch, who had been guilty of some gross misdemeanour, and of so foul a nature, that the bishop was resolved to punish him, either by deprivation, or a long suspension: But intercession was made by a friend of this Barton's to Sir William Cecil in his behalf, and he got a supplication presented into his hand by that friend, signifying to the said Cecil, that the bishop did not sufficiently understand his case. But the bishop let Cecil know that he understood it but too well, and that though the act was not finished, yet the circumstances he said were so vile, that severity must be used, or else GOD would be offended, and the mouths of the adversaries opened. This was in July; and in December following, Cecil seems to have mentioned Barton's case to the bishop with favour: but his fault was such, that he could obtain no favour at his hands; telling the secretary that Barton was *dedecus nostri ordinis*, i. e. the disgrace of the order, and slanderous to all good men, that knew his vile doings. And to Lock, his friend that stirred for him, he said, that he being of the secretary esteemed an honest man, should not have been so importunate for a man not honest.

His crime in truth was foul, as I find elsewhere: For this man having solicited a certain woman to have his pleasure of her, and tempting her with money, she pretended at length to comply with his suit, and a place in Distaff-Lane was appointed, where they both met. But she had made her friends privy to it, who according to appointment stood in a secret place at hand: And when the unclean leacher had made himself unready, put off his gown and jacket, his hose being about his legs, they brake in on a sudden upon him in this shameful posture; took him and carried him away to Bridewell, with an hundred people at his heels. And which aggravated the rest, he was a preacher, and had a wife: But because the act was not done, he found it seems some friends, who had interest enough with the secretary himself, to prevail with him to intercede for some favour to be shewed to this scandalous man. But the circumstances being so heinous, and the crime so open, and reflecting upon the whole body of the clergy, the bishop would not be persuaded to remit any thing of the severest censure.

Old Miles Coverdale, D. D. formerly bishop of Exon, and

and an exile, famous for translating the bible into English in the reign of K. Henry VIII. and other good services to religion, had been hitherto without any place or preferment, living privately in and about London, and often preaching in the churches there. For this very reverend man, that had so well deserved of religion, our bishop had a great concern: And it troubled him much to see such an one, as it were, cast by, without that notice taken of him that was due: And once cried out about it, "I cannot "excuse us bishops;" but somewhat, he said, he had to speak for himself, that he had offered him several things, which nevertheless he thought not meet for him to accept of. This man, notwithstanding his great years, had gotten the plague this year, and recovered; as though GOD had some more work for him to do in the church before his death. Grindal acquaints the secretary herewith: Telling him, that surely it was not well, that Father Coverdale, as he stiled him, *qui ante nos omnes fuit in Christo*; i. e. who was in Christ before us all, should be now in his age without stay of living. And therefore Landaff being void, he recommended him to the secretary for that see, if any competency of living might be made of it, after it had been so spoiled and stripped by the last incumbent: Putting him in mind here, that it would be well, if any means might be found, that things wickedly alienated from that see might be restored. But I suppose Coverdale cared not now to enter upon the charge of a bishopric, considering his own age, and his want of strength and activity, required to execute such an office. But in fine, in the month of February, our bishop collated Coverdale in the parish of Saint Magnus, at the Bridge-foot; and withal, sued to the secretary to obtain the favour of the queen to release him his first fruits, which came to sixty pounds and upwards. And the venerable man pleaded himself for this favour to be shewn him, for these reasons; viz. that he had been destitute ever since his bishopric had been taken away from him; (which was upon the death of K. Edward) and that he never had pension, annuity or stipend of it for ten years now past. And that he was unable either to pay the first fruits, or long to enjoy the same living: Not able to live over a year, and going upon his grave. And lastly, adding these words; 'That if poor old Miles might be thus 'provided for, he should think this enough to be as good 'as a feast.' And he enjoyed his request.

April 15, 1564, Grindal took the degree of D. D. at Cambridge,

Cambridge, and the same year executed the queen's express command for exacting uniformity in the clergy; but proceeded so tenderly and slowly, that the archbishop thought fit to excite and quicken him; whence the Puritans thought him inclined to their party. However, he brought several nonconformists to comply, to which end he published a letter of Henry Bullinger, minister of Zurick in Switzerland, to prove the lawfulness thereof, which had a very great effect. The same year, October 3. on the celebration of the emperor Ferdinand's funeral, he preached the sermon at St Paul's, which was afterwards printed. This sermon is very scarce, and there being only one other besides it ever printed on these occasions, Mr Strype has given extracts from the most material passages of it.

Bishop Grindal was not wanting in his endeavours to bring over the dissenters to be satisfied with what was enjoined. And among other means in order to this end, he published, as was observed before, an excellent Christian letter of Henry Bullinger, sent to him and Horn, bishop of Winton, and Parkhurst of Norwich, concerning the lawfulness of wearing the habits; but drawn up for the satisfaction of Sampson and Humfrey, two Oxford divines, of great note there; the one dean of Christ-Church, and the other president of St Magdalen's college. The letter was written with such a clearness of reason, such evidence from Scripture, and in such a fatherly, compassionate style, that it had a very good effect upon many that before were ready to leave their ministry; but having read it, were satisfied. Theodore Beza, late assistant to Calvin, and now the chief minister of Geneva, made a present this year to bishop Grindal, of his Annotations upon the New Testament. And the same reverend father soon after sent him a letter, thanking him for the book, and withal, a gratification. What it was, I cannot tell; perhaps it was the bishop's picture, or his ring: But Beza called it, *Longè maximum gratissimumq; tui* μνημόσυνον, i. e. a very great, and most acceptable remembrance of himself, which he would keep for his sake. The bishop in his letter had much commended his Annotations, as accurate and learned; but Beza modestly declined the praise, and added, that then they might seem such as the bishop had characterised them, when they should be critically corrected by him, and such other learned men as he.

In the year 1567, our bishop had much trouble with the

the Puritans, some of whom (it must be owned) did not behave with much decency to him or to the supreme power. Many of them were doubtless good men, and, having been abroad at Geneva, Strasburg, and other places during Q. Mary's persecution, wished to see the Reformation proceed entirely upon the plan of Calvin, and the other foreign Reformers. They objected particularly to the clerical habits, and other indifferent matters, upon which they did not express themselves with common patience; and so to avoid what they thought idolatry, some of them approached perhaps too nearly to downright bigotry, for which Beza, Bullinger, and Zanchius, in their letters to Grindal, absolutely condemned them. They censured their furious attachment to these external matters, and separation upon account of them, when the Reformation required unity; even though themselves had no sort of partiality to the things in question. These great and good men saw, that such affairs have very little to do with the essence of religion, and that, if men had indeed the grace of GOD, their souls would soar above such stupid, such nugatory contentions. Articles of faith make another matter in which Christians are to yield only to GOD; but there was no dispute (as we can find) of any moment here; the Reformed churches, at *that time*, nearly agreeing in the *substance* of religion.

In the mean time, Grindal was threatened, on the other hand, with a premunire by some of the clergy for raising a contribution upon them the preceding year for the persecuted Protestants abroad, without the queen's licence. But this did not discourage him, and having procured a commission from her majesty to visit the Savoy, the hospital appointed for the relief and entertainment of poor travellers, he deprived the master, who had almost ruined the charity by his abuses and mismanagement.

This was the last piece of service he did for his diocese, being translated May 1st the following year, 1570, to the see of York. He owed this promotion to secretary Cecil and archbishop Parker, who liked his removal from London, as not being resolute enough for the government there. Soon after his accession to this new province, he commenced a law-suit for a house belonging to it at Battersea in Surry, which he recovered, together with eighty acres of demesne land. The same year he wrote a letter to his patron Cecil, that Cartwright, the famous Nonconformist,

formist might be silenced; and in 1571, at his metropolitical visitation, the subsequent year, he shewed a hearty zeal, by his injunctions, for the discipline and strict government of the church. In 1572, he petitioned the queen to renew the ecclesiastical commission. In 1574, he held one for the purpose of proceeding against Papists, whose number daily diminished in his diocese, which he was particularly careful to provide with learned preachers, as being, in his opinion, the best method of obtaining that end.

He rejected, therefore, such as came for institution to livings, if they were found deficient in learning, of which we have a remarkable instance in the case of one William Ireland, who came with a presentation to the rectory of Harthill, in which the archbishop's chaplain observing the words, *vestri humiles & obedientes*, required him to translate them; he did so, by expounding them, 'your 'humbleness and obedience.' He was then asked, who brought the children of Israel out of Egypt? he answered, K. Saul: And to the question, who was first circumcised, he could say nothing. Whereupon the archbishop rejected him, and procured the benefice for another person. In this policy the archbishop was encouraged by the queen, to whom it was entirely agreeable. But his intercession, the preceding year, for the clergy, does not seem to have been so well relished at court.

The gentlemen pensioners having, it seems, obtained a grant of the penalties incurred by the clergy for concealing of lands, &c. given to superstitious uses, employed such deputies for the purpose as, according to our archbishop's complaint, practised great extortions; however, his patron Cecil, then lord treasurer, intimated to him, that the affair was of too interesting a nature to meddle in.

This did not hinder the same patron from recommending him to the first chair in the church, when it became vacant by the death of Dr Matthew Parker, whom our Author succeeded at Canterbury; in which see he was confirmed archbishop, on February 15, 1575: And a convocation of that province was held under him the same year. May 6, 1576, he began his metropolitical visitation, and took measures for the better regulation of his courts; but the same year he fell under her majesty's displeasure, by reason of the favour he shewed to what was called the 'Exercise of Prophesying.'

As this was the most remarkable incident in our Author's life, we shall give the following account of the matter. These prophesyings had been used for some time, the rules of which were, that the ministers of a particular division at a set time met together in some church of a market, or other large town, and there each in their order explained, according to their abilities, some portion of Scripture allotted to them before: This done, a moderator made his observations on what had been said, and determined the true sense of the place, a certain space of time being fixed for dispatching the whole. The advantage was the improvement of the clergy, who hereby considerably profited themselves in the knowledge of the Scripture; but this mischief ensued, that at length there happened confusions and disturbances at those meetings, by an ostentation of superior parts in some, by advancing heterodox opinions, and by the intrusion of some of the silenced Separatists, who took this opportunity of declaiming against liturgy and hierarchy, and hence even speaking against states and particular persons; the people also, of whom also there was always a great conflux, as hearers, fell to arguing and disputing themselves much about religion, and sometimes a lay-man would take upon himself to speak. In short, the exercises degenerated into factions, divisions and censurings.

Our author laboured to redress these irregularities by setting down rules and orders for the more useful management of these exercises. However, the queen still disapproved of them, as seeing probably how very apt they were to be abused. She did not like, that the laity should neglect their secular affairs by repairing to those meetings, which she thought might fill their heads with notions, and so occasion dissentions and disputes, and perhaps seditions in the state. And the archbishop being at court, she particularly declared herself offended at the number of preachers as well as the exercises, and ordered him to redress both, urging, that it was good for the church to have few preachers, that three or four might suffice for a county, and that the reading of the Homilies to the people was sufficient. She therefore required him to abridge the number of preachers, and put down the religious exercises. This did not a little afflict the archbishop. He thought the queen made same infringement upon his office, to whom the highest trust of the church of England, next to herself, was committed, especially as this

this command was peremptory, and made without at all advising with him, and that in a matter so directly regarding religion: He wrote a letter to her majesty, declaring, that his conscience, for the reasons therein mentioned, would not suffer him to comply with her commands *.

This

* There is such a compound of faithfulness and meekness, of firm obedience to the will of GOD, and of humble deference to the commands of his prince, in this letter of Grindal to Q. Elizabeth; that we believe our Readers will be glad of the perusal.

"To her MAJESTY, Decemb. 20, 1576.

"WITH most humble remembrance of my bounden duty to your majesty; That may please the same to be advertised, that the speeches which it hath pleased you to deliver unto me, when I last attended on your highness, concerning the abridging the number of preachers, and the utter suppression of all learned exercises and conferences among the ministers of the church, allowed by their bishops and ordinaries, have exceedingly dismayed and discomforted me. Not so much for that the said speeches sounded very hardly against mine own person, being but one particular man, and not much to be accounted of; but most of all for that the same might both tend to the public harm of GOD's church, whereof your highness ought to be *Nutricia*, and also to the heavy burdening of your own conscience before GOD, if they should be put in strict execution. It was not your pleasure, then, the time not serving thereto, to hear me at any length concerning the said two matters there propounded; I thought it therefore my duty, by writing, to declare some part of my mind unto your highness; beseeching the same, with patience, to read over this that I now send written with mine own rude scribbling hand; which seemeth to be of more length than it is indeed: For I say with Ambrose, *Scribo, manu mea, quod sola legas*; i. e. I write with mine own hand, that you alone may read it."

"MADAME,

"First of all, I must and will, during my life, confess. that there is no earthly creature to whom I am so much bounden as to your majesty; who, notwithstanding mine insufficiency (which commendeth your grace the more) hath bestowed upon me so many and so great benefits as I could never hope for, much less deserve. I do, therefore, according to my most bounden duty with all thanksgiving, bear towards your majesty a most humble, faithful, and thankful heart; and that knoweth He which knoweth all things. Neither do I ever intend to offend your majesty in any thing, unless in the cause of God, or of his church, by necessity of office, or burden of conscience, I shall thereunto be enforced. And in those cases (which I trust in God shall never be urged upon me) if I should use dissembling or flattering in silence, I should very evil requite your majesty so many and so great benefits. For in so doing, both you might fall into peril towards GOD, and I myself into endless damnation.

"The prophet Ezekiel termeth us ministers of the church, *speculatores*, i. e. watchmen; and not *adulatores*, i. e. flatterers. If we see the sword coming by reason of any offence towards GOD, we must of necessity give warning, or else the blood of those that perish will be required at our hands. I beseech your majesty thus to think of me, that I do not conceive any

This refusal was dated December 20, 1576. The queen therefore having given him sufficient time to consider well his

any evil opinion of you, although I cannot assent to those two articles then propounded. I do, with all the rest of your good subjects, acknowledge, that we have received by your government, many and most excellent benefits; as, among others, freedom of conscience, suppressing of idolatry, sincere preaching of the gospel with public peace and tranquillity. I am also persuaded, that even in these matters, which you seem now to urge, your zeal and meaning is to the best. The like hath happened to many of the best princes that ever were; yet have they not refused afterwards to be better informed out of GOD's word. King David, so much commended in the scriptures, had no evil meaning, when he commanded the people to be numbered. He thought it good policy in so doing, to understand what forces he had in store to employ against GOD's enemies, if occasion so required. Yet afterwards (saith the scripture) his own heart stroke him; and GOD, by the prophet Gad, reprehended him for his offence, and gave him for the same choice of three very hard penances, that is to say, famine, war, and pestilence. Good K. Ezekias, of curtesie and good affection, shewed to the ambassadors of the king of Babylon, the treasures of the house of GOD, and of his own house; and yet the prophet Esay told him, that GOD was therewith displeased. The godly K. Jehosaphat, for making league with his neighbour K. Achab, (of the like good meaning, no doubt) was likewise reprehended by Jehu the prophet, in this form of words, *Impio præbes auxilium, & his qui oderunt Dominum amicitiâ jungeris, &c.* Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words, *Novi Pietatem tuam erga Deum, Lenitatem in Homines; obligatus suum beneficiis tuis, &c.* and yet for all that, the same Ambrose doth not forbear, in the same epistle, earnestly to persuade the said emperor to revoke an ungodly edict, wherein he had commanded a godly bishop to re-edify a Jewish synagogue pulled down by the Christian people.

"And so to come to the present case; I may very well use unto your highness the words of Ambrose above-written, *Novi Pietatem tuam, &c.* i. e. I know your piety Godward, and your gentleness towards men: I am bounden to you for your benefits, &c. But surely I cannot marvel enough, how this strange opinion should once enter into your mind, that it should be good for the church to have few preachers.

"Alas! Madam, is the scripture more plain in any one thing, than that the Gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached; and that plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest; which being great and large, standeth in need, not of a few, but many workmen?

There was appointed to the building of Solomon's material temple, an hundred and fifty thousand artificers and labourers, besides three thousand three hundred overseers: And shall we think that a few preachers may suffice to build and edify the spiritual temple of Christ, which is his church.

"Christ, when he sendeth forth his apostles, saith unto them, *Ite, prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ;* i. e. Go ye, preach the Gospel to every creature. But all GOD's creatures cannot be instructed in the Gospel, unless all possible means be used, to have multitude of preachers and teachers, to preach unto them.

"*Sermo Christi inhabitet in vobis opulenter*, i. e. Let the word of Christ dwell among you richly, saith St Paul to the Colossians; and to Timothy, *Prædica Sermonem, insta tempestivè, intempestivè, argue, increpa, exhortare*, i. e. Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort; which things cannot be done without often and much preaching.

"To this agreeth the practice of Christ's apostles, *Qui constituebant per singulas*

his resolution, and as he continued unalterable therein, she sent letters next year to the respective bishops to forbid

gulas Ecclesias Presbyteros, i. e. Who appointed elders in every church. St Paul likewise writing to Titus, writeth thus, *Hujus rei gratiâ reliqui te in Creta, ut quæ desunt pergas corrigere, & constituas oppidatim Presbyteros*; i. e. For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou mayest go on to make up what is wanting, and appoint elders throughout every town. And afterwards describeth how the said Presbytery, i. e. elders were to be qualified; not such as we are compelled to admit by mere necessity, (unless we should leave a great number of churches desolate) but such indeed as were able to exhort *per sanam Doctrinam, & contradicentes convincere*, i. e. by sound doctrine to convince gainsayers. And in this place I beseech your majesty to note one thing necessary to be noted, which is this: If the Holy Ghost prescribe expressly that preachers should be placed *Oppidatim*, i. e. in every town or city, how can it well be thought that three or four preachers may suffice for a shire?

"Public and continual preaching of GOD's word, is the ordinary mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind. St Paul calleth it the *ministry of reconciliation* of man unto GOD. By preaching of GOD's word, the glory of GOD is enlarged, faith is nourished, and charity is increased. By it the ignorant is instructed, the negligent exhorted and incited, the stubborn rebuked, the weak conscience comforted, and to all those that sin of malicious wickedness, the wrath of GOD is threatened. By preaching, also, due obedience to Christians and magistrates is planted in the hearts of subjects. For obedience proceedeth of conscience; conscience is grounded upon the word of GOD; the word of GOD worketh his effect by preaching. So as generally where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth

"No prince ever had more lively experience hereof than your majesty hath had in your time, and may have daily. If your majesty came to the city of London never so often, what gratulation, what joy, what concourse of people is there to be seen? Yea, what acclamations and prayers to GOD for your long life, and other manifest significations of inward and unfeigned love, joined with most humble and hearty obedience, are there to be heard? Whereof cometh this, Madam, but of the continual preaching of GOD's word in that city? Whereby that people hath been plentifully instructed in their duty towards GOD and your majesty? On the contrary, What bred the rebellion in the North? Was it not papistry, and ignorance of GOD's word, through want of often preaching? And in the time of that rebellion, were not all men of all states that made profession of the gospel, most ready to offer their lives for your defence? Insomuch, that one poor parish in Yorkshire, which by continual preaching had been better instructed than the rest, (Halifax I mean) was ready to bring three or four thousand able men into the field to serve you against the said rebels. How can your majesty have a more lively trial and experience of the contrary effects of much preaching, and of little or no preaching? The one working most faithful obedience, and the other most unnatural disobedience and rebellion.

"But it is thought of some, that many are admitted to preach, and few be able to do it well. That unable preachers be removed, is very requisite, if ability and sufficiency may be rightly weighed and judged: And therein I trust as much is, and shall be done, as can be. For both I, for mine own part, (let it be spoken without any ostentation) am very careful in allowing such preachers only, as be able and sufficient to be preachers, both for their

bid all exercises and prophesyings, and all preachers and teachers not lawfully called, of which there was no small number;

their knowledge in the ſcriptures, and alſo for teſtimony of their good life and converſation. And beſides that, I have given very great charge to the reſt of my brethren, the biſhops of this province, to do the like. We admit no man to the office that either profeſſeth papiſtry or puritaniſm. Generally the graduates of the univerſity are only admitted to be preachers, unleſs it be ſome few which have excellent gifts of knowledge in the ſcriptures, joined with good utterance, and godly perſuaſion. I myſelf procured above forty learned preachers and graduates within leſs than ſix years, to be placed within the dioceſe of York, beſides theſe I found there; and there I have left them. The fruits of whoſe travelling-preaching, your majeſty is like to reap daily, by moſt aſſured, dutiful obedience of your ſubjects in thoſe parts.

"But indeed this age judgeth very hardly, and nothing indifferently of the ability of preachers of our time; judging few or none in their opinion to be able. Which hard judgment groweth upon divers evil diſpoſitions of men. St Paul doth commend the preaching of Chriſt crucified, *abſq; eminentia Sermonis*; i. e. without excellency of ſpeech. But in our time, many have ſo delicate ears, that no preaching can ſatisfy them, unleſs it be ſauced with much fineneſs and exornation of ſpeech: Which the ſame apoſtle utterly condemneth, and giveth this reaſon, *Ne evacuetur Crux Chriſti*; i. e. leſt the croſs of Chriſt be made of none effect.

"Some there be alſo that are miſlikers of the godly Reformation in religion now eſtabliſhed; wiſhing, indeed, that there were no preachers at all; and ſo by depraving the miniſters impugn religion, *Non aperto Marte, ſed Cuniculis*; i. e. not by open oppoſition, but by ſecret undermining. Much like to the popiſh biſhops in your father's time, who would have had the Engliſh tranſlation of the bible called in, as evil tranſlated: and the new tranſlating thereof to have been committed to themſelves; which they never intended to perform.

"A number there is, (and that is exceeding great) whereof ſome are altogether worldly-minded, and only bent covetouſly to gather worldly goods and poſſeſſions, ſerving mammon and not GOD. And another great ſum have given over themſelves to all carnal, vain, diſſolute, and laſcivious life, *Voluptatis amatores, magis quam Dei*; i. e. lovers of pleaſure rather than God: *Et que ſemitipſos dediderunt ad patrandum omnem Immunditiam cum aviditate*; i. e. and who have given over themſelves to commit all uncleanneſs with greedineſs: And becauſe the preaching of GOD's word, which to all Chriſtian conſciences is ſweet and delectable, is to them (having *Cauteriatis Conſcientias*; i. e. conſciences ſeared) bitter and grievous. For as St Ambroſe ſaith, *Quomodo poſſunt Verba Dei dulcia eſſe in faucibus tuis, in quibus eſt Amaritudo Nequitiæ*; i. e. how can the word of GOD be ſweet in his mouth, in which is the bitterneſs of ſin? Therefore they wiſh alſo, that there were no preachers at all. But becauſe they dare not directly condemn the office of preaching, ſo expreſsly commanded by GOD's word, (for that were open blaſphemy) they turn themſelves altogether; and with the ſame meaning as the other do, to take exceptions againſt the perſons of them that be admitted to preach.

"But GOD forbid, Madam, that you ſhould open your ears to any of theſe wicked perſuaſions; or any way go about to diminiſh the preaching of Chriſt's goſpel: For that would ruinate altogether at the length. *Quum defecerit Prophetia, diſſipabitur Populus*; i. e. when propheſy ſhall fail, the people ſhall periſh, ſaith Solomon.

"Now,

number; and in June, the archbishop was sequestered from his office, and confined to his house by an order of the

" Now, where it is thought, that the reading of the godly homilies, ſet forth by public authority, may ſuffice, I continue of the ſame mind I was, when I laſt attended upon your majeſty. The reading of the homilies hath his commodity; but is nothing comparable to the office of preaching. The godly preacher is termed in the goſpel, *Fidelis Servus & prudens, qui novit Famulitio Domini Cibum demenſum dare in tempore:* i. e. a faithful ſervant, who knoweth how to give his Lord's family their apportioned food in ſeaſon. Who can apply his ſpeech according to the diverſity of times, places, and hearers; which cannot be done in homilies: Exhortations, reprehenſions, and perſuaſions are uttered with more affection, to the moving of the hearers, in ſermons than in homilies. Beſides, homilies were deviſed by the godly biſhops in your brother's time, only to ſupply neceſſity, for want of preachers; and are by the ſtatute not to be preferred, but to give place to ſermons, whenſoever they may be had; and were never thought in themſelves alone to contain ſufficient inſtruction for the church of England. For it was then found, as it is found now, that this church of England hath been by appropriations, and that not without ſacrilege, ſpoiled of the livings which at firſt were appointed to the office of preaching and teaching. Which appropriations were firſt annexed to abbies; and after came to the crown; and now are diſperſed to private men's poſſeſſions, without hope to reduce the ſame to the original inſtitution. So as at this day, in mine own opinion, where one church is able to yield ſufficient living to a learned preacher, there are at leaſt ſeven churches unable to do the ſame: And in many pariſhes of your realm, where there be ſeven or eight hundred ſouls, (the more is the pity) there are not eight pounds a year reſerved for a miniſter. In ſuch pariſhes, it is not poſſible to place able preachers, for want of convenient ſtipend. If every flock might have a preaching paſtor, which is rather to be wiſhed than hoped for, then were reading of homilies altogether unneceſſary. But to supply that want of preaching of GOD's word, which is the food of the ſoul, growing upon the neceſſities afore-mentioned, both in your brother's time, and in your time, certain godly homilies have been deviſed, that the people ſhould not be altogether deſtitute of inſtruction: For it is an old and true proverb, 'Better half a loaf than no bread.'

" Now for the ſecond point, which is concerning the learned exerciſes and conference amongſt the miniſters of the church; I have conſulted with divers of my brethren, the biſhops, by letters; who think the ſame as I do, viz. a thing profitable to the church, and therefore expedient to be continued. And I truſt your majeſty will think the like, when your highneſs ſhall be informed of the manner and order thereof; what *authority* it hath of the ſcriptures; what *commodity* it bringeth with it; and what *incommodities* will follow, if it be clear taken away.

" The *authors* of this exerciſe, are the biſhops of the dioceſes where the ſame is uſed, who both by the law of GOD, and by the canon and conſtitutions of the church now in force, have authority to appoint exerciſes to their inferior miniſters, for increaſe of learning and knowledge in the ſcriptures, as to them ſeemeth moſt expedient. For that pertaineth *ad diſciplinam clericalem*; to the diſcipline of miniſters. The times appointed for the aſſembly is once a month, or once in twelve or fifteen days, at the diſcretion of the ordinary. The time of the exerciſe is two hours. The place, the church of the town appointed for the aſſembly. The matter intreated of, is as followeth. Some text of ſcripture, before appointed to be ſpoken of,

the court of star-chamber; in the latter end of November, his friend the lord treasurer wrote to him about making his

of, is interpreted in this order: Firſt, The occaſion of the place is ſhewed. Secondly, The end. Thirdly, The proper ſenſe of the place. Fourthly, The propriety of the words: And thoſe that be learned in the tongues, ſhewing the diverſities of interpretations. Fifthly, Where the like phraſes are uſed in the ſcriptures. Sixthly, Places in the ſcriptures ſeeming to repunge, are reconciled. Seventhly, The arguments of the text are opened. Eighthly, It is alſo declared, what virtues and what vices are there touched, and to which of the commandments they pertain. Ninthly, How the text had been wreſted by the adverſaries, if occaſion ſo require. Tenthly, and laſt of all, What doctrine of faith or manners the text doth contain. The concluſion is, with the prayer for your majeſty and all eſtates, as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and a pſalm.

"Theſe orders following, are alſo obſerved in the ſaid exerciſe: Firſt, Two or three of the graveſt and beſt learned paſtors are appointed of the biſhop, to moderate in every aſſembly. No man may ſpeak unleſs he be firſt allowed by the biſhop, with this *proviſo*, That no lay-man be ſuffered to ſpeak at any time. No controverſy of this preſent time and ſtate ſhall be moved or dealt withal; If any attempt the contrary, he is put to ſilence by the moderator. None is ſuffered to glance openly or covertly at perſons public or private; neither yet any one to confute another. If any man utter a wrong ſenſe of the ſcripture, he is privately admoniſhed thereof, and better inſtructed by the moderators, and other his fellow-miniſters. If any man uſe immodeſt ſpeech, or irreverend geſture or behaviour, or otherwiſe be ſuſpected in life, he is likewiſe admoniſhed, as before. If any wilfully do break theſe orders, he is preſented to the biſhop, to be by him corrected.

"The ground of this, or like exerciſe, is of great and ancient authority. For Samuel did practiſe ſuch like exerciſes in his time, both at Naioth in Ramatha, and at Bethel: So did Elizæus at Jericho. Which ſtudious perſons in thoſe days were called *filii prophetarum*, i. e. the ſons of the prophets: That is to say, the diſciples of the prophets, that being exerciſed in the ſtudy and knowledge of the ſcriptures, they might be able men to ſerve in GOD's church, as that time required. St Paul alſo doth make expreſs mention, that the like in effect was uſed in the primitive church; and giveth rules for the order of the ſame. As namely, that two or three ſhould ſpeak, and the reſt ſhould keep ſilence.

"That exerciſe of the church in thoſe days, St Paul calleth *prophetiam*, i. e. prophecy; and the ſpeakers *prophetas*, i. e. prophets: Terms very odious in our days to ſome, becauſe they are not rightly underſtood. For indeed *prophetia* in that, and like places of St Paul, doth not, as it doth ſometimes, ſignify prediction of things to come. Which gift is not now ordinary in the church of GOD, but ſignifieth there, by the conſent of the beſt ancient writers, the interpretation and expoſition of the ſcriptures. And therefore doth St Paul attribute unto thoſe that be called *prophetæ* in that chapter; *doctrinam, ad ædificationem, exhortationem, & conſolationem*, i. e. doctrine, to edification, exhortation, and comfort.

"This gift of expounding and interpreting the ſcriptures, was in St Paul's time given to many by ſpecial miracle, without ſtudy: So was alſo, by like miracle, the gift to ſpeak with ſtrange tongues, which they had never learned. But now, miracles ceaſing, men muſt attain to the knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, &c. by travel and ſtudy, GOD giving the increaſe. So muſt men alſo attain, by like means,

to

his submission, which he not thinking fit to comply with, his sequestration was continued, and in January following,

to the gift of expounding and interpreting the ſcriptures. And amongſt other helps, nothing is ſo neceſſary as theſe above-named exerciſes and conferences amongſt the miniſters of the church: Which in effect are all one with the exerciſes of ſtudents in divinity in the univerſities, ſaving, that the firſt is done in a tongue underſtood, to the more edifying of the unlearned hearers.

"Howſoever report hath been made to your majeſty concerning theſe exerciſes, yet I and others of your biſhops, whoſe names are noted in the margin hereof, as they have teſtified unto me by their letters, having found by experience, that theſe profits and commodities following have enſued of them: Firſt, The miniſters of the church are more ſkilful and ready in the ſcriptures, and apter to teach their flocks. Secondly, It withdraweth them from idleneſs, wandering, gaming, &c. Thirdly, Some, afore ſuſpected in doctrine, are brought hereby to open confeſſion of the truth. Fourthly, Ignorant miniſters are driven to ſtudy, if not for conſcience, yet for ſhame and fear of diſcipline. Fifthly, The opinion of lay-men, touching the idleneſs of the clergy, is hereby removed. Sixthly, Nothing by experience beateth down popery more than that miniſters (as ſome of my brethren do certify) grow to ſuch a good knowledge, by means of theſe exerciſes, that where afore were not three able preachers, now are thirty, meet to preach at St Paul's Croſs; and forty or fifty beſides, able to inſtruct their own cures. So as it is found by experience the beſt means to encreaſe knowledge in the ſimple, and to continue it in the learned. Only backward men in religion, and contemners of learning in the countries abroad, do fret againſt it: Which in truth doth the more commend it. The diſſolution of it would breed triumph to the adverſaries, and great ſorrow and grief unto the favourers of religion. Contrary to the counſel of Ezekiel, who ſaith, *Cor juſti non eſt contriſtandum*, i. e. the heart of the righteous muſt not be made ſad. And although ſome few have abuſed this good and neceſſary exerciſe, there is no reaſon that the malice of a few ſhould prejudice all.

"Abuſes may be reformed, and that which is good may remain. Neither is there any juſt cauſe of offence to be taken, if divers men make divers ſenſes of one ſentence of ſcripture; ſo that all the ſenſes be good and agreeable to the analogy and proportion of faith: For otherwiſe we muſt needs condemn all the ancient fathers and doctors of the church, who moſt commonly expound one and the ſame text of ſcripture diverſely, and yet all to the good of the church. Therefore does St Baſil compare the ſcripture to a well; out of which, the more a man draweth, the better and ſweeter is the water.

"I truſt, when your majeſty hath conſidered, and well weighed the premiſes, you will reſt ſatisfied, and judge that no ſuch inconveniences can grow of theſe exerciſes, as you have been informed, but rather the clean contrary. And for my own part, becauſe I am very well aſſured, both by reaſons and arguments taken out of the holy ſcriptures, and by experience, (the moſt certain ſeal of ſure knowledge) that the ſaid exerciſes, for the interpretation and expoſition of the ſcriptures, and for exhortation and comfort drawn out of the ſame, are both profitable to encreaſe knowledge among the miniſters, and tendeth to the edifying of the hearers; I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly, to profeſs, that I cannot with ſafe conſcience, and without the offence of the majeſty of GOD, give my aſſent to the ſuppreſſing of the ſaid exerciſes: Much leſs can I ſend out any injunction for the utter and univerſal ſubverſion of the ſame. I ſay

with

ing, there were thoughts of depriving him, but that design was laid aside. In June, 1579, his confinement was either

with St Paul, *I have no power to deſtroy, but only to edify;* and with the ſame apoſtle, *I can do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth.*

"If it be your majeſty's pleaſure for any other cauſe, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto, and render again to your majeſty that I received of the ſame. I conſider with myſelf, *quòd horrendum eſt incidere in manus Dei viventis;* i. e. that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living GOD. I conſider alſo, *quod qui facit contra conſcientiam (divinis juribus nixam) ædificat ad gehennam;* i. e. that he who acts againſt his conſcience (reſting upon the laws of GOD) edifies to hell. *And what ſhould I winn, if I gayned* (I will not ſay a biſhopric, but) *the whole world, and loſe mine own ſoul?*

"Bear with me, I beſeech you, madam, if I chuſe rather to offend your earthly majeſty, than to offend the heavenly majeſty of GOD. And now being ſorry, that I have been ſo long and tedious to your majeſty, I will draw to an end, moſt humbly praying the ſame, well to conſider theſe two ſhort petitions following.

"The firſt is, that you will refer all theſe eccleſiaſtial matters which touch religion, or the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, unto the biſhops and divines of your realm; according to the example of all godly Chriſtian emperors and princes of all ages. For indeed they are things to be judged (as an ancient father writeth) *in eccleſiâ, ſeu ſynodo, non in palatio,* i. e. in the church, or a ſynod, not in a palace. When your majeſty hath queſtions of the laws of your realm, you do not decide the ſame in your court, but ſend them to your judges, to be determined. Likewiſe for doubts in matters of doctrine or diſcipline of the church, the ordinary way is to refer the deciſion of the ſame to the biſhops, and other head miniſters of the church.

"Ambroſe to Theodoſius uſeth theſe words, *Si de cauſis pecuniariis comites tuos conſulis, quanto magis in cauſa religionis ſacerdotes Domini, æquum eſt conſulas;* i. e. if in matters of money you conſult with your earls, how much more is it fit, you conſult with the Lord's prieſts in the cauſe of religion? And likewiſe the ſame father to the good emperor Valentinianus, *Si de fide conferendum eſt, ſacerdotum debet eſſe iſta collatio; ſicut factum eſt ſub Conſtantino auguſtæ memoriæ principe: Qui nullas leges antè præmiſit, quam liberum dedit judicium ſacerdotibus;* i. e. if we confer about faith, the conference ought to be left to the prieſts; as it was done under Conſtantine, a prince of moſt honourable memory; who ſet forth no laws, before he had left them to the free judgment of the prieſts. And in the ſame place, the ſame father ſaith, that Conſtantius the emperor, ſon to the ſaid Conſtantine the Great, began well, by reaſon he followed his father's ſteps at the firſt, but ended ill, becauſe he took upon him, *de fide intra palatium judicare;* i. e. to judge of faith within the palace, (for ſo be the words of Ambroſe) and thereby fell into Arianiſm; a terrible example.

"The ſaid Ambroſe, ſo much commended in all hiſtories for a godly biſhop, goeth yet farther, and writeth to the ſame emperor in this form, *Si docendus eſt epiſcopus à laico, quid ſequatur? laicus, ergo diſputet, & epiſcopus audiat; epiſcopus diſcat à laico. At certè, ſi vel ſcripturarum ſeriem divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus, quis eſt qui abnuat, in cauſa fidei, in cauſa, inquam, fidei, epiſcopos ſolere de imperatoribus Chriſtianis, non imperatores de epiſcopis judicare?* i. e. if a biſhop be to be taught by a layman, what follows? let the layman then diſpute, and the biſhop hear: Let the biſhop learn of the layman. But certainly, if we have recourſe either to the order of the holy ſcriptures, or to ancient times, who is there that can deny, that in the cauſe of faith, I ſay, in the cauſe of faith, biſhops were wont to judge concerning

either taken off, or else he had leave for his health to retire to his house at Croydon, for we find him their consecrating

cerning Christian emperors, not emperors of bishops? Would to GOD your majesty would follow this ordinary course, you should procure to yourself much quietness of mind, better please GOD, avoid many offences, and the church should be more quietly and peaceably governed, much to your comfort, and the commodity of your realm.

"The second petition I have to make to your majesty, is this, that when you deal in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touch the church of Christ; which is his spouse, bought with so dear a price; you would not use to pronounce too resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex authoritate*, as ye may do in civil and extern matters: But always remember that in GOD's causes, the will of GOD, (and not the will of any earthly creature) is to take place. It is the antichristian voice of the pope, *sic volo sic jubeo: stet pro ratione voluntas*; i. e. so I will have it; so I command: Let my will stand for a reason. In GOD's matters, all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the Son of God, and to ask counsel at his mouth, what they ought to do. David exhorteth all kings and rulers, to *serve GOD with fear and trembling*.

"Remember, madam, that you are a mortal creature. Look not only (as was said to Theodosius) upon the purple and princely array, wherewith ye are apparelled; but consider withal, what is that that is covered therewith. It is not flesh and blood? is it not dust and ashes? is it not a corruptible body, which must return to his earth again, GOD knows how soon? Must not you also one day appear, *ante tremendum tribunal crucifixi, ut recipias ibi, prout gesseris in corpore, sive bonum sive malum?* i. e. before the fearful judgment seat of the crucified [Jesus,] to receive there according as you have done in the body, whether it be good or evil?

"And although ye are a mighty prince, yet remember that He which dwelleth in heaven is mightier. He is, as the psalmist saith, *terribilis, & is, qui aufert spiritum principum, terribilis super omnes reges terræ*; i. e. terrible, and he who taketh away the spirit of princes, and is terrible above all the kings of the earth.

"Wherefore I do beseech you, madam, *in visceribus Christi*, when you deal in these religious causes, set the majesty of GOD before your eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside; determine with your self to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *non mea, sed tua voluntas fiat*; i. e. not mine, but thy will be done. GOD hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign, now many years; beware you do not impute the same to your own deserts or policy, but give GOD the glory. And as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity; first, to the goodness of the cause which ye have set forth; I mean Christ's true religion; and secondly, to the sighs and groanings of the godly in their fervent prayer to GOD for you. Which have hitherto, as it were, tyed, and bound the hands of GOD, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved.

"Take heed, that ye never once think of declining from GOD, lest that be verified of you, which is written of Ozeas, [Joash] who continued a prince of good and godly government for many years together; and afterwards, *cum roboratus esset*, (saith the text) *elevatum est cor ejus in interitum suum, & neglexit Dominum*; i. e. when he was strengthened, his heart was lifted up to his destruction, and he regarded not the Lord. Ye have done many things well, but except ye persevere to the end, ye cannot be blessed. For if you turn from GOD, then GOD will turn away his merciful countenance

crating the bishop of Exeter in that year, and the bishops of Winchester, and Litchfield, and Coventry, the year following. This part of his function was exercised by a particular commission from the queen, who in council appointed two civilians to manage the other affairs of his see, the two of his nomination being set aside. Of this disgrace put upon the archbishop, and of the injury religion seemed to suffer by it, Sir Robert Cotton, a wise man, had these words. 'In those days there was an emulation 'between the clergy and the laity; and a strife, whether 'of them should shew themselves most affectionate to the 'gospel. Ministers haunted the houses of the worthiest 'men, where Jesuits now build their tabernacles; and 'poor country churches were frequented with the best of 'the shire. The word of GOD was precious: Prayer 'and preaching went hand in hand together; until arch-'bishop Grindal's disgrace, and Hatfield's (Hatton per-'haps] hard conceit of prophesying, brought the flowing 'of these good graces to a still water.'

Yet sometimes he had special commands from the queen and council to act in person, and issued out orders in his own name, and in general was as active as he could be, and vigilant in the care of his diocese, as occasion offered. In the year 1580, for instance, when there happened a violent earthquake, our archbishop having issued an order for prayers and humiliations, composed a prayer for families throughout his diocese, which was allowed by the council, who in a letter to him commended his great zeal, and required him to enjoin the observation of his new order of prayer in all other dioceses. The council also referred to him the decision of a dispute that happened the same year at Merton-college, Oxford, where he was

countenance from you. And what remaineth then to be looked for, but only a terrible expectation of GOD's judgments, *and an heaping up wrath against the day of wrath.*

"But I truſt in GOD, your majeſty will always humble yourſelf under his mighty hand, and go forward in the zealous ſetting forth of God's true religion; always yielding due obedience and reverence to the word of GOD, the only rule of faith and religion. And if you ſo do, although GOD hath juſt cauſe many ways to be angry with you and us for unfaithfulneſs, yet I doubt nothing, but that for his own name's ſake, and for his own glory ſake, He will ſtill hold his merciful hand over us, ſhield and protect us under the ſhadow of his wings, as He hath done hitherto.

"I beſeech GOD our heavenly Father, plentifully to pour his *principal Spirit* upon you, and always to direct your heart in his holy fear. Amen."

was visitor as archbishop; and soon after he was employed by the lord treasurer in a controversy between the university and town of Cambridge.

This year a convocation met at St Paul's, at which, though he could not appear, yet he had a principal share in the transaction of it. He drew up an expedient for preserving the authority of the spiritual courts in the point of excommunications; he laid before them also a new form of penance to be observed for the future, better calculated than the former to bring the sinner to amendment. It was moved in this convocation, that no business should be entered upon, nor any subsidy granted till he was restored. And though that motion was carried in the negative, yet they unanimously presented a petition, which was thought more respectful to her majesty in his favour. It set forth, 'How exceedingly grieved they were, that the most reverend father, after so many years should fall into so great and so durable an offence of her majesty. That he was a man that did not often offend; and but once in his life seemed to have displeased her; and that not so much with a wilful mind, as by a tender conscience. Of which so great was the force, that eminent authors and the best men had writ, that whatsoever was done, the conscience reclaiming, or erring, or doubting, was done amiss and to be condemned as no little sin. That the archbishop had led a life free not only of all crime, but even from the suspicion of a crime; preserved his religion from all, not only corruption of popery, but from schism, and had suffered persecution for righteousness' sake, having wandered abroad in other countries for the cause of the gospel. Therefore they most humbly and unanimously beseeched her not only to lift up the archbishop, broken and feeble with grief, but to restore the church to him, and him to the church, to her subjects, to his own brethren, to foreign nations, and, in a word, to all pious people. And for their own parts they promised her, if she would grant this their supplication, they would never be wanting in their care of settling the church, in propagating religion, in taking away schisms, and in being mindful of, and thankful for this favour.'

However, the address proved ineffectual, nor was he restored till he made his submission; wherein, among other

other things, to clear himself of the charge of a refractory disobedience in respect of suppressing the exercises, he proved that in his own bishopric, and other peculiar jurisdictions, he never suffered the exercises to be used after the time of her majesty's command.

The precise time of his restitution does not clearly appear, yet several of his proceedings shew, that he was in the full possession of the metropolitical power in 1582, in which year, it is certain also, that he had totally lost his eye-sight through hard study and infirmities, especially the stranguary and cholic, with which he had been long afflicted; and losing all hopes of recovering his sight, towards the latter end of this year, he resigned his see, and obtained a pension for his life from the queen, though in no degree of her majesty's favour. With this provision he retired to Croydon, where he died two months after, on July 6, 1583, and was interred in that church, where a stone monument was erected to his memory.

Mr Strype, who wrote an account of our Archbishop's life, in order to vindicate his memory from the late misrepresentations, as he calls them, of Fuller and Heylin, who set him forth as an ill governor of the church, as too much inclined to puritanism, observes, that in the times wherein he lived, when he was better known, his episcopal abilities and admirable endowments for spiritual government, as well as his singular learning, were much celebrated. He was a man, continues this writer, of great firmness and resolution, though of a mild and affable temper and friendly disposition. In his deportment courteous and engaging, not easily provoked, well spoken, and easy of access; and in his elevation not at all affecting grandeur or state, always obliging in his carriage as well as kind and grateful to his servants, and of a free and generous spirit: That he was confessedly a prelate of great moderation towards the puritans, to whose interest in the cabinet, joined to his own merits, his preferment was perhaps owing.

He had doubtless a great respect for Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Zanchy, and the rest of the Reformers abroad, with whom he had contracted a friendship, during his exile, and still corresponded with them; and he was very instrumental in obtaining a settlement for the French Protestants in their own

own way of worship, which was the beginning of the Walloon church, situated in Threadneedle-street, London, and hath continued ever since for the use of the French nation.

Besides the things already mentioned, our Author assisted Fox in his Martyrology, wherein is printed of his own writing, "*A Dialogue*," between custom and truth, which is written in a clear manner, and with much rational evidence against the real, that is, the gross, and corporal presence in the sacrament.

The archbishop lived and died unmarried, yet does not seem to have amassed much wealth, notwithstanding his great and rich preferments. However, he left several charitable legacies by his last will, as thirty pounds *per annum* for the maintenance of a free grammar school, at St Begh's in Cumberland, where he was born. To Pembroke-hall, in Cambridge, twenty-two pounds *per annum*. He left also to the college several books of Henry Stephen's edition, and a curious Hebrew bible to the Master's study. He likewise gave the college a standing cup of above forty ounces, double gilt, which in honour of him they called *Poculum Cautauriense*, 'the Canterbury Cup.' It was a present to him from the queen the year after his promotion to the see of Canterbury. He gave to Queen's-college, Oxford, twenty-six pounds and fourpence *per annum*. To Magdalen-college, in Cambridge, for the maintenance of one scholar, one hundred pounds. To Christ's-college, in Cambridge, a standing cup, value thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence. For the building and furnishing St Begh's school, three hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence. For the purchase of lands and other profits for the relief of the poor almshouses in Croydon, fifty pounds. For repairing the church five pounds. To the city of Canterbury, to set the poor to work, one hundred pounds. To the poor of Lambeth and Croydon, twenty pounds. To the poor of St Begh's thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence. To the parish-church of St Begh's, his communion cup and cover double gilt, and his best great bible. To the queen, a curious Greek Testament of St Stephen's impression. To his successors, several pictures and implements. To his patron, lord Burleigh, a standing cup of forty ounces, given by the queen the last New-year's day before he died.

To

To Sir Francis Walsingham, a standing cup of the like value.

There are many other legacies to servants, friends, and relations, among which last we are told that he had a brother whose name was Robert, who, with his wife, and Edmund, his only son, died in 1567, leaving four daughters orphans, the second of whom married William Darres, gent. against the consent of the archbishop, who had likewise several nieces by his sister Elizabeth Woodfall.

JOHN FOX.

THIS meek and laborious minister was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1517; the very year, when Luther began the Reformation, in Germany.

His father died, when he was very young; and, his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law: With whom he dwelt, till the age of sixteen, at which time he was entered of Brazen-nose-college, Oxford; and was chamber-fellow with the celebrated Dr Alexander Nowel, afterwards dean of St Paul's. Mr Fox plied his academical studies with equal assiduity, improvement, and applause. In 1538, he took the degree of bachelor in arts; and that of master, 1543. The same year, he was elected fellow of Magdalen-college.

When he was first removed to the university, and for some time after, he was strongly attached to the heresies and superstitions of popery. To his zeal for these, he added a life strictly regular and moral: And, laughing at the idea of justification by faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ, thought himself sufficiently safe in the imaginary

ginary merit of his own self-denial, penances, almsdeeds, and compliances with the rites of the church.

But he was a chosen vessel; and, therefore, divine grace would not let him remain a pharisee. Through the effectual breathings of GOD's Holy Spirit, his studies were over-ruled, not only to the advantage of posterity at large; but, also to the benefit of his own soul in particular. His indefatigable and profound researches, into ecclesiastical history, and the writings of the primitive fathers; and, above all, his thorough acquaintance with the holy scripture, in its original languages; became the means of convincing him, to what an immense distance the Romish church has departed, from the faith, practice, and spirit, of Christianity.

In order to make himself a yet more competent judge of the controversies, then in debate between Protestants and Papists; he searched with indefatigable assiduity, into the ancient and modern history of the church. Here he learnt, at what periods, and by what means, the religion of Christ flourished; and by what errors it began to decline. He considered the causes, and weighed the importance, of those various dissentions, which had, from time to time, obtained in the professing world: and quickly perceived, that, in every age, the mistakes, follies, and vices of mankind, are more similar, in their nature, operations, and effects, than is generally imagined. What is the far greater part of civil and ecclesiastical history, but a register of the weakness and wickedness which divide almost the whole human race between them?

With such zeal and industry did Mr Fox apply himself to these enquiries, that, before he was thirty years of age, he had read over all the Greek and all the Latin fathers; all the scholastic writers; together with the acts of all the councils: And, moreover, made himself master of the Hebrew language. But, from this strict and severe application, by night, as well as by day; from forsaking his old popish friends, and courting the most sequestered retirement; from the dubious and hesitating manner, in which, when he could not avoid being in company, he spoke of religious subjects; and, above all, from his sparing attendance on the public worship of the church, which he had, before, been remarkable for strictly and constantly frequenting; arose the first surmises of his being alienated from the reigning superstitions, and infected with (what the bigotted Romanists had the ignorance to term) the new heresies.

Thus, even the humble and benevolent Mr Fox was not without his enemies; who narrowly watched his conduct, and waited for an opportunity to injure him. His singular openness and sincerity did not long leave them at a loss for ways and means. Snares were laid for him; and his generous honesty betrayed him into them. A moderate portion of dissimulation (commonly called, prudence and circumspection) would, perhaps have secured him a while from the machinations of his adversaries. But he *chose rather to suffer affliction, with the people,* and for the cause, *of GOD; than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a season:* Mindful of that decisive and alarming declaration, *Whosoever is ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with his holy angels.* Through grace, our Author, determined to venture the loss of all things, for Christ's sake: In consequence of which, he openly professed the gospel, and was publicly accused of heresy. His college passed judgment on him, as an heretic convicted; and, presently after, he saw himself expelled from the university. His enemies maintained, that he was favourably dealt with by that sentence; and might think himself happily off, to incur expulsion, instead of death.

Mr Fox's troubles sat the heavier on him, as they lost him the countenance and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to assist and protect a person condemned for a capital offence. His father-in-law, particularly, seized this opportunity to withhold from Mr Fox the estate which his own father had left him: Thinking, that he, who stood in danger of the law himself, would with difficulty find relief by legal methods.

Being thus forsaken and oppressed, he was reduced to great straits: When GOD raised him up an unexpected patron in Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire; who received him into his house, and made him tutor to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter, of Coventry; and continued in Sir Thomas's family, till his pupils were grown up: After which, he, with some difficulty procured entertainment with his wife's father, at Coventry; from whence, a few years before the death of Henry VIII. he removed to London.

For a considerable time after his arrival in the capital, being without employment or preferment, he was again reduced to extreme want. But the Lord's good providence relieved him, at length, in the following extraordinary

ordinary manner. As he was sitting, one day, in St Paul's church; his eyes hollow, his countenance wan and pale, and his whole body emaciated (or, rather, within a little of being literally starved to death;) a person, whom he never remembered to have seen before, came and sat down by him: And, accosting him familiarly, put a respectable sum of money into his hand, saying, 'Be of 'good comfort, Mr Fox; take care of yourself, and use 'all means to preserve your life: For, depend upon it, 'GOD will, in a few days, give you a better prospect, 'and more certain means of subsistence.' He, afterwards, used his utmost endeavours, to find out the person, by whose bounty he had been so seasonably relieved: But he was never able to gain any discovery. However, the prediction was fulfilled; for, within three days from that memorable incident, he was taken into the duchess of Richmond's family, to be tutor to her nephew the earl of Surrey's children, who (on the imprisonment of the earl, and of his father the duke of Norfolk, in the tower,) were committed to the care of the duchess for education.

Mr Fox lived with this family, at Ryegate, in Surrey, during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, the five years reign of K. Edward VI. and part of Q. Mary's. Gardiner, the bloody bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese this good man so long lived, would have soon brought him to the shambles; had he not been protected by one of his noble pupils, then duke of Norfolk. Gardiner always hated Mr Fox (who, it is said, was the first person that ventured to preach the gospel at Ryegate;) and saw, with deep concern, the heir of one of the noblest families in the kingdom, trained up in attachment to Protestantism, under Mr Fox's influence. The prelate, therefore, formed various designs against the safety of the latter; and sought, by many artifices, and stratagems, to work his ruin. The holy man, who was no less suspicious of the bishop, than the bishop was of him, found himself obliged in prudence (though much against the duke's inclination, who loved and revered him as a father) to quit his native land, and seek shelter abroad. His grace of Norfolk, perceiving that no arguments nor intreaties could induce his honoured tutor to remain in England, took care to provide him with every accommodation, requisite for his voyage. Mr Fox, accordingly, set sail from Ipswich haven: Accompanied by his wife, who was then pregnant; and by several other persons, who were leaving their country on a religious

account. The vessel had not been very long at sea, ere a storm arose; which, the next day, drove them back into the port from whence they had set out. Having, with great difficulty and danger, reached the land; Mr Fox was saluted with indubitable information, that bishop Gardiner had issued a warrant for apprehending him, and was causing the most diligent search to be made after him. On this, he made interest with the master of the ship to put to sea again, without delay; though at evident hazard of their lives, as the tempest had not yet subsided. Through GOD's goodness, however, they all arrived, in two days, at Nieuport in Flanders: From whence Mr Fox and his company travelled to Antwerp, and Frankfort: and so to Basil, in Switzerland; whither great numbers of the English resorted, in those times of domestic persecution.

The city of Basil was then one of the most famous in Europe, for printing: And many of the learned refugees, who retired thither, got their subsistence by revising and correcting the press. To this employment, Mr Fox betook himself: And it was here, that he laid the first plan of his inestimable history and martyrology, entitled, ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH.

Q. Mary died in the month of November 1558. And, the day before she died in England, Mr Fox, in a sermon then preached by him at Basil, publicly and positively predicted, that the day then next ensuing would be the last of her life. An event, so circumstantially foretold, by one at such a distance from the place of Mary's residence; and so punctually accomplished, by the hand of divine Providence, is so remarkable an occurrence, that it does not seem hasty to conclude, that GOD alone could have revealed it.

Elizabeth's accession encouraged Mr Fox to return home: Where, on his arrival, he still found a faithful and serviceable friend, in his late pupil, the duke of Norfolk; who hospitably and nobly entertained him, at his manor of Christ-church, in London, till his [i. e. till the duke's] death: From which latter period, Mr Fox inherited a pension, bequeathed to him by his deceased benefactor, and ratified by his son the earl of Surrey.

Nor did the good man's successes stop here. On being recommended to the queen, by her secretary of state, the great Cecil; her majesty gave him the prebendary of Shipton, in the cathedral of Salisbury; which was, in a manner, forced upon him; for he brought himself with difficulty

culty to accept of it. The truth is, that, wise and holy and learned as Mr Fox unquestionably was, he entertained some needless doubts, concerning the lawfulness of subscribing to the ecclesiastical canons: A requisition, which, in his ideas, he considered, as an infringement of Protestant liberty. Through this extreme scrupulousness, he excluded himself from rising to those dignities and promotions in the church, to which his uncommon merit, as a scholar and a divine, eminently entitled him: And to which he would most certainly have risen, but for the cause now assigned. His friends were many, great, and powerful; as Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Drue Drury, archbishop Grindal, bishop Aylmer, bishop Parkhurst, &c. who would have been the instruments of raising him to very considerable preferments, had not his coolness towards the canons and ceremonies of the church of England, restrained him from accepting any of her capital emoluments. While, however, we may impute this conduct to his prejudices; we cannot but revere him for his honesty, and for his extreme tenderness of conscience.—Dr Fuller tells us, that archbishop Parker summoned him to subscribe; in hope, 'that the general reputation of his piety might give 'the greater countenance to conformity.' But, instead of complying with the command, Mr Fox pulled out of his pocket the New Testament, in Greek; and, holding it up, said, "To this will I subscribe." And, when a subscription to the canons was required of him, he refused; saying, "I have nothing in the church, but a prebend at "Salisbury: And, if you take it away from me, much "good may it do you." But he was permitted to retain it until his death: Such respect did the bishops (who had, most of them, been his fellow exiles abroad) bear to his age, parts, and labours.

Yet let it be remembered, that, notwithstanding his acknowledged moderation in point of thorough conformity; he was still a declared enemy to the heats and violences of rigid puritanism. "I cannot but wonder, (said he, in a "letter to a bishop) at that turbulent genius, which in- "spires those factious Puritans.—Were I one who, like "them, would be violently outrageous against bishops "and archbishops; or join myself with them, i. e. be- "come mad, as they are; I had not met with severe treat- "ment (at their hands.) But because, quite different "from them, I have chosen the side of modesty and pub- "lic tranquillity; the hatred which they have long con-

"ceived

" ceived against me is at last grown to this degree of bit-
" terness.—Your prudence is not ignorant how much the
" Christian religion suffered formerly by the dissimulation
" and hypocrisy of the monks. At present, in these men,
" I know not what new sort of monks seems to revive; so
" much more pernicious than the former, as, with more
" subtle artifices of deceiving, and under pretence of per-
" fection, like stage-players who only act a part, they
" conceal a more dangerous poison: Who, while they
" require every thing to be formed according to their own
" strict discipline, will not desist, until they have brought
" all things into Jewish bondage *."

Thus thought, and thus wrote, this admirable divine! this friend to good men of all parties, but a slave to no party of men!

How benevolently disposed this great and good man was, even toward those who differed the most widely from him in religious principles; appears, among many other instances, from the Latin letter, which he wrote to queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1575, to dissuade her majesty from putting to death † two Anabaptists, who had been condemned to the fire. Fuller has preserved the whole of this masterly and

* The occasion on which this letter was written, and the whole of the letter itself, in its original Latin, are extant in Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 106. For a summary of it in English, see *Biographia Britannica*, vol. iii. p. 2021.

† 'On Easter-day was disclosed a congregation of Dutch Anabaptists, 'without Aldgate in London; whereof seven-and-twenty were taken and 'imprisoned; and four, bearing faggots at Paul's-Cross, solemnly recanted 'their dangerous opinions. Next month, one Dutchman, and ten women, 'were condemned, of whom one woman was converted to renounce her 'errors, eight were banished the land, two so obstinate that command 'was issued out for their burning in Smithfield.' FULLER's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 204.

This shocking and unjustifiable persecution, could not but reflect deep disgrace on the Protestant name. The two unhappy victims were burned, according to their sentence, July 22, 1575. They were both Dutchmen, and, as we are informed by Stowe, 'died in great horror, with roaring and 'crying.' Chronicle, p. 680. Strype says their names were John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort, and that they suffered after an imprisonment of sixteen weeks. Much interest was made in their behalf by the Dutch congregation settled in London, but the privy council would not spare them. (Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 380.) It was eminently humane, in their countrymen here, to importune the government so earnestly in their favour; especially when we recollect that the intercessors were Calvinists, and that the sufferers added, to their other heresies, the maintenance of free-will, perfection, justification by works, and falling from grace; which, however, was infinitely far from warranting the sanguinary rigour with which they were treated.

and truly Christian address. The substance of it was as follows: That "To punish, with the flames, the bodies "of those who err rather from blindness, than obstinacy "of will, is cruel, and more suitable to the example of "the Romish church, than to the mildness of the gospel. "I do not (added he) write thus, from any byass to the "indulgence of error; but from a regard to the lives of "men, as being myself a man: And in hope that the of-"fending parties may have an opportunity to repent of, "and retract their mistakes." He earnestly beseeches her majesty 'to spare the lives of these miserable men; or, at 'least, to soften their mode of punishment: As to banish 'them, or commit them to perpetual imprisonment, &c. 'but at all events not to rekindle the Smithfield fires, 'which, through her goodness and care, had been so long 'extinguished. If this could not be granted, at least to 'allow them a month or two, in order that endeavours 'might be used to reclaim them from their errors, and 'thereby to prevent the destruction of their souls, as well 'as of their bodies.'—Mr Fox (says Fuller) was very loth that Smithfield, formerly consecrated with martyrs' ashes, should now be profaned with those of heretics; and was desirous that the Papists might enjoy their own monopoly of cruelty, in burning condemned persons. But though Q. Elizabeth constantly called him, 'her father Fox;' yet herein was she no dutiful daughter; for she gave him a flat denial, as to the saving of their lives; if, after a month's reprieve and conference with divines, they would not recant their heresies. It is not a little surprizing, that so good and so candid a man as Dr Fuller should endeavour to palliate, if not to justify, the extreme malignity which brought those two Dutchman to the stake. 'Damnable, '(says this historian) were their impieties; and the queen 'was necessitated to this severity: Who, having formerly 'punished some traitors, if now sparing these blasphemers, 'the world would condemn her; as being more earnest 'in asserting his own safety, than GOD's honour.' A wretched excuse this, for wilful and deliberate murder! It reminds us of Melancthon's fault (falsely fathered on Calvin) in pressing the magistrates of Geneva to burn the heretic Servetus. The answer of a popish princess, on a similar occasion, did more honour to humanity. This lady (who is still living) was solicited, by some Romish ecclesiastics, to concur with them in bringing a supposed heretic to the flames. 'Is it not true (said she) that heretics 'burn for ever in hell-fire?' 'Without doubt,' answered

the

the priests. 'It would be too severe then (added she) to 'burn them in both worlds. Since they are devoted to 'endless misery hereafter, it is but justice to let them live 'unmolested here.'

Hitherto, Dr Fuller, and the Biographia Britannica, have been our chief guides in the present account of the truly apostolic Mr Fox. For what we have farther to add, we shall be principally indebted to the indefatigable Mr Clarke *. We have before observed, that while Mr Fox was in exile at Basil, during the prevalence of popery in England; he one day, in a sermon which he preached before his afflicted countrymen in that city, positively assured them, "That the time was now come, for their safe and "happy return home: And that he told them this com-"fortable news by express command from GOD." Several ministers, who were present took occasion afterwards to reprove him with a degree of asperity for publicly declaring, what they took to be, the premature flights of his own fancy and conjecture. But they soon altered their opinion, when authentic intelligence arrived, that Q. Mary the bloody was actually dead.

On his re-settlement here, he set himself to revise and enlarge his admirable MARTYROLOGY. With prodigious pains and constant study, he finished that elaborate work in eleven years. For the sake of greater correctness, he never employed any amanuensis; but wrote every line of this vast book with his own hand, and searched and transcribed all the records and original papers himself. But by such excessive toil, leaving no part of his time free from study, nor affording himself either the repose or relaxations which nature required; his health was so reduced, and his person became so emaciated, and altered, that such of his friends and relations, as only conversed with him occasionally, could not recollect him at sight. Yet, though he grew daily more lean, withered, and exhausted, his hard studies went on as briskly as ever, nor would he be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours. The Papists, foreseeing how extremely detrimental his history of their errors and cruelties would prove to their cause, exerted their whole art and strength to lessen the reputation of his work. This malice of theirs was of signal service, both to Mr Fox himself, and to the church of GOD at large; as it eventually made his book more intrinsically valuable, by inducing him to weigh, with the most exact and

* See the first volume of his Marrow of the Ecclesiastical History, p. 382, 383.

and scrupulous attention, the certainty of the facts he recorded, and the validity of the authorities from whence he drew his informations.

Having long served both the church and the world, by his ministry, by his pen, and by the unsullied lustre of a beneficent, useful, and holy life; he comfortably resigned his soul to Christ on the eighteenth of April, 1587. The Lord had given him a foresight of his departure: And so fully persuaded was he, that the time was just at hand when he should quit the body, that (probably, to enjoy unmolested communion with GOD, and to have no worldly interruptions in his last hours) he purposely sent his two sons from home, though he loved them with great tenderness; and before they returned, his spirit, as he had foreseen would be the case, was flown to heaven. He was interred in the chancel of St Giles's, Cripplegate; of which parish he had been in the beginning of Q. Elizabeth's reign, for some time vicar.

Mr Strype says, that a very fair marble stone, fixed in the south wall of that chancel, was presently after erected to his memory, with the following inscription:

CHRISTO S. S.
JOHANNI FOXO,
Ecclesiæ Angelicanæ Martyrologo fidelissimo,
Antiquitatis historicæ Indagatori sagacissimo,
Evangelicæ Veritatis Propugnatori acerrimo,
Thaumaturgo admirabili:
Qui Martyres Marianos, *tanquam Phœnices, ex cineribus redivivos præstitit:*
Patri suo, omni pietatis officio imprimis colendo,
Samuel Foxus.
Illius primogenitus,
Hoc Monumentum posuit,
Non sine Lachrymis.
Obiit Die 18 *Mens. April. An. Dom.* 1587.
Jam septuagenarius.
VITA VITÆ MORTALIS EST, SPES VITÆ IMMORTALIS.

Fuller acquaints us, that Mr Fox foretold the destruction of, what was madly styled by the pope and Spaniards, the *Invincible Armada.* 'The story, (says that historian) is 'true, though Mr Fox survived not to see the perfor-'mance of his own prediction.—His dear friend, Dr 'Laurence Humfrey, may be said to have died with him; '(though his languishing life, lasted a year longer) so

'great

'great was his grief, to be parted from his fellow-col-'league, bred together in Oxford, and banished together 'into Germany.'

Among the graces, for which our Martyrologist was eminent, shone his extensive (some would almost term it, profuse) liberality to the poor. He was so bountiful to them while he lived, that he had no ready money to leave to them at his death. His love to his Saviour was such, that he could never refuse giving to any who asked him for relief, in the name of Jesus, or for Christ's sake. A friend once enquiring of him, 'whether he recollected a 'certain poor man, whom he used to relieve?' He answered, "Yes, I remember him well: And I willingly "forget lords and ladies, to remember such as he."

His ability in comforting afflicted consciences was very peculiar: No wonder, therefore, that his house was frequented by persons of all ranks, from noblemen down to the poorest of the flock; who were labouring under soul-distresses.

His time was divided between study, preaching, praying, spiritual conference, and visiting the sick and afflicted. His principal hours for intercourse with GOD in secret prayer were during the night season; at which times of holy retirement, he has been heard to agonize with GOD, and to mingle his supplications with *groanings which could not be uttered.*

He was distinguished by a deep and settled contempt of earthly things: More especially, of pleasures, amusements, wealth, and honours. Hence, he abstracted himself, as much as he possibly could, from all friendship, society, and connection, with the great and noble of this world. The money, which was sometimes offered him by rich men, he accepted; but the poor were as sure to have it, as ever he received it.

There have been macaronies in all ages. One of Mr Fox's sons had a great desire to travel beyond sea, from which his father could by no means dissuade him. After a tour of several years, he returned home, and presented himself to the good old man, in a fantastical outlandish habit. "Who are you, said Mr Fox."—'Sir, I am your 'son Samuel.'—To which his reply was: "O my son, "who has taught thee to make thyself so ridiculous?" This reproof seems to have been attended with good effect: For the giddy youth proved, afterwards, a serious, devout, learned, and respectable man. In 1610, he wrote the life of

of his father, prefixed to his Martyrology; and at length died, full of years and of good works *.

A very singular incident, of which Mr John Fox himself was eye-witness, shall conclude this summary of his life and character. He it was, who had that memorable interview with Mrs Honeywood, mentioned by so many authors of that age. The concern of this pious lady, for the salvation of her soul, was so great; her doubts and fears, so very distressing; and her sorrow of mind, so grievous; that she sunk into utter despair: Which had such an effect on her bodily health, as brought her to death's door, and kept her in a gradual consumption, for almost twenty years. In vain did physicians administer their medical assistances; for her disease, which originated from a spiritual cause, required a supernatural remedy. There was but ONE physician, whose power and skill could reach her case: even HE, who *healeth those that are broken in heart, and giveth medicine to heal their sickness*—In vain did the ablest and most evangelical ministers preach to her the comforts of the gospel; and labour to persuade her of the willingness and certainty, wherewith Christ receives every coming sinner. The Holy Spirit alone could preach to her heart, with efficacy; and he had not yet vouchsafed, in all those years, to rise upon her soul. At length Mr Fox was sent for: Who, on his arrival, found a most mournful family, and the mistress of it the deepest mourner among them all. The holy man prayed with her; and then reminded her of what the faithful GOD had promised, and of what Christ had done and suffered for her soul. But even this was to no purpose: For, still, she could not believe, that the gospel promises and the merits of Jesus belonged to her.—Mr Fox, not in the least discouraged, went on; and, to the wonder of those about her, expressed himself to the following effect: "You "will not only recover of your bodily disease, but also "live to an exceeding great age; and, which is yet bet-"ter, you are interested in Christ, and will go to heaven "when you die." Looking earnestly at him as he spake these words, she answered, with much emotion, 'Im-'possible! I shall as surely be damned, as this glass will 'break:' and immediately dashed a Venice glass (which she was holding in her hand), with much force, against the

* See more of him, in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 505.—As also of Simeon, his youngest brother, ibid. p. 506. Mr Strype terms both these surviving sons of Mr John Fox, 'well-deserving men, bred up to learning, 'and of note in their times.'

the wall. The glass fell, first, on a chest; and then, upon the ground: But was neither broken, nor so much as cracked *. The event proved, that Mr Fox did not prophesy by the spirit of error. Mrs Honeywood was then sixty years old; and lived, in much comfort aud felicity, till she was upwards of ninety, and could reckon above three hundred and sixty persons descended from herself.

His WORKS. Besides those already mentioned, he wrote "*Syllogisticon admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapsis per errorum in Ecclesiam restituendis.* A Latin Translation of the Controversy between Archbishop Cranmer, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, about the eucharist. This our Author did at Basil, and there was only a part of it printed. *De censura, seu excommunicatione Ecclesiastica, interpellatio ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem.* London, 1551, in 8vo. A Sermon preached at St Paul's Cross on Good-Friday, upon the subject of Christ's Crucifixion, printed by John Day at London, 1570, in 4to. It was dedicated "to "all such as labour and be heavy laden in conscience, to "be read for their spiritual comfort." The text is, 2 Cor. v. 20, 21. and the sermon is divided into two parts, to which are subjoined, a Prayer made for the Church, and all the States there; and a Postscript to the Papists. Mr Wood mentions an edition of this sermon at London, 1609, in 8vo. and a Latin translation of it entitled, *De Christo Crucifixo: Conscio in Die Parascev. in 2 Cor. cap.* v. *ver.* 20, 21. London 1571, in 4to. Mr Strype, who does not appear to have ever seen the edition of this sermon in 1570, is mistaken in saying, that it was preached in 1578, and printed in 1585, unless reprinted in that year. His argument that it was preached about 1578,

* Fuller, in his Worthies of England (Kent, p. 86), says, that, though this circumstance was little short of miraculous, still Mrs Honeywood took no comfort from it; but, 'continued a great time after, in her former disconsolate condition, without any amendment, until GOD, who findeth out the fittest minutes for his own mercies, suddenly shot comfort, like lightening, into her soul; so that she led the remainder of her life in spiritual gladness. This she herself told to the reverend father, Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, from whose mouth I have received this relation.—In the days of Q. Mary she used to visit the prisons, and to comfort and relieve the confessors therein. She was present at the burning of Mr Bradford, in Smithfield, and resolved to see the end of his suffering; though, so great was the press of the people, that her shoes were trodden off, and she forced thereby to go barefoot from Smithfield to St Martin's, before she could furnish herself with a new pair for her money. She died, the eleventh of May, 1620; in the ninety-third year of her age, and in the forty-fourth year of her widowhood.'

1578, is drawn from a passage in the prayer, wherein Mr Fox says, that "the queen had doubled the years of her "sister and brother;" but these very words are also to be found in the prayer published in the edition of the sermon in 1570. Tables of Grammar; London, 1552. Wood tells us that these Tables were subscribed in print by eight lords of the privy council; but that they were soon laid aside, as being as much too short, as K. Henry VIIIth's Grammar was too long. *Articuli sive Aphorismi aliquot Joh. Wiclevi. Sparsim aut ex variis illius opusculis excerpti per adversarios papicolas, ac concilio Constantiensi exhibiti. Collectanea quædam ex Reginaldi Pecocki Episcopi Cicestriensis opusculis exustis conservata, & ex antiquo psegmate transcripta. Opistographia ad Oxonienses.* These three last are printed with his *Commentarii rerum in Ecclesia gestarum*, at Strasburg, 1554, in 8vo. *Locorum communium Logicalium tituli & Ordinationes* 150, *ad seriem prædicamentorum decem descripti*, &c. Basil, 1557, in 4to. *Probationes & resolutiones de re & materia Sacramenti Eucharistici.* This was printed at London about the year 1563.

"*De Oliva Evangelica; concio in Baptismo Judæi habita, Londini* 1. *Apr. cum narratione capitis* XI. *D. Pauli ad Romanos.* London, 1578, translated into English by James Bell. To this Latin sermon is subjoined our Author's comedy, *De Christo triumphante*, before-mentioned. Concerning man's Election to Salvation, London, 1581, in 8vo. Certain Notes of Election, added to Beza his Treatise of Predestination. London, 1581, in 8vo. *De Christo gratis justificante, contra Jesuitas.* London, 1583, in 8vo. *Disputatio contra Jesuitas & eorum argumenta quibus inhærentem justitiam ex Aristotele confirmant.* Rupell, 1585, in 8vo. *Eicasmi seu meditationes in Apocal. S. Johannis Apostoli & Evangelistæ.* London, 1587, fol. *Genev.* 1596, in 8vo. *Papa confutatus: vel sacra & apostolica ecclesia papam confutans.* This was translated into English by James Bell, and printed at London, in 4to. Brief Exhortation, fruitful and meet to be read in the Time of GOD's Visitation, where Ministers do lack, or otherwise cannot be present to comfort them. London, in 8vo. He also translated from Latin into English, 1. A Sermon of John Oecolampadius to young Men and Maidens. London, in 12mo. 2. An Instruction of Christian Faith, how to lay hold upon the Promise of GOD, and not to doubt of our Salvation. Or otherwise thus; Necessary Instructions of Faith and Hope for Christians to hold fast, and not to doubt, &c. London, 1579, second edition, in 8vo. written

ten by Urbanus Regius. He also finished an Answer Apologetical to Hierome Osorius his slanderous invective; which had been begun in Latin by Walter Haddon, LL. D. London, 1577, and 1581, in 4to, and he published the four Evangelists in the old Saxon Tongue, with the English thereunto adjoined. London, 1571, in 4to. Bale mentions several other writings of his, but Mr Wood says some of them were never printed; we shall therefore proceed to give some account of the principal and greatest of our Author's Works, his Acts and Monuments of the Church, commonly called, Fox's Book of Martyrs.

"We have before observed that the Author first applied himself to write this History of the Church, whilst he was at Basil, but he reserved the greatest part of it against his return into his own country, that he might have the authority and testimony of more witnesses. It appears by the Author's own notes, that this most laborious work was eleven years in hand: And in this, as well as in some others of his labours, Mr Fox was greatly assisted by that pious prelate Dr Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who, besides his constant counsel and advice in the course of a work, supplied him with materials, which he digested and methodized himself; for whilst Dr Grindal was abroad, he had established a correspondence in England for this purpose, by which means accounts of most of the acts and sufferings of the persecuted in Q. Mary's reign, came to his hands; and it was owing to Dr Grindal's strict and tender regard to truth, that the Martyrology was so long in hand, for he rejected all common reports and relations that were brought over, till more satisfactory evidence could be procured; and hence he advised Mr Fox at first only to print separately the acts of some particular men, of whom any sure and authentic memoirs came to hand, till materials for a more complete history of the martyrs and their persecutions and sufferings could be procured. In pursuance of this advice, Mr Fox published at Basil, Diverse Histories of the English Bishops and Divines, in single pieces, soon after their respective sufferings and martyrdoms. He had also published at Strasburg, in 1554, in 8vo. *Commentarii rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, maximarumque per totam Europam persecutionem a Wiclevi temporibus ad hanc usque ætatem descript* in one book; to which he added five more books, all printed together at Basil, in 1559, in folio. It was also by the advice of Dr Grindal, that the Martyrology was printed both in Latin and English, for the more general

ral use, the Author having begun it in Latin. It was published at London, 1563, in one thick volume in folio, with this title, Actes and Monuments of these latter perillous Days touching Matters of the Churche, wherein are comprehended and described the great Persecutions and horrible Troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish Prelates speciallye in this Realme of England and Scotland, from the Yeare of our Lorde a Thousand unto the Time now present, &c. gathered and collected accordyng to the true Copies and wrytinges Certificatorie, as well of the Parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which were the doers thereof. By John Fox. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate beneth St Martin's, Anno 1563, the 20th of March. *Cum gratia & privilegio regiæ Majestatis.*

"Mr Fox presented a copy of this edition to Magdalen College, Oxford, and at the same time wrote a Latin letter to Dr Laurence Humphreys, printed by Mr Thomas Hearne in his Appendix, No. 5. to his Preface to *Adami de Domersham Hist. de Rebus Gestis Glastonensibus, Oxon.* 1727, in 8vo. 2 vols. There was a fourth edition at London, 1583, in two volumes in folio, and it was reprinted in 1632, in three volumes folio. The ninth edition was printed at London in three volumes in folio, with copper cuts, the former editions having only wooden ones. Mr Wood observes, that the undertakers of this edition had in a manner obtained a promise from K. Charles II. to revive the order made in Q. Elizabeth's time, of placing it in the common halls of archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, heads of colleges, &c. according to the canons of Dr Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1571. Mr Strype tells us, that, when this book was first published, our Author was thought 'to have done very exquisite service to the Protestant cause, in shewing, from abundance of ancient 'books, registers, records, and choice manuscripts, the 'encroachments of popes, papalins, and the stout oppositions that were made by learned and good men, in all 'ages and countries against them; and especially under 'K. Henry VIII. and Q. Mary here in England; preserving to us the memories of those holy men and women, those bishops and divines, together with their 'histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths, 'willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and for refusing to comply with popish doctrines 'and superstitions.' Archbishop Whitgift stiles Mr Fox that

that worthy man, and tells Mr Cartwright the Puritan, that, " he had read over his Acts and Monuments from the one end to the other; and declares that Mr Fox hath very diligently and faithfully laboured in this matter, (of archbishops and metropolitans) and searched out the truth of it as learnedly as I knowe any man to have done." Camden likewise gives him and his work this character: *Ex eruditorum numero obiit Johannes Foxus Oxoniensis, qui Ecclesiasticam Angliæ Historiam sive Martyrologiam indefesso veritatis studio, primum Latine postea Anglice auctius, magna cum laude contexuit.* The Papists were very angry at the publication of this history; in which their lies and cruelty were so fully exposed; and accordingly did all they could to blast the credit both of that and its Author."

EDMUND SANDYS, D. D.

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

EDMUND Sandys, Sands, or Sandes, successively bishop of Worcester and London, and archbishop of York, in the sixteenth century, and ancestor of the present lord Sandys, was the fourth son of William Sandys, Esq. by Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of William Rawlinson, of the county of York, Esq. He was born at Hawkshead, within the liberty of Fournes-fells, or Estwaite, in Lancashire, in the year 1519. His university education was at St John's college in Cambridge; where he took his degree of bachelor of arts in 1539, and that of master in 1541; but was never fellow of that, or any other college. In 1542, he was junior proctor of the university; and, on or about the year 1547, proceeded bachelor in divinity, and was elected master of Catharine-hall. At the time of his father's decease, in 1548, he was vicar of Haversham; and the year following, on December 12. was presented to a prebend in the cathedral church of Peterborough. The same year, he also commenced doctor in divinity. In 1552, K. Edward VI. granted him a prebend in the church of Carlisle. At the time of that good king's decease, in 1553, Dr Sandys was vice-chancellor of

From an Original Picture.

of Cambridge. Having early embraced the Protestant religion, he zealously joined with those who were for setting the lady Jane Gray on the throne. John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, coming to Cambridge, in his march against the princess Mary, required the doctor to set forth the lady Jane's title in a sermon the next day before the university. He obeyed *; and preached in so pathetic a manner as drew many tears from the audience; and he gave a copy of his sermon to be printed. But he expressed himself with so much prudence and moderation, as abundantly satisfied the duke; and yet did not violently exasperate the opposite party. The unsteady duke sent for him, about two days after, to proclaim Q. Mary, which he refused; whereupon he was deprived of his office of vice-chancellor and preferments, and conveyed prisoner to the Tower of London. In this place he was the means of converting his keeper, a bitter papist, to the truth, and chiefly by means of his mild and gentle deportment. Sandys knew, that religion was not to be established by human fury, or by any arts of malice and wickedness. Having remained there twenty-nine weeks, he was sent to the Marshalsea, on Wyat's insurrection; who, at his coming to Southwark, invited the doctor to come and gave him his company and advice; but he prudently excused himself.

* The warning was short for such an auditory, yet he did not refuse, but went into his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clock the next morning, took his Bible in his hand, and earnestly prayed to God, that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to treat of. The Bible fell open upon the first chapter of Joshua, where he found a text for that time the most convenient he could have chosen, viz. ver. 16, 17, 18.——The duke, with the rest of the nobility, required Dr Sandys to put his sermon in writing, and appointed Mr Leaver to go to London, and get it printed. Dr Sandys required one day and a half for writing it, and at the day appointed Mr Leaver came ready booted to receive it of him. As he was delivering it, one of the beadles came weeping, and prayed him to shift for himself, the duke being retired, and Q. Mary proclaimed. Dr Sandys shewed no concern at what was said, but delivered the sermon written. The duke of Northumberland that night sent for Dr Sandys, to proclaim Q. Mary in the market-place at Cambridge, and told him she was a merciful woman, and that he had sent to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. The doctor replied, "My life is not "dear unto me, neither have I said or done any thing that urged my con- "science; for what I have spoken of the state, I have instructions war- "ranted by the subscriptions of sixteen counsellors; neither yet have I "spoke further than the word of God and the laws of the realm "do warrant me: come of me what God will; but be you assured, you "shall never escape death, for if she should save you, they that now rule "will kill you."

After he had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, he was set at liberty, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft, the night-marshall. But some whisperers suggesting to bishop Gardiner, that he was the greatest heretic in England, and one, who, of all others, had most corrupted the university of Cambridge, Gardiner ordered strict search to be made for him. He was however so happy as to escape out of England, and in May, 1554, arrived at Antwerp. But he had not been there many hours, when receiving information that K. Philip had ordered search to be made for him, he hasted away to Augsburg; and after staying there fourteen days, he went to Strasburg, where he fixed his abode. His wife came there to him, but he had the misfortune to lose her, and one child.

Towards the end of the year 1558, he took a journey to Zurich, and lodged five weeks in Peter Martyr's house. Receiving there the agreeable news of bloody Q. Mary's death, he went back to Strasburg, and thence to England, where he arrived January 13, 1558. In March following, he was appointed, by Q. Elizabeth and her council, one of the nine Protestant divines, who were to hold a disputation against so many of the Romish persuasion, before both houses of parliament at Westminster. Also he was one of the commissioners for preparing a form of prayer, or liturgy, to be laid before the parliament, and for deliberation on other matters for the Reformation of the church. And being looked upon as one of the most eminent Protestant divines, who were fittest to fill up the sees vacant by the deprivation of the popish prelates, he was nominated to the see of Carlisle, which he refused, but accepted of the bishopric of Worcester, vacant by the deprivation of Richard Pates. He was consecrated December 21, 1559. We are told, that he alienated good part of the revenues of this see; and he had a long controversy with Sir John Bourn of Worcester, which grew to such a height, that bishop Sandys was forced to vindicate his own life and innocency, unhandsomely traduced by Sir John, in an information, or declaration of his to the privy-council. With respect to the alienation, he and all the other bishops were more or less compelled to do so by the court, which was inordinately rapacious after the goods of the church. How resolutely averse he was to these sacrileges, may be seen in Strype's life of archbishop Whitgift, p. 286. to which we refer the more curious Reader. Moreover, we are told, that he would not suffer Papists to remain in his diocese: And herein he was so earnest,

earnest, that he would not be persuaded to give them a toleration, by any prayers or intercessions made to him in their behalf. He appears indeed to have been of a severe disposition; for, in some of his first visitations, he deprived clergymen, which occasioned warm and expostulating letters between him and archbishop Parker.

Being a man well skilled in the original languages, as well as an excellent preacher, he was, about the year 1565, one of the bishops appointed to make a new translation of the Bible: And the portions thereof which fell to his share, were the first and second books of Kings, and the first and second of Chronicles. Upon the translation of Dr Edmund Grindal from the see of London to the archbishopric of York, in 1570, bishop Sandys was pitched upon by the queen to succeed him at London. He earnestly excused himself a while, but accepted of it at last. In 1571, he was ordered by the queen to assist the archbishop of Canterbury in the ecclesiastical commission both against Papists and Puritans. He proceeded against them with vigour and severity, and advised that a national council should be held to suppress them: All which exposed him to the censures and invectives: and in the libels occasioned him to be much aspersed, to the blotting of his good name, and the endangering of his credit and reputation in his ministry. He complained of it therefore to the queen's chief officers, and desired that those slanderers might be brought before the temporal magistrate, the council, or the star-chamber. We find also, that he claimed to be superintendant of the Dutch church in London, as his predecessor bishop Grindal was; which occasioned some uneasiness between him and that congregation. In 1576, he was translated to the archbishopric of York; and, no sooner was he possessed of it, but he had like to lose his manor and palace of Bishop's Thorp, under pretence that it was fit for the use of the president of the council in the North. But the archbishop stood resolute, and would not part with it upon any account. His successor in the see of London, bishop Aylmer, gave him also some trouble about the rents of that bishopric, and dilapidations. He visited his province in 1577, but was refused admittance in the church of Durham, by William Wittingham the dean, who had no regular orders, as having received them at Geneva; and some of the prebendaries; the see being then void: And so high did the contest grow, that the bishop proceeded to excommunication. This affair lasted till the year 1578. With his own dean

at York, Dr Matthew Hutton, he likewise had great and uneasy disputes. He made it a rule, not to grant the advowson, or promise of any preferment in his gift, before it actually became void, nor ever to take a resignation. Not only in his own diocese, but even in the university of Cambridge, he was very diligent and active in finding out Papists, and defeating their pernicious designs.

In May 1582, as he was visiting his diocese, the most audacious attempt that malice and revenge could possibly suggest, was made, to ruin at once his reputation; namely, by an inn-keeper's wife at Doncaster getting into bed to him; through the contrivance of Sir Robert Stapleton, and other wicked persons. The ground and reason of it was, that Sir Robert wanted to compel the archbishop to grant him an advantageous lease of his manors of Southwell and Scrooby. And he even procured the queen to solicit him to do it; but all in vain. The same attempt was repeated in 1587, in the earl of Leicester's behalf; and likewise without success. Endeavours also were used, in 1588, to get from him his archiepiscopal house, in London; which, however, he would not be prevailed upon to part with. In his time usury was so exorbitant, that it amounted to cent per cent. He endeavoured to restrain it, by preaching, and by bringing the offenders into the ecclesiastical commission, but met with great opposition. After a life full of troubles and contention, owing principally to the iniquity of the times, our learned primate left this world on the tenth of July, 1558, in the sixty-ninth year of his age; and was buried in the collegiate church of Southwell, where a monument is erected to his memory. He was twice married; first, to a daughter of Mr Sandes of Essex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and mind, which died at Strasburg of a consumption: Secondly, to Cicely, sister to Sir Thomas Wilford of Hartridge in Kent, by whom he had seven sons, and two daughters. She lived till the year 1610. From Sir Samuel, the eldest son, is descended the present lord Sandys.

His Works. Several of his letters, and other papers, are inserted in Strype's Annals; in his Life of archbishop Parker; and in his Life of archbishop Whitgift; likewise in bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation: And in other places.——In 1616, two-and-twenty of his sermons were collected together, and printed at London, in a small 4to with this title: "Sermons of the most Reverend Father in GOD, Edwin Archbishop of Yorke, Primat and Metropolitane of England. Some whereof were preached in

in the parts beyond the seas, in the time of his exile, in the raigne of Queene Marie. The residue, in such places of preferment as he enjoyed under her late Majestie, Queene Elizabeth, of famous memorie: viz. He was in Anno D. 1559, first consecrated Bishop of Worcester; and thence translated to London in Anno D. 1570, and then removed to York in Anno D. 1576. With a Preface to the Christian Readers of their vse and benefit; by a most reuerend Father now living." Two of them were preached at Strasburg; four before the queen; one before the parliament; five at York; and most of the rest at Paul's Cross. His style is good, much superior to the generality of the writers of those times. He also published, A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. or his Travels to the Holy Land, and other places; adorned with cuts, taken mostly from the Devotissimo Viagio di Zullardo. Roma, 1587, 4to.

WILLIAM FULKE, D. D.

THIS very eminent and learned divine of the Church of England was born, and received the first part of his education in London. He was a youth of great parts and spirit; and it is reported of him, that having a literary contest with the famous Edward Campian, while he was at school, and losing the silver pen which was proposed to the victor, he was seized with grief and anger, to the highest degree imaginable. Afterwards he was sent to St John's-college in Cambridge, in the year 1555, of which he was chosen fellow in the year 1564. He had spent six years of this interval, in the study of the law at Clifford's-inn, agreeable to his father's humour and inclination; who was so offended at his returning to college, that he refused to grant him any supplies, although he was very rich. Fulke, however, easily made his way, by his parts and learning. He applied himself to mathematics; to languages, the oriental in particular; to divinity: And he became eminent, and published books in them all. In process of time, he was suspected of puritanism, with which he was supposed to be infected by Cartwright, the divinity professor, and his intimate friend:

And on this account was expelled his college. He took lodgings in the town, and maintained himself for some time by reading lectures. The earl of Leicester, labouring at that time to ingratiate himself with the eminent divines of all denominations and principles, as thinking they would be his best support in time of need, took Fulke under his patronage; and in the year 1571, presented him to the living of Warley, in the county of Essex, and two years after to that of Didington in Suffolk. Soon after, the earl sent him to Cambridge with a *mandamus* for his doctor of divinity's degree, in order to qualify him to attend, as he afterwards did, an ambassador into France. Upon his return, he was made master of Pembroke-hall, and Margaret professor of divinity, in Cambridge; and, in possession of these preferments, he died in August, 1589, and was buried on the twenty-eighth of that month at his rectory at Didington. He had a wife and family.

His Works are very numerous; written in Latin and English; levelled chiefly against the Papists; and dedicated several of them to Q. Elizabeth and the earl of Leicester. The most considerable of them is his "Confutation of the Rhemish Testament," printed in 1580, and reprinted in 1601. The occasion was as follows: The Engligh Papists in the seminary at Rheims, perceiving, as Fuller observes in his book entitled, 'The English Worthies,' that they could no longer 'blindfold their laity from the scriptures, resolved 'to fit them with false spectacles; and set forth the Rhe-'mish translation,' in opposition to the Protestant versions. No man fitter, says a late eminent historian, in point either of learning or of grace, to stand forth in the name of the church of England, than Dr Fulke, master of Pembroke hall, and Margaret, professor of divinity in Cambridge. He accordingly undertook, and successively accomplished, an entire refutation of the popish version and commentary. It is entitled, "The Text of the New "Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar "Latin by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie Rhemes: "With Arguments of Books, Chapters, and Annota-"tions, pretending to discover the Corruptions of divers "Translations, and to clear the Controversies of those "Days. Whereunto is added the Translation out of the "Original Greek, commonly used in the Church of Eng-"land: With a Confutation of all such Arguments, "Glosses, and Annotations, as containe manifest Im-"pietie of Heresie, Treason, and Slander against the "Catholicke Church of God, and the true Teachers "thereof,

From an Original picture, in the Poſſeſſion of Dr. Gifford.

" thereof, or the Translations used in the Church of " England." The whole Worke, perused and enlarged " in divers places by the Author's owne Hand before his " death; with sundry Quotations and Authorities out of " Holy Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, and History: " More amply than in the former Edition."—This Work was published again in 1617, and 1633, in folio, as it was before. It is one of those, which the Author dedicated to the queen. The late great and good Mr Hervey (though he was, sometimes, rather too candid and indiscriminate, in his public recommendation of books) passed a very just encomium on Dr Fulke's noble performance; which he stiles, a ' valuable piece of ancient Controversy ' and Criticism, full of *sound* Divinity, *weighty* Argu- ' ments, and *important* Observations.' Adding, ' Would ' the young Student be taught to discover the *very Sinews* ' of popery, and be enabled to give an effectual blow to ' that complication of errors, I scarce know a treatise bet- ' ter calculated for the purpose.'

JEROM ZANCHIUS.

IT has been asserted, that this great divine was born at Alzano, a town of Italy, situated in the valley of Seri, or Serio. But the learned John Sturmius, who was not only Zanchius's contemporary, but one of his most intimate friends, expressly affirms, in a speech delivered on a public and important occasion, that he was *nobili natus familiâ Bergomi*; born of an illustrious family, at Bergamo, the capital of a little province, in the North-West of Italy; anciently, a part of Gallia Cispadana; but, in the year 1428, made a parcel of the Venetian territory; as it still continues. I look upon Sturmius's testimony, as decisive: It being hardly credible that he could mistake the native place of a colleague, whom he so highly valued, who was living at the very time, and with whom he had opportunity of conversing daily. Sturmius adds, that there was then remaining, at Bergamo, a fortress built (probably by some of Zanchius's ancestors,) known by the name of the Zanchian Tower.

In this city was our author born, February 2, 1516. At the time of his birth, part of the public service then performing was, *a light to lighten the Gentiles*, &c. And, by GOD's good providence, the Reformation broke forth, the very next year, in Germany, under the auspices of Luther; and began to spread far and wide.

At the age of twelve years, Zanchius lost his father, who died of the plague, A. D. 1528. His mother survived her husband but three years. Deprived thus of both his parents, Zanchius resolved on a monastic life: And accordingly joined himself to a society of Canons Regular. He did this, partly to improve himself in literature, and partly for the sake of being with some of his relations, who had before entered themselves of that house. Here he continued nineteen years; chiefly devoting his studies to Aristotle, the languages, and school-divinity.

It was his happiness to become acquainted, very early in life, with Celsus Maximinian, count of Martinengo: Who, from being, like Zanchius, a bigoted Papist, by education; became, afterwards, a burning and shining light in the Reformed church. Of our Author's intimacy with this excellent nobleman, and its blessed effects, himself gives us the following account: "I "left Italy for the gospel's sake; to which I was not "a little animated, by the example of count Maximinian, "a learned and pious personage, and my most dear bro- "ther in the Lord. We had lived together, under one "roof, and in a state of the strictest religious friendship, "for the greater part of sixteen years; being, both of "us, canons regular; of nearly the same age and stand- "ing; unisons in temper and disposition; pursuing the "same course of studies; and, which was better still, "joint hearers of Peter Martyr, when that apostolic man "publicly expounded St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, "and gave private lectures on the Psalms to us his "monks." From this memorable period we are, evidently, to date the æra of Zanchius's awakening to a true sight and experimental sense of divine things. His friend the count, and the learned Tremellius, were also converted, about the same time, under the ministry of Martyr.

This happy change being effected, our Author's studies began to run in a new channel. "The count (says "he) and myself betook ourselves to a diligent reading of "the holy scriptures: To which we joined a perusal of the "best of the fathers, and particularly St Austin. For some

"years,

« years, we went on thus in private; and, in public, we « preached the gospel, as far as we were able, in its pu- « rity. The count, whose gifts and graces were abun- « dantly superior to mine, preached with much greater « enlargement of spirit, and freedom of utterance, than I « could ever pretend to: It was, therefore, no wonder « that he found himself constrained to fly his country « before I was. The territory of the Grisons was his im- « mediate place of retreat: From whence removing soon « after, he settled at Geneva; where he commenced the « first pastor of the Protestant Italian church in that « city. Having faithfully executed this sacred office, « for some years, he at length comfortably fell asleep in « Christ," A. D. 1558, after having, on his deathbed, commended the oversight of his flock to the great Calvin.

It was in the year 1550, that Peter Martyr himself was obliged to quit Italy, where he could no longer preach, nor even stay, with safety. Toward the latter end of the same year, eighteen of his disciples were forced to follow their master from their native land; of which number Zanchius was one. Being thus a refugee, or, as himself used to express it, « delivered from his Babylonish cap- « tivity;" he went into Grisony, where he continued upwards of eight months; and then to Geneva, where, after a stay of near a twelvemonth, he received an invitation to England (upon the recommendation of Peter Martyr, then in this kingdom) to fill a divinity professorship here; I suppose, at Oxford, where Martyr had been for some time settled. Zanchius embraced the offer, and began his journey; but was detained on his way by a counter invitation to Strasburg, where the divinity chair had been lately vacated by the death of the excellent Caspar Hedio.

Zanchius was fixed at Strasburg, A. D. 1553, and taught there almost eleven years: But not without some uneasiness to himself, occasioned by the malicious opposition of several, who persecuted him for much the same reason that Cain hated righteous Abel, 1 John iii. 12. Matters, however, went on tolerably, during the life-time of Sturmius; who was then at the head of the university, and Zanchius's fast friend. At Strasburg it was that he presented the famous declaration of his faith concerning predestination, final perseverance, and the Lord's supper. He gave it to the senate October 22, 1562.

In proportion as the old senators and divines died off, one by one, Zanchius's situation at Strasburg grew more and more uncomfortable. Matters at length came to that height,

height, that he was required to subscribe to the Augsburg confession, on pain of losing his professorship. After mature deliberation, he did indeed subscribe; but with this declared restriction, *modò orthodoxè intelligatur*; "that "it should be understood only in an orthodox sense." Notwithstanding the express limitation with which he fettered his subscription, still this great and good man seems, for peace sake, to have granted too much, concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the Lord's supper; as appears by the first of the three theses, maintained by him about this time.

Not content with Zanchius's concessions, several of the Strasburg bigots persisted in raising a controversial dust; particularly John Marbach, native of Schawben, or Swabia: A turbulent, unsteady theologist; pedantic, and abusive; a weak, but fiery disputer, who delighted to live in the smoke of contention and virulent debate. He was, among the rest of his good qualities, excessively loquacious; which made Luther say of him, on a very public occasion, *Ori hujus Suevi nunquam aranea poterunt telas texere*: 'this talkative Swabian need not be afraid of spi-'ders; for he keeps his lips in such constant motion, that 'no spider will ever be able to weave a cobweb on his 'mouth.' His opponents tendered accusations against him, of errors in point of doctrine; particularly for his supposed heterodoxy concerning the nature of the Lord's supper; his denial of the ubiquity of Christ's natural body, and his protesting against the lawfulness of images, &c. Nay, they even went so far, as to charge him with unsound opinions concerning predestination and the perseverance of the truly regenerate: So early did some of Luther's pretended disciples, after the death of that glorious Reformer (and he had not been dead at this time above fifteen years) begin to fall off from the doctrines he taught, though they still had the effrontery to call themselves by his name!

A grand occasion of this dissention, was a book concerning the eucharist, and in a defence of consubstantiation, written by one Heshusius; a fierce, invidious preacher, who lavished the opprobrious names of heretic and atheist on all, without distinction, whose religious system went an hair's breadth above or below his own standard. In his preface, he grossly reflected on the elector palatine, (Frederic III.) Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Calvin, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and other great divines of that age. Zanchius, in mere respect to these venerable names, did, in con-

concert with the learned Sturmius, prevail with the magistrates of Strasburg to prohibit the impression. Mr Boyle is so candid as to acknowledge, that 'Zanchius 'caused this book to be suppressed, not on account of 'its doctrine, which he left to the judgment of the 'church; but for the calumnies of the preface.' Zanchius was a zealous friend to religious liberty. He had too great a share of good sense and real religion, to pursue any measures, which simply tended either to restrain men from declaring their principles with safety, or to shackle the human mind in its enquiries after truth. But he ardently wished to see the contending parties of every denomination, carry on their debates with Christian meekness, modesty, and benevolence: And, where these amiable ingredients were wanting, he looked upon disputation as a malignant fever, endangering the health, peace, and safety of the church. When candour is lost, truth is rarely found.

Notwithstanding the precautions taken by the magistrates, Heshusius's incendiary piece stole through the press: And Zanchius's efforts, to stifle its publication, were looked upon, by the author's party, as an injury never to be forgiven. They left no methods unessayed, to remove him from his professorship. Many compromising expedients were proposed, by the moderate of both parties. The chapter of St Thomas (of which Zanchius himself was a canon) met, to consider what course should be pursued. By them, it was referred to a select committee of thirteen. Zanchius offered to debate the agitated points, in a friendly and peaceable manner, with his opponents: Which offer not being accepted, he made several journies to other churches and universities in different parts of Germany; and requested their opinions: Which he brought with him in writing. Things, however, could not be settled, till the senate of Strasburg convened an assembly, from other districts, consisting partly of divines, and partly of persons learned in the laws. These referees, after hearing both sides, recurred to the old fruitless expedient, of agreeing on certain articles, to which they advised each party to subscribe. Zanchius, desirous of laying the unchristian heats, and, at the same time, no less determined to preserve integrity and a good conscience; subscribed in these cautious terms: *Hanc doctrinæ formulam ut piam agnosco, ita etiam recipio:* "I acknowledge this summary "of doctrine to be pious, and so I admit it." This condescension on Zanchius's part, was not followed by those

those peaceful effects, which were expected. The peace was too loosely patched up, to be of any long duration. His adversaries began to worry him afresh; and, just as measures were bringing on the carpet, for a new and more lasting compromise, our divines received an invitation to the church of Chiavenna, situate on the borders of Italy, and in the territory of the Grisons.

Augustine Mainard, pastor of that place, was lately dead; and a messenger arrived, to let Zanchius know that he was chosen to succeed him. Having very slender prospect of peace at Strasburg, he obtained the consent of the senate to resign his canonry of St Thomas, and professorship of divinity. Whilst the above debates were depending, he had received separate invitations to Zurich, Geneva, Leyden, Heidelberg, Marpurg, and Lausanne: But, till he had seen the result of things at Strasburg, he did not judge any of these calls sufficiently providential to determine his removal.

He left Strasburgh in November, 1563, and entered on his pastoral charge at Chiavenna, the beginning of January following. But he had not long been there, before the town was visited by a dismal pestilence, which, within the space of seven months, carried off twelve hundred of the inhabitants. Zanchius, however, continued to exercise his ministry, as long as there was an assembly to preach to. At length, the far greater part of the towns-men being swept away, he retreated for a while, with his family, to an adjoining mountain. His own account is this (tom. vii. part 1. col. 36, 37.) "Mainard, my pious "predecessor, had often foretold the calamity, with which "the town of Chiavenna has been since visited. All the "inhabitants have been too well convinced, that that holy "man of GOD did not prophesy at random.—When "the plague actually began to make havock, I enforced "repentance and faith, while I had a place to preach in, "or any congregation to hear.—Many being dead, and "others having fled the town (like ship-wrecked mari-"ners, who, to avoid instant destruction, make toward "what coast they can;) but very few remained: And, "of these remaining few, some were almost terrified to "death, others were solely employed in taking care of the "sick, and others in guarding the walls.—They con-"curred in advising me to consult my own safety, by "withdrawing, for a time, till the indignation should "be overpast. I betook myself, therefore, with all my "family, to an high mountain, not a vast way from the "town,

" town, yet remote from human converse, and peculiarly " formed for contemplation and unmolested retirement. " Here we led a solitary life for three months and a " half. I devoted my time, chiefly to meditation and " writing; to prayer, and reading the scriptures. I never " was happier in my own soul, nor enjoyed a better share " of health." Afterwards, the plague beginning to abate, he quitted his retreat, and resumed the public exercise of his function.

After four years continuance at Chiavenna, Frederic III. elector palatine, prevailed with him to accept a divinity professorship, in the university of Heidelberg, upon the decease of the famous Zachary Ursin. In the beginning of the year 1568, Zanchius entered on his new situation; and, shortly after, opened the chair, with an admirable oration, *De conservando in ecclesiâ puto puro verbo Dei.* In the same year, he received his doctor's degree: The elector palatine, and his son, prince Casimir, honouring the ceremony with their presence.

He had not been long settled in the palatinate, when the elector, (one of the most amiable and religious princes of that age) strongly solicited him to confirm and elucidate the doctrine of the Trinity, by writing a professed treatise on that most important subject: Desiring him, moreover, to be very particular and explicit, in canvassing the arguments made use of by the Socinians; who had then fixed their head-quarters in Poland and Transylvania, and were exhausting every artifice of sophistry and subterfuge, to degrade the Son and Spirit of GOD to the level of mere creatures. Zanchius accordingly employed his leisure hours in obeying this pious command. His masterly and elaborate treatise, *De Dei naturâ*; and that *De tribus Elohim uno eodemque Jehovâ*; were written on this occasion: Treatises fraught with the most solid learning and argument; breathing, at the same time, the amiable spirit of genuine candour and transparent piety. Among a variety of interesting particulars, he does not omit to inform his Readers, that Lælius Socinus, and other favourers of the Servetian hypothesis, had spared neither pains nor art, to pervert his judgment, and win him over to their party: But that, finding him inflexible, they had broke off all intercourse with him; and from artful adulators, commenced his determined enemies. An event this, which he even looked upon as a blessing, and for which he conceived himself bound to render his best thanks to the supreme head of the church, Christ Jesus.—

He

He retained his professorship at Heidelberg ten years; when the elector Frederic being dead, he removed to Newstadt, the residence of prince John Casimir, count palatine. Here he chose to fix his station for the present, in preference to two invitations he had just received; one from the university of Leyden, then lately opened; the other from the Protestant church at Antwerp.—The conduct of Divine Providence, respecting Zanchius's frequent removals, is very observable. He was a lover of peace, and passionately fond of retirement. But he was too bright a luminary to be always continued in one place. The *salt of the earth* must be sprinkled here and there, in order to be extensively useful, and to season the church throughout. Hence GOD's faithful ministers, like the officers in a monarch's army, are quartered in various places; stationed and remanded hither and thither, as may most conduce to their Master's service.

The church of Newstadt enjoyed our Author upwards of seven years. Being, by that time, far advanced in life, and the infirmities of age coming on him very fast, he found himself obliged to cease from that constant series of labour and intenseness of application, which he had, so long, and so indefatigably, undergone. He was, at his own request, dismissed, from public service, at Newstadt, by the elector Casimir; receiving, at the same time, substantial marks of favour and respect from that religious and generous prince.

From Newstadt, he repaired, once more, to Heidelberg; chiefly with a view to see some of his old friends. This proved his last removal on earth: For, shortly after, his soul, now ripe for glory, dropt the body, and ascended to heaven, about six in the morning of November 19, 1590, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. His remains were interred at Heidelberg, in the college-chapel of St Peter; where a small monumental stone was set up to his memory, with this inscription:

HIERONYMI *hîc sunt condita ossa* ZANCHII,
Itali; *exulantis,* CHRISTI *amore, à patriâ:*
Qui Theologus quantus fuerit et Philosophus,
Testantur hoc, Libri editi ab Eo plurimi;
Testantur hoc, quos voce docuit in Scholis;
Quique audîêre Eum docentem ecclesias.
Nunc ergò, quamvis hinc migrárit Spiritu,
Claro tamen nobis remansit nomine.

Decessit A. MDXC. *Die* 19. *Novemb.*

Here

Here ZANCHY rests, whom love of truth constrain'd
To quit his own, and seek a foreign land.
How good and great he was, how form'd to shine,
How fraught with science, human and divine;
Sufficient proof his num'rous writings give,
And those who heard him teach, and saw him live.
Earth still enjoys him, though his soul is fled:
His name is deathless, though his dust be dead.

He departed hence in the year 1590, and on the nineteenth day of November.

One cannot help lamenting, that no more is to be collected concerning this incomparable man, than a few outlines of his life; comprising little else but a dry detail of dates and removals.

Some very old and scarce prints, struck from engravings on wood, represent him as extremely corpulent, even to unwieldiness; And yet, from the astonishing extent, profoundness, and exquisite activity, of his learning, judgment, and genius, one might well nigh be induced to imagine, that he consisted entirely of soul, without any dead weight of body at all. By the favour of Dr Gifford, of the British Museum, we can present our Readers with a fine print taken from an ancient, and, we believe, original painting. But, however, of his mind, his writings present us with the loveliest image. He seems to have been possessed, in a very superior degree, of those graces, virtues, and abilities, which ennoble and exalt human nature to the highest elevation it is capable of below. His clear insight into the truths of the gospel, is wonderful; especially, considering that the church of GOD was but just emerging from the long and dismal night of popish darkness, and himself, previous to his conversion, as deeply plunged in the shades as any. It is a blessing, which but few are favoured with, to step, almost at once, out of midnight into meridian day. He was thoroughly experienced in the divine life of the soul; and an happy subject of that internal kingdom of GOD, which lies in *righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*. This enabled him to sustain that violence of opposition, which he almost constantly met with. Few persons have, ordinarily, borne a larger share of the cross; and, perhaps, none were enabled to sustain it better. In him were happily centred all the meek benevolence of charity, and all the adamantine firmness of intrepidity: Qualities, alas! not constantly united in men of orthodoxy and learning.

He

He was intimately conversant with the writings of the fathers, and of the philosophers of that and the preceding times. His modesty and humility were singular. No man was ever more studious to preserve peace in the church of Christ, nor more highly relished the pleasures of learned and religious friendship. For some time before his decease, it pleased GOD to deprive him of his eye-sight: For it seems to be the meaning of the excellent Melchior Adam; from whom is borrowed much of the preceding account.

His WORKS, which, with his Letters and some other small pieces included, are divided into 9 tomes, were collected and published, by his executors, some years after his death; and are usually bound together in 3 vols. folio. His admirable treatise on Predestination has been translated into English by Mr Toplady. He was twice married, and had several children; none of which appear to have survived him.

JAMES ANDREAS.

THIS famous Lutheran divine, of the sixteenth century, was born at Waibling, in the Duchy of Wirtemberg, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1528. His parents, being poor, intended to bring him up to some mechanical business, and had agreed with a carpenter for that purpose; but several persons of distinction, having discovered in him the marks of a promising genius, contributed to support him in the prosecution of his studies: He was accordingly educated under Alexander Marcoleon, and in a short space acquired a competent knowledge of the Latin and Greek, together with logic and rhetoric. In 1541, he was sent to Tubing, where he took his degree of bachelor of arts two years after; and, having finished his course of philosophy in 1545, he became master of arts. In 1546, he was appointed minister of the church of Stutgard, the metropolis of the duchy of Wirtemberg; but, upon the publication of the Interim, he was obliged to return to Tubing, where he performed the duty of minister. In 1553, he took his degree of doctor in divinity, and

and was appointed pastor of the church of Gopping, and superintendant of the neighbouring churches. In 1557, he went to the diet of Ratisbon with Christopher duke of Wirtemberg, and was appointed one of the secretaries at the conference of Worms between the papists and the divines of the Augustan confession. The same year he published his first work, *De cæna Domini*, "of the Lord's "supper." In 1558, he wrote a reply to Staphylus's book against Luther. In 1559, he was sent to Augsburg, where the diet of the empire was held. In 1561, he was sent to Paris, to be present at the conference of Poissi, but it broke up before he came thither. Upon this return, he was appointed chancellor and rector of the university of Tubing. In 1565, he was invited to establish a church at Hagenaw, an imperial city, where he preached several sermons upon the principal points of the Christian religion, which were afterwards printed. In 1568, he assisted Julius, duke of Brunswick, in reforming his churches. In 1569, he took a journey to Heidelberg, Brunswick, and Denmark.

In 1570, he went to Misnia and Prague, where the emperor Maximilian II. had a conversation with him upon an agreement in religion. In 1573, he was sent to Memming, an imperial town, to stop the progress of the Zuinglian doctrine, propagated by Eusebius Cleber; who being admonished by Andreas, before the senate, and continuing inflexible, was removed from his ministry. He went afterwards to Lindaw, an imperial town upon the Maine, where he had a conference with Tobias Rupius, minister of that church, who had embraced the tenets of Flaccius Illyricus, and confuted him before the senate and all the people. In the beginning of the year 1576, he was sent for by Philip Lewis, count palatine of the Rhine, to consult upon ecclesiastical affairs: And, by the magistrates of Ratisbon, to determine a dispute between the ministers of that church and the senate, concerning excommunication. While he was absent upon these affairs, Augustus, elector of Saxony, wrote letters to Lewis, duke of Wirtemberg, to desire the assistance of Andreas; because he found that the divines of Wirtemberg had introduced the Zuinglian doctrines, and propagated them among the youth. Andreas therefore went to Torgau in April following, and was present at the assembly of divines held there, to settle a form of agreement, and put an end to the disputes which were raised in different parts. To this assembly the elector had likewise invited several other eminent divines, who wrote in conjunction a book, which was afterwards revised at

Bergen. Andreas was sent by the elector of Saxony, upon the same account, to Julius, duke of Brunswick, Lewis, landgrave of Hesse, and George, marquis of Brandenburg. In 1586, he was engaged in a conference, at Mompelgard, with Theodore Beza, concerning the Lord's supper, the person of Christ, predestination, baptism, the reformation of the popish churches, and other things; but this had the usual event of all other conferences, which, though designed, as Thuanus observes, to put an end to disputes in divinity, are often the occasion of still greater. In 1587, he was sent to Nordling on church affairs; and, on his return, fell sick, and published his confession of faith, to obviate the imputations of his adversaries: But he afterwards recovered, and was sent for again to Ratisbon, and then to Onolsbach, by Frederick, marquis of Brandenburg. Upon the publications of the conference at Mompelgard abovementioned, he was accused of having falsely imputed some things to Beza, which the latter had never asserted; he therefore went to Bern, to clear himself of the charge. His last public act was a conference at Baden, in November, 1589, with John Pistorius.

When he found death drawing near, he made a declaration to several of his friends, concerning his constancy in the faith which he had preached, and published, for forty-four years. When his physician inquired of him how he found himself? He answered, "By "nothing separated from my God." Soon afterwards hearing the clock strike, he asked what hour it was? And upon being told it was six, he added, "My hour shall "soon draw near." He used many edifying expressions to those about him, and declared great thankfulness to his gracious GOD and Saviour for his manifold mercies to his body and soul. At length, he breathed out his soul with this sentence; *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit!* His departure was on the seventh of January, 1590, in the sixty-second year of his age. The following character is given him by Melchior Adam. 'He was, (says 'this Author), an excellent preacher, had an easy manner of instructing the people, and delivered the most obscure points in such a perspicuous style, that they were understood by the generality of the audience. When he exhorted them to the reformation of their lives, or remonstrated against sin, he made use of great energy of language and elevation of voice, being extremely well qualified both by nature and art for moving the passions; and when there was occasion for it, his elo-

"quence

'quence was forcible like thunder, and he spoke with 'such vehemence that he would sweat all over his body, 'even in the midst of winter. In executing the several 'branches of his duty, he spared no labour, and was de-'terred by no fatigue. He was perpetually engaged in 'composing some work or other, or in writing letters, 'upon various subjects, to persons of all ranks who con-'sulted him: These things he dispatched with admirable 'quickness and success. There was hardly a day passed, 'but he gave advice to several persons; being always 'ready to gratify those who solicited his assistance. He 'was in great favour with some princes and men of the 'highest rank, his conversation being very agreeable and 'facetious. He had a warm zeal for the religion which 'he professed, and was extremely sorry whenever he 'heard that any person had abandoned it.'

He wrote a great number of BOOKS; the most remarkable of which was his book "On Concord;" and some Treatises he had wrote upon the "Ubiquity of Christ." He laboured much and strove long for *concord*; but he might have taken up the words of the Psalmist, and said, "My soul is among lions, and I lie even among them that "are set on fire, even the sons of men, whose teeth are "spears and arrows, and their TONGUE a sharp sword," Psal. lvii. 4. He fared as people do, who interpose between combatants,—gets blows from both sides, and be thanked by neither. His reward was not from men, but from HIM, who hath a particular blessing for the *peace-makers*.

By his excellent and affectionate wife, he had no less than eighteen children, nine of whom survived him.

THOMAS COOPER,

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

THOMAS COOPER, a learned English bishop, was born at Oxford, about the year 1517, and educated in grammar learning in the school adjoining to St Mary Magdalen-college; of which, having made a great progress, and gained a high reputation, he was elected first demi, then probationer in the year 1539, and perpetual fellow the

year after. He quitted his fellowship in the year 1540, being then married, as it is supposed; and when Q. Mary came to the crown, applied himself to the study of physic, and taking a bachelor's degree, practised in that faculty at Oxford. He did this, because he was secretly inclined to the Protestant religion; and therefore, upon the death of that queen, returned to his former study of divinity. Upon the eighteenth of March, 1566-7, he took a doctor of divinity's degree, and about that time was made dean of Christ-church in Oxford. In 1569, he was made dean of Gloucester, and the year after bishop of Lincoln. Upon the twenty-seventh of July, 1572, he preached a sermon at St Paul's Cross, in vindication of the Church of England, and its liturgy; to which an answer was sent him by a disaffected person, which answer Mr Strype hath printed at length in his Annals of the Reformation. In the year 1577, the queen sent him a letter to put a stop to those public exercises, called prophesyings, in his diocese. These prophesyings were grounded upon 1 Cor. xiv. 31. *Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.* They were set on foot in several parts of the kingdom about the year 1571; and consisted of conferences among the clergy, for the better improving of themselves, and one another, in the knowledge of scripture and divinity; but in 1577 were generally suppressed, on account of their being thought seminaries of puritanism. In the year 1584, he was translated to the bishopric of Winchester; which diocese abounding greatly with Papists, he petitioned the privy-council to suppress them, and among other methods proposed, "that an hundred or two of obstinate recusants, lusty men, well able to labour, might by some convenient commission be taken up, and be sent into Flanders as pioneers and labourers, whereby the country should be disburdened of a company of dangerous people, and the rest that remained be put in some fear."

This reverend and holy Bishop, as Mr Wood calls him, upon the discovery of William Parry's treason, put out an order of prayer and thanksgiving for the preservation of the queen's life and safety, to be used in the diocese of Winchester; and on the seventeenth of November, 1588, preached at St Paul's Cross, that being a day of public thanksgiving, as well for the queen's accession to the throne, as for the victory obtained over the Spanish armada. He died at Winchester upon the twenty-ninth of April, 1594, and was buried in the cathedral there.

Over

over his grave, which is on the south side of the choir, was soon after laid a flat marble, with a Latin inscription in prose and verse.

His WRITINGS were, "1. The epitome of Chronicles from the seventeenth year after Christ to 1540, and from thence afterwards to the year 1560, Lond. 1560, 4to. the two first parts of this Chronicle, and the beginning of the third, as far as the seventeenth year after Christ, were composed by Thomas Lanquet, a young man of twenty-four years old: But he dying immaturely, Mr Cooper finished the work, and published it under the title of Cooper's Chronicle, though the running title of the first and second parts is Lanquet's Chronicle. A faulty edition of this work was published surreptitiously in 1559: But that of 1560 was revised and corrected by Mr Cooper. 2. *Thesaurus linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ, &c. and Dictionarium historicum & poeticum*, Lond. 1565, folio. This dictionary was so much esteemed by Q. Elizabeth, that she endeavoured, as Mr Wood tells us, to promote the Author for it in the church as high as she could. It is an improvement of *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*, Elyot's library, or dictionary, printed at London in 1541, or, as some think, it is taken out of Robert Stephens's *Thesarurus linguæ Latinæ*, and out of *Frisii lexicon Latino-Teutonicum*. 3. A brief exposition of such chapters of the Old Testament, as usually are read in the church at common prayer, on the Sundays throughout the year, Lond. 1573, 4to. 4. A Sermon at Lincoln, 1575, Lond. 8vo. 5. Twelve Sermons, 1580, 4to. 6. An Admonition to the people of England, wherein are answered not only the slanderous untruths, reproachfully uttered by Martin, the libeller, but also many other crimes by some of his brood, objected generally against all bishops and the chief of the clergy, purposely to deface and discredit the present state of the church, Lond. 1589, 4to. This was an answer to John ap Henry's books against the established church, published under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate*. Ap Henry, or his club of puritans, replied to the bishop's book, in two ludicrous pamphlets, entitled, Ha' ye any work for a Cooper? and, More work for a Cooper.

The character of this Bishop has been represented in an advantageous light, by several writers. One stiles him a very learned man; eloquent and well acquainted with the English and Latin languages. Another says, that he was a man of great gravity, learning, and holiness of life. He was, (says Anthony Wood,) furnished with all kind

'of learning, almost beyond all his contemporaries, and 'not only adorned the pulpit with his sermons, but also 'the commonwealth of learning with his writings.' 'Of 'him, (says Sir John Harrington,) I can say much, and 'I should do him great wrong, if I should say nothing: 'For he was indeed a reverend man, very well learned, 'exceeding industrious; and, which was in those days 'counted a great praise to him, and a chief cause of his 'preferment, he wrote that great dictionary that yet bears 'his name. His life in Oxford was very commendable, 'and in some sort saint-like; for, if it is saint-like to 'live unreprovable, to bear a cross patiently, to forgive 'great injuries freely, this man's example is sampleless 'in this age.' He married a wife at Oxford, by whom he had two daughters; but he was not happy with her, she proving unfaithful to his bed. 'The whole university, '(Sir John Harrington tells us,) in reverence of the man, 'and indignity of the matter, offered to separate her from 'him by public authority, and so to set him free, being 'the innocent party: But he would by no means agree 'thereto, alledging he knew his own infirmity, that he 'might not live unmarried; and to divorce and marry 'again, he would not charge his conduct with so great 'a scandal.' And bishop Godwin speaks of him in a very emphatical strain.

WILLIAM WHITAKER, D. D.

WILLIAM WHITAKER was born in the year 1547, in the county of Lancaster, where the families of both his father and mother had long resided, and at a place called Holme, in the parish of Bournley; a mountainous situation, and such as, on account of the purity of the air, is (if Cicero may be believed) the most proper for producing the best geniuses. Mr Whitaker's parents were both of honourable descent. His father, by hereditary right, possessed the ancient inheritance of the Whitakers, which had continued in that family for several ages. His mother was yet more honourable as to her birth, being descended from the two illustrious families of the Townleys of Townley, and the Nowells of Read. He spent his

his childhood under the care of his parents, learning the first rudiments of grammar in the school of Bournley, till the age of thirteen; at which time Dr Alex. Nowell, his uncle, dean of St Paul's, sent for him to London, boarded him in his own house, and had him instructed by the master of St Paul's school, till it was thought proper to send him to the university. At the age of eighteen he was admitted of Trinity-college, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr West; where he followed his studies with such diligence and improvement, that he was first chosen scholar, and afterwards elected fellow, of that college. Being now in a more conspicuous point of view, he began to shine among those of his own age; and to give no mean specimen of his extraordinary genius and learning: For, in all the scholastic disputations, both in his own college and in the public schools, he always carried off with him extraordinary commendations, and the greatest encomiums on his capacity.

In due time, with universal applause, he took the degree of bachelor, and then that of master of arts. His talents, considerable as they were, gave him no elation of mind; but he adorned them by his doctrine and modesty. He did not, as too many university-students do, after having taken their degrees, as if all their business was over, give themselves up to ease and pleasure; but became the more eager in pursuit of knowledge, and followed his studies with the greater assiduity and improvement. And that he might exhibit some proof of his labour, as well as his gratitude, he translated into Greek, an excellent catechism of his uncle's, published in Latin, and dedicated this first fruit of his learning to his learned uncle Dr Nowell. He was desirous, also, to shew his early respect to the church of England; which he did in giving a Latin version of the book of Common-Prayer. He also translated into Latin the polemical discourse of our celebrated bishop Jewel against Harding; a disputation written with the acutest judgment, and illustrated by the most extensive reading, in which twenty-seven questions are argued from scripture, and from the councils and fathers. This performance likewise met with universal approbation and applause.

At this time the professorship of the philosophy-chair being vacant, Whitaker had the honour of that appointment conferred on him by the university; though he was yet a young man; and though it had been the custom of the university to chuse one of the two proctors, who, as it is

supposed, on account of their age and standing, were deemed most properly qualified for that important charge. Whitaker was indeed young in years, but old in understanding; and very conversant with the philosophical writers. Therefore this province, which was so much the more difficult, as it was taken from others, and suddenly imposed upon him, he managed with so much zeal, prudence, and success, and as became a philosopher, that, in a manner scarcely to be credited, he struck all with the highest wonder at his learning and eloquence.

At length, leaving Plato and Aristotle, which last he had closely studied for a long time, he betook himself to the diligent study of the holy scriptures; to which, as indeed becomes a Christian, he always attributed the only authority for determining matters of faith, and for deciding religious controversies. He likewise diligently perused the modern divines, especially the faithful and sincere interpreters of GOD's word. And being a person of incredible application, he in a few years went through almost all the fathers, both Greek and Latin. He was so entirely devoted to this pursuit, that, it is said, if, on any occasion, either by the visits of friends, or other avocations, any part of the time he had allotted to reading was lost; he used to sit up at night till he had accomplished the task he had prescribed to himself the preceding day. By this close application to study, he improved greatly in knowledge, but at the same time so impaired the vigour of his body, that, it is supposed, he laid the foundation of those complaints which followed him during the rest of his life, and brought him early to the grave. Whitaker's great industry and parts struck the attention and admiration of the head of the college, Dr Whitgift, at that time Regius professor of divinity, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who took great delight in him, and admitted him to the closest intimacy and friendship, not only while he was head of the college, but when he was afterwards bishop of Worcester, recommending to his care and tuition a great number of young persons of the first distinction.

Our Author's Exercises upon the college thesis were handed about for the perusal of the best divines; as were also some popular sermons delivered in the country; his Catechetical Lectures in the college; and likewise his ingenious *Prælectiones* in divinity, for his degree of bachelor in divinity; in all which, it might be questioned, whether he shewed himself more the pious Christian, or the learned divine. But all these performances were only

specimens

specimens of his industry and rising greatness. At the Cambridge commencement, in the year 1578, he delivered in St Mary's church his first *Concio ad clerum*, which was as remarkable for its sound divinity, as for its profound erudition. After this, he handled, publicly in the schools, two theological questions, with great copiousness and elegance, and defended them with that judgment and force, which became an able divine and acute disputer. Having performed the requisite exercises, he took the degree of bachelor in divinity, with the utmost applause. In a word, he acquitted himself with so much ingenuity and learning, that some of the heads of houses and several of the ablest divines, maintained a disputation with him (a distinction paid only to first-rate abilities), from which he came off with the greatest honour to himself, and the satisfaction of others.

After this success, he rested for a while; but in such a way, that he was never less idle, than when he was idle. For in ease he thought of business; and in his retirement he furnished himself for his public ministrations; probably presaging in his own mind what soon came to pass. Dr Chaderton, then Regius professor of divinity, being promoted to the dignity of bishop, and resigning both the presidentship of Queens's-college, and the professorship; Whitaker, younger in years than usual, but riper in knowledge and judgment, was chosen in his room. Whether he had the honour to be invested with these offices from his own merit, or the favour of the electors, or the solicitations of his friends, cannot be doubted by any one, who either heard the lectures themselves, from which a judgment is to be formed of each of the candidates; or knew the modesty of Whitaker, and his backwardness in asking favours. However, some were highly displeased; complaining that so young a man should be preferred to an experienced old man; and pretending to fear that he was not sufficiently qualified for so weighty and important a charge, and that the reputation of the university would suffer. But when it was urged, what he had written, the acuteness of his dispositions, and his extensive reading; added to his modesty, piety, and the venerable gravity and prudence of his behaviour, equal to that of the ripest age; his adversaries were silenced, and even induced to hope, that the choice would be fully justified by his conduct. Nor were they in the least disappointed: For, his extensive reading, acute judgment, admirable style, sound and solid doctrine, shone forth in Whitaker's first

prelec-

prelections and sermons. Numbers, being excited by his fame, repaired to his theological lectures, attended them diligently, and received his instructions with the greatest avidity.

Our Author's first lectures, in the professor's chair, were on the three first chapters of the gospel by St Luke: Which having finished, he went through the whole epistle to the Galatians. Next he explained the first epistle of St Paul to Timothy, from which he deduced many important principles most necessary to be known by students in divinity Lastly, in his lectures, he descanted upon Solomon's Song.

Some time after this, he seemed to be called, in some measure, to lay aside his commentaries and discourses upon the scriptures, and to take up the controversy between us and the Papists; which he began on the seventeenth of February, 1585. The first adversary, that felt the power of Whitaker's abilities, was a conceited jesuit, Edmund Campian, who, with ten dull arguments, published in 1581, threatened, as with so many battering-rams, utterly to undermine, and rase to the foundation, the whole Protestant doctrine. But Whitaker so effectually refuted the arguments of this Thraso, that his threats and his boastings soon ended in smoke to his own confusion. After the defeat of this Campain, there suddenly started up another jesuit, Dury, a Scotchman, who gathered together the broken arguments of Campian; and aimed by his own sophistry, to repair the breach that had been made in the cause of Rome. Whitaker passed over his invectives and scurrilities, and pressed him so home, that he fared no better than his predecessor. These controversies soon rendered him the distinguished foe of Rome, and one of the first champions of the Reformed religion in Christendom. And accordingly, his adversaries began to increase upon him. At the same time he carried on the controversy with Dury, he maintained another with a famous papist of that time, one Nicholas Saunders, upon the person of antichrist; upon which Saunders, though more able and acute, came off no better than his brethren. To the publication of this controversy, he annexed his own thesis for his doctor's degree, in the year 1582. His answer to Saunders's demonstrations procured him another adversary; one Reynolds, an Englishman who had fled to Rheims, and who, with craft and malice, had engaged some of our divines one against another, in order to bring the truth into contempt. But Whitaker clearly

clearly perceiving his intentions, detected, and fully exploded his falsehood and calumnies.

These are the principal WRITINGS he published, before he attacked the great Bellarmine, the stoutest champion of the popish cause; whom he met in the plain open field, and began the combat relative to the whole controverted points, and fairly overthrew his adversary. First, he began the controversies about the scriptures, which, in six questions methodically proposed, and most accurately and successfully handled, he published in the year 1588. Then proceeding in order, he entered upon the controversy relating to the church, and discussed it in seven questions: Then, *that* concerning the councils, in six questions;—*that*, concerning the Pope, in eight;—*that*, about Ministers and Presbyters, in five;—*that* of Departed Saints, in six;—*that*, of the Church Triumphant, in seven;—*that*, of the Sacraments in general, in eight;—*that*, of Baptism, in six;—and *that*, of the Eucharist, in five. It is to be wished he had revised and published them all at his leisure; which was the earnest desire of his hearers, to whose very great admiration and approbation he had managed the whole controversy. But being carried on by a desire of answering Bellarmine in all the controversies, he kept these studied disputations by him, hoping for (what did not afterwards happen) a more convenient opportunity for publishing them. For, while he was thus fighting in the cause of Christ on earth, against the ministers of antichrist; he was called to triumph with Christ in heaven.

In managing all these controversies, he used the greatest care and diligence; reading, agreeable to the statutes, twice or thrice every week all term-time, unless hindered by some more important business, which very seldom happened, and which he diligently guarded against. He treated his adversaries ingenuously, frankly, and as became a gallant soldier; always, without reluctance, granting what was proper to be yielded; never satyrically magnifying, or craftily dissembling their strongest arguments: but having faithfully collected and recited them, he unravelled the knot, in which the whole force of the argument lay hid, and refelled it with the greatest dexterity and skill. In short, he dealt peaceably, modestly, and gently, without taunting, bantering, wrath, deceit, or insidious language; so that you might easily see him to be no cunning and obstinate partisan, but a most studious searcher after divine truth. Nevertheless, during the

the silence of Bellarmine, with whom Whitaker chiefly engaged, Thomas Stapleton, professor of Louvain, when just dropping into the grave, ripped up as it were the whole disputation of Whitaker, relating to the third question, of the first controversy, concerning the Scriptures, in a very voluminous book, in his own profuse style. This angry, raiiing, old man, lest he should foolishly think himself too wise, Whitaker, contrary to custom, answered a little roughly; in which he imitated the physicians, who, as Plutarch, out of Sophocles, says, 'expel bitter choler by 'bitter medicines.'

There still remain several TRACTS, which it is much to be wished had been published: Such are, "some Discourses before the clergy, delivered at the beginning of every year, and attended by a great concourse of the whole university:—Some short, but judicious Determinations of the Theological Questions in the public schools, when the annual disputations are made, according to custom, for obtaining degrees; which disputations were numerous, and all written with his own hand. Also a little book against Stapleton, on original sin, fully written out and prepared for the press, in which the sophistry and superstition of Stapleton were displayed. This was the last work he finished before he left the world."

Dr Whitaker was twice married; for which Stapleton upbraids him, in his book published in the year 1592, as a matter of reproach; not considering the words of the Lord, Matt. xix. 11. *All cannot receive this saying*; and of the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 5. *Have we not all power to lead about a sister, a wife?* &c. and of his directing Timothy as to the office of a bishop, 1 Tim. iii. 2. *A bishop must be the husband of one wife.* But, if, Papist-like, Stapleton held the councils and fathers to be of superior authority to the scriptures, he might have remembered, what, upon the motion of Paphnutius who was a bachelor, the council of Nice decreed concerning the marriage of priests; nor have forgotten what St Augustin taught: 'Truly,' says he, 'one who is married, that is faithful and obedi-'ent to God, is preferable to one that is continent, 'but of less faith and obedience.' Whitaker differed in no one instance more widely from the Papists in general, and Hoffæus in particular, than in the article of matrimony. Hoffæus was an assistant at Rome, and a counsellor of the pope, and is reported to have said, 'That a 'priest sins less by living in adultery, than by marrying 'a wife.' Whitaker was no advocate for unnatural lusts,

nor

nor practised them, like great numbers among the Romish priests, jesuits, and cardinals. I might add, not even those holy fathers, the popes, are free either from the suspicion or the crime of this filthiness. But Whitaker lived temperately, and practised chastity; not that kind which these Pharisees erroneously follow, and unchastely and basely obtrude upon their oath-breaking votaries; but that which God instituted in Paradise, Gen. ii. 24. which Christ honoured with his presence in Cana of Galilee, John ii. 2. which the apostle called a remedy against lust, 1 Cor. vii. 2, 9. and in fine, which all sound divines acknowledge to be lawful for ministers of the gospel, as well as for other men.

Whitaker honoured nuptial chastity, by making choice of a young lady that was modest, chaste, a true believer, full of good works, and especially of alms-giving to the poor, whom she cheerfully maintained and supported according to her income, and almost beyond it. Her parents were of honourable descent, and remarkable for true piety; who comforted and encouraged the faithful under the cruel persecution of bloody Q. Mary, and sent yearly a large sum of money for the support of the pious exiles. This lady dying two years afterwards, he married the widow of the learned Dudley Fenner, of Cambridge. By these two wives our Author had eight children, whom he carefully brought up in the principles of true religion and virtue.

In the government of his college he was easy and gentle, agreeable to the mildness of his own disposition and to the liberality of a gentleman and a scholar. He was remote from every suspicion of covetousness, as appears from the attestation of all who lived under his instructions, and the slender income with which he supported himself and family. His first concern was to enlarge the public interest of his college, by all due means; and he really added nothing to his own estate. Yet he performed excellent service for the university, and also for the whole church of England, the peace and unity of which in truth he above all things studied; and employed himself for composing some controversies, very lately sprung up relative to religion, the very last week before he died. He set out for London with the dean of Ely, professor of Queen's-college, who treated of the controverted points with Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, and several other bishops and learned divines, who were all unanimous and agreed in their doctrine. This was drawn up in the form of the "Nine Articles," commonly

commonly called the "Lambeth Articles," because Dr Whitaker drew them up at the palace at Lambeth. They were approved by the archbishops of both provinces, the bishops of London and Bangor, and other bishops and learned men of the church, and by them sent to Cambridge, (where they were highly approved by the whole university), to compose the differences which had arisen by two free-willers; namely, Barret, and Peter Baro, a Frenchman, Lady Margaret's professor in that university. And, as they contain the undoubted sense of our most orthodox church, respecting those important doctrines of predestination, election, perseverance, free-will, assurance, saving faith, efficacious grace, &c. we have subjoined them both in Latin and English; presuming that the perusal of them may be acceptable to the Reader *. Dr Whitaker's journey to London being in the middle of winter, but especially

* 1. Deus ab æterno prædeſtinavit quoſdam ad vitam; quoſdam reprobavit ad mortem.

1. God from eternity hath predeſtinated certain men unto life; certain men he hath reprobated unto death.

2. Cauſa movens aut efficiens prædeſtinationis ad vitam, non eſt præviſio fidei, aut perſeverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ inſit in perſonis prædeſtinatis, ſed ſola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

2. The moving or efficient cauſe of predeſtination unto life, is not the foreſight of faith, or of perſeverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the perſons predeſtinated, but only the good will and pleaſure of God.

3. Prædeſtinatorum præfinitus et certus eſt numerus, qui nec augeri, nec minui poſſit.

3. There is a predetermined and certain number of the predeſtinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminiſhed.

4. Qui non ſunt prædeſtinati ad ſalutem neceſſariò propter peccata ſua damnabuntur.

4 They who are not predeſtinated to ſalvation, ſhall neceſſarily be damned for their ſins.

5. Vera, viva, et juſtificans fides, et ſpiritus Dei juſtificantis, non extinguitur, non excidit, non evaneſcit in electis, aut finaliter, aut totaliter.

5. A true, living, and juſtifying faith, and the Spirit of God juſtifying, is not extinguiſhed, faileth not, vaniſheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally.

6. Homo vere fidelis, id eſt, fide juſtificante præditus, certus eſt plerophoriâ fidei de remiſſione peccatorum ſuorum, et ſalute ſempiternâ ſuâ per Chriſtum.

6. A man truly faithful, that is, ſuch a one as is endued with juſtifying faith, is certain with the full aſſurance of faith of the remiſſion of his ſins and his everlaſting ſalvation by CHRIST.

7. Gratia ſalutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur univerſis hominibus, quâ ſervari poſſint ſi voluerint.

7. Saving

cially his excessive hard study, and the very little time allotted for sleep, are supposed to have been the causes of the disease under which he laboured on the road, and of which, having returned to Cambridge, he soon after died.

In the whole course of his sickness he discovered a great submission to the will of GOD; expressing himself in prayer in the words of Job,—*O Lord my God, though thou killest me, yet, I am sure, with these eyes I shall see thee; for in thee do I hope.* To a friend, who one morning asked him how he did, he answered,—"O happy night! I "have not taken so sweet a sleep since my disease fell "upon me." But his friend finding him in a cold sweat, and telling him that signs of death appeared on him, he answered,—"Life or death is equally welcome to me, "which God pleaseth: But death will be my gain. I "desire not to live, but only so far as I may promote "the honour of God, and do his church service." About eight o'clock on the Thursday morning, of the fourth day of December, 1595, he quietly resigned his breath, and sweetly fell asleep in Jesus, in the forty-seventh year of his age: Having filled the professor's chair about sixteen years, and after being master of St John's-college almost nine. He was buried with great solemnity and general lamentation in the chapel of the same college; where an epitaph is placed in the wall over his grave.

As to his character; it fully appears that Dr Whitaker was a pious holy man, of an even grave demeanour; and not abroad only, but at home among his domestics. He was very remarkable for patient bearing of injuries; and though many were done to him, he never made revenges to any body; but was so obliging to all who could expect no good of him, through his love to religion and peace, that in the strictest sense of the word, he might be said, *to return good for evil.* To the poor and needy he was extremely kind and liberal, according to his circumstances, yet not in the way of pomp and shew, in order to

7. Saying grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

8. Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit; et omnes homines non trahuntur à Patre ut veniant ad Filium.

8. No man can come unto CHRIST, unless it be given unto him, and unless the Father draw him; all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

9. Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.

9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.

to purchase a name, but in secret and in season, with a view to relieve their necessities. Nor did he exercise his charity without the proper choice of objects. For, among others, he singled out the modest, pious, and industrious poor, as far as he could, to assist them both by his interest and his purse; and particularly young students, whose disposition and industry he was acquainted with; advancing them as far as the statutes of the university and rules of the college allowed him. Thus what many spend in grand furniture, dress, and entertainments, the doctor used cheerfully to bestow on the godly and the poor, for the necessary uses of life; following the advice of Jerom, who says, 'Let the bowels of the hungry praise thee, and not 'the rich entertainments of those who eat to gluttony.'

It is remarkable with what great equity and moderation he judged of the life or actions of others; and though he easily and willingly praised every one for good actions; yet it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to punish the offender by any open censure. 'Having, (as Jerom 'exhorts,) learned to order his own life, rather than cen-'sure that of others.' In the common affairs of life, and in the company of friends, no man was more kind, open, or pleasant. He was faithful and secret in counsels, easy and complaisant in conversation, discreet and grave in serious business, merry and facetious in common conversation, and always most ready to serve his friends in every condition, by his advice and his pocket. He was dutiful to his parents, whom he treated with the utmost respect; and whom, when they fell into poverty by mismanaging their estate, he helped to the utmost of his ability: And though they were resolute and obstinate in the matter of religion, closely adhering to *the traditions of men, and the vain conversation received from their fathers*, yet he practised a dutiful regard to them, complying with them in all things, which were not inconsistent with his duty to GOD and true religion.

All these excellent virtues, both of knowledge and religion, were adorned with a meekness of mind like that of Moses, and with the deepest humility. For though Whitaker was endued with a most acute genius, happy memory, extensive reading, with as great eloquence as was ever in a divine, and, in fine, with a most learned and polished judgment, so that he was justly accounted as it were the oracle of the whole university, and a most brilliant ornament as well as pillar in the Christian church:

Yet

Yet with all these excellent qualifications, no man ever saw him elated or lifted up, breathing great things, or disdainfully despising the most unlearned persons; but he behaved himself the most humbly and lowly of all men, having so thoroughly laid all loftiness of mind and presumption, that those who knew him not might think, he was one of the meanest of the learned, instead of so profound a scholar. He was indeed completely learned (though not puffed up with learning) and treated of the most difficult subjects with an ease and perspicuity peculiar to himself, which he was well qualified to do from his comprehensive knowledge of the whole circle of the sciences. In a word, he attained the summit of all possible knowledge—the knowledge of GOD, and of his own heart, without which all his other attainments would have been but of little worth; and he *now knows*, according to GOD's promise, *even as also he is known*, and is blessed with him for ever and ever.

Bishop Hall said of him, 'Never man saw him without 'reverence, nor heard him without wonder.' Cardinal Bellarmine procured his picture out of England, and hung it up in his study; much admiring him for his singular learning: And being asked by a jesuit, why he would suffer the picture of that heretic to hang there? he answered, 'That though he was an heretic, and his adver-'sary, he was a learned adversary.'

His WORKS are; "1. A Translation of Dr Nowel's Catechism into Greek. 2. A Translation of Bishop Jewel's Dispute against Harding into Latin. 3. His Answer to Edmund Campian's ten reasons. 4. A defence of his Answer against John Dury. 5. A Refutation of Nicholas Saunders's Demonstration, in which Saunders endeavoured to prove, that the Pope is not Antichrist. 6. A Collection of ancient Heresies raked up, and added, to make up the Popish Apostacy. 7. His Thesis propounded and defended at the Commencement in 1582, that the Pope is the Antichrist spoken of in Scripture. 8. His Answer to William Reinolds, in Defence of the Preface of his Book against Saunders. 9. His Disputations, concerning the Scriptures, against the Papists of those times, especially Bellarmine and Stapleton. 10. His Defence of the Authority of the Scriptures, against Thomas Stapleton's Defence of the Authority of the Church. 11. Lectures on the Controversies concerning the Bishop of Rome, published after his death, by J. Allenson. 12. Lectures on the Controversy concerning the Church. 13. Lectures

on the Controversy concerning Councils. 14. A Treatise on Original Sin, against Stapleton's three former Books on Justification, which were also published by J. Allenson. 15. A Lecture upon 1 Tim. ii. 4. delivered on February 27th, 1594, before the earl of Essex, and others of the Nobility. 16. Lectures concerning Sacraments in general, and the Lord's Supper and Baptism in particular, taken by J. Allenson, and published by Dr Samuel Ward."

ROBERT ROLLOCK.

MR Robert Rollock was born in Scotland in the year 1555, and descended from the ancient family of the Livingstons: He had part of his education under the celebrated Thomas Buchanan, who, perceiving him to be a very promising genius, always took great delight in him. In proper time, he was sent to the university of St Andrew's; where he pursued his studies with such application and success, that, four years after his entrance, he was chosen professor of philosophy: And in the year 1583, when application was made to the university, for a proper person to erect and govern an university at Edinburgh, they were unanimous in recommending Mr Rollock, as a man the best qualified for that undertaking. In this important situation Mr Rollock conducted himself with so much prudence and assiduity, that he soon became famous; and many students from all parts of the kingdom resorted to Edinburgh. He was an excellent disciplinarian; and had a happy method of introducing the principles of religion and morality into all their studies; so that while they learned the human sciences, they were led to understand divinity, and taught to live with piety. His custom was to pray with the students every morning, and to expound the scriptures once a week, when he took the opportunity to rebuke defaulters, and to give them all suitable admonitions and exhortations. This course was attended with excellent effects, and prevented commonly the exercise of severer injunctions. He took particular pains with those designed for the ministry, which proved to be of singular service to the church.

Mr

Mr Rollock was, besides this heavy university-business, an eminent labourer *in the word and doctrine*; he preached every Lord's day with great fervency and success, and had many seals to his ministry *. He also wrote commentaries on several parts of the scriptures, which, being occasionally spread abroad in other countries, Beza met with those on the Romans and Ephesians; and, writing to a friend concerning them, says, 'I have got a treasure of 'incomparable value; having never before met with the 'like for brevity, elegance, and sound judgment. I 'pray God to preserve the Author, and daily to increase 'his gift in him; especially in these times, wherein the 'vineyard of the Lord has so few labourers.' He had great knowledge of the human heart, and was very humble, preferring others to himself; and began to seek retirement from public business, that he might spend more of his time in his private studies; but being moderator of the synod, and a commissioner of the church, he could not obtain his wishes: And, for the last two years of his life, was so much engaged in the public affairs of the church and of the university, that he very much impaired his health.

In the year 1598, his disease, which was the stone, increased daily: He was advised to go into the country, where, for a while, he grew better; but his complaint returning more violently than ever, he was confined to the house, and soon after to his bed. Two noblemen visiting him, he requested him to go to the king, and to intreat him, in his name, to take care of religion, as he had hitherto done, and to persevere in it to the end; and highly to esteem the pastors of the church for their work sake. When the ministers and magistrates of Edinburgh came

* Mr White on The Power of Godliness, quoted in Prince's Christian History, No. 28, says, 'A precious old man told me of a woman that 'was six years in desertion; and by God's providence hearing Mr Rol-'lock preach, she of a sudden fell down, overwhelmed with joy, crying 'out, 'Oh, he is come, whom my soul loveth!' and so was carried home 'for dead; and for several days after she was filled with exceeding joys, 'and had such pious and singularly ravishing expressions, so fluently com-'ing from her, that many came to hear the rare manifestations of God's 'grace in her; and amongst the rest that went to hear, there was one 'that could write short-hand, who yet a great while stood so amazed at 'her expressions, that he could not write; at last, recovering himself, he 'wrote a whole sheet of paper; which this minister read, and told me, 'that of all the expressions that ever he read in the Book of Martyrs, or 'elsewhere, he never read any so high, as the lowest of them.'

came to see him, he begged of them to take great care of the university, and to choose Mr Henry Charter his successor; and hoped they would provide for his wife then pregnant, declaring he had laid by nothing of his stipend. They readily promising attention to his will in all these matters, he proceeded to give them an exhortation, in which he was so highly favoured with the divine presence, that it astonished all those that were about him. He then prayed fervently, that GOD would pardon his sins for Christ's sake; adding, "O my God, I have hitherto seen "but darkly in the glass of thy word. O Lord, grant "that I may enjoy the eternal fruition of thy counte- "nance, which I have so much desired and longed for. "I bless God, I have all my senses intire; but my heart "is in heaven; and, Lord Jesus, why shouldst thou not "have it? It hath been my care, all my life long, to "dedicate it to thee: I pray thee take it, that it may live "with thee for ever. Come, Lord Jesus; put an end to "this miserable life. Haste, Lord, and tarry not. Christ "hath redeemed me, not to a frail and momentary, but "to eternal life. Come, Lord Jesus, and give me that "life, for which thou hast redeemed me. I have gone "through all the degrees of this life, and now am come "to my end: Why should I go back again? O Lord "help me, that I may go through this last degree with "thy assistance. Lead me to that glory, which I have "seen as through a glass. O that I were with thee!"

Being told on the Saturday that the next day was the sabbath, he said, "Thy sabbath, O Lord, shall begin "my eternal sabbath. My eternal sabbath shall take its "beginning from thy sabbath. I am weary of this life. "All my desire is, that I may enjoy that celestial life "which is hid with Christ in God." A while after he prayed, saying, "Haste Lord, and do not tarry. I am "weary both of nights and days. Come, Lord Jesus, "that I may come to thee. Break these eye-strings, and "give me others. I desire to be dissolved, and to be "with thee. Haste, Lord Jesus, and defer no longer. "Go forth, my weak life, and let a better succeed. O "Lord Jesus, thrust thy hand into my body, and take my "soul to thyself. O my sweet Lord, set this soul of "mine free, that it may enjoy her husband." And when one attending him said, 'Sir, let nothing trouble you; 'for now your Lord makes haste:' He said, "O wel- "come news! Would to God my funeral might be to- "morrow!" And thus he continued in a sweet heavenly frame,

frame, praying to, and praising GOD till he quietly resigned his spirit to God, in the year 1598, and in the forty-third year of his age.

His WORKS are, "A Commentary on some select Psalms, on the Prophecy of Daniel, and the Gospel of John, with its Harmony. He wrote also on the Epistle to the Ephesians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Galatians; an Analysis of the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews, with respect to Effectual Calling."

RICHARD HOOKER.

THIS eminent English divine was author of a famous work, entitled, The Laws of ECCLESIASTIAL POLITY, and was born at Heavy-tree, near Exeter, in the year 1553, or, as Wood says, about the time of Easter A. D. 1554. His parents, not being rich, intended him for a trade: But his schoolmaster at Exeter prevailed with them to continue him at school, assuring them, that his natural endowments and learning were both so remarkable, that he must of necessity be taken notice of, and that GOD would provide him some patron, who would free them from any future care or charge about him. Accordingly, his uncle John Hooker, who was then chamberlain of the town, began to regard him; and, being known to the excellent bishop Jewel, made a visit to that prelate at Salisbury soon after, and 'besought him, for charity's 'sake, to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, 'whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate 'of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to 'give him the advantage of learning; and that the bishop 'therefore would become his patron, and prevent him 'from being a tradesman, for he was a boy of remarkable hopes.' Bishop Jewel examined into the merits of the boy, found him to be what the uncle had represented him, and took him henceforward under his protection and care. He got him admitted, in the year 1567, one of the clerks of Corpus Christi-college in Oxford, and settled a pension on him; which, with the contributions of his uncle, afforded him a very comfortable subsistence.

In

In the year 1571, Hooker lost his generous patron bishop Jewel, together with his pension; however, the divine providence raised him up two other patrons, in Dr Cole, then president of the college, and the great Dr Edwyn Sandys, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of York. To the latter of these bishop Jewel had recommended him so effectually, a little before his death, that, though a Cambridge-man himself, he immediately resolved to send his son Edwyn to Oxford, to be pupil to Mr Hooker, who was but very little older: For, said he, 'I 'will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learn-'ing by instruction, and virtue by example.' Mr Hooker had also, at the same time, another considerable pupil, namely, Mr George Cranmer, grand-nephew to the famous archbishop and martyr; with whom, as well as with Mr Sandys, he cultivated a strict and lasting friendship. In the year 1577, he was elected fellow of his college; and about two years after, being a good master of the oriental languages, he was appointed deputy-professor of the Hebrew tongue, in the room of a gentleman, who was disordered in his senses. In the year 1581, he entered into holy orders; and soon after being appointed to preach at St Paul's Cross in London, was drawn into a most extraordinary marriage: Which, because it is one of the most remarkable circumstances of his life, we will here give the particulars of, as they are related by Mr Walton.

There was, it seems, then belonging to the church of St Paul's, a house called the Shunamite's house, set apart for the reception and entertainment of the preachers at St Paul's Cross, two days before, and one day after the sermon. That house was then kept by Mr John Churchman, formerly a substantial draper in Watling-street, but now reduced to poverty. Mr Walton says, that Mr Churchman was a person of virtue, but he cannot say quite so much of his wife. To this house Mr Hooker came from Oxford so wet and weary, that he was afraid he should not be able to perform his duty the Sunday following: However, Mrs Churchman nursed him so well, that he presently recovered from the ill effects of his journey. For this, he was very thankful; so much indeed, that, as Mr Walton expresses it, he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all she said: So the good man came to be persuaded by her, 'that he had a 'very tender constitution; and that it was best for him 'to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such 'a one as might both prolong his life, and make it more

'com-

'comfortable; and such a one she could and would pro-'vide for him, if he thought fit to marry.' Mr Hooker not considering, *that the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light*, and fearing no guilt, because he meant none, gave her a power to chuse a wife for him; promising, upon a fair summons, to return to London, and accept of her choice, which he did in that or the year following. Now, says Walton, the wife provided for him was her own daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion: And, for her conditions, they were too like that wife's which Solomon compares to a dripping house; that is, says Anthony Wood, she was 'a clownish silly woman, and withal a 'mere Xantippe.'

Mr Hooker, now driven from his college, remained without preferment, and supported himself as well as he could till the latter end of the year 1584, when he was presented by John Cheny, Esq. to the rectory of Drayton Beauchamp, in Buckinghamshire, where he led an uncomfortable sort of life with his wife Joan. In this situation, he received a visit from his two friends and pupils Sandys and Cranmer, who found him with a Horace in his hand, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field: Which he said he was then forced to do, because his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife in some of the household business. When the servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him to his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for poor Hooker was called to rock the cradle, and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but till the next morning, which was long enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition. At their return to London, Mr Sandys acquainted his father with Mr Hooker's deplorable state; who thereupon entered so heartily into his concerns, that he got him to be made master of the Temple, A. D. 1585. This though a considerable preferment, was not so suitable to Mr Hooker's temper, as the retirement of a living in the country, where he might be free from noise: Nor did he accept of it without some reluctance. At the time when Mr Hooker was chosen master of the Temple, one Mr Walter Travers was afternoon-lecturer there; a man of learning and worth, but ordained by the presbytery at Antwerp, and warmly attached to the Geneva government. Mr Travers had some hopes of setting up this government in the Temple, and for that purpose endeavoured to

be master of it; but, not succeeding, he did not behave quite generously to Mr Hooker, but opposed him by his sermons; many of which were, perhaps unadvisedly considering the time, about the discipline and ceremonies of the church; insomuch that they constantly withstood each other to the face: For as somebody said pleasantly, 'The 'forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon 'Geneva.' The opposition became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that archbishop Whitgift caused Mr Travers to be silenced by the high commission court. Upon that, Mr Travers presented his supplication to the privy-council, which being without effect, he made it public. This obliged Mr Hooker to publish an answer, which was inscribed to the archbishop and procured him as much reverence and respect from some, as it did neglect and hatred from others. In order therefore to undeceive and win these, he entered upon his famous work "of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," and laid the foundation and plan of it, while he was at the Temple. But he found the temple no fit place to finish what he had there designed: And therefore intreated the archbishop to remove him to some quieter situation in the following letter.

"My Lord,

"When I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my "college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet "country parsonage. But I am weary of the noise and "oppositions of this place; and indeed God and nature "did not intend me for contentions, but for study and "quietness. And, my lord, my particular contests here "with Mr Travers have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good "man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions. "And to satisfy that, I have consulted the holy Scripture, and other laws, both human and divine, whether "the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, "ought to be so far complied with by us, as to alter our "frame of church government, our manner of God's "worship, our praising and praying to him, and our "established ceremonies, as often as their tender consciences shall require us. And, in this examination, I "have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a "demonstration of the reasonableness of our laws of ecclesiastical polity.—But, my lord, I shall never be able

"to

" to finish what I have begun, unless I be removed into " some quiet parsonage, where I may see God's blessings " spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread " in peace and privacy: A place, where I may, without " disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and " that great account, which all flesh must give at the last " day to the God of all spirits."

Upon this application, he was presented, A. D. 1591, to the rectory of Boscomb, in Wiltshire; and, on the 17th of July the same year, to the prebend of Nether-haven, in the church of Sarum, of which he was also made sub-dean. At Boscomb he finished four books, which were entered into the register book at Stationers' Hall, on the 9th of March, A. D. 1592, but not printed till the year 1594. In the year 1595, he quitted Boscomb, and was presented by Q. Elizabeth to the rectory of Bishops-Bourne in Kent, where he spent the remainder of his life.

But it would not be doing proper justice to the character of this great man, were we to conclude his life in this summary manner; and therefore we shall insert some extracts from old Isaac Walton's account of him, from which the foregoing has been chiefly taken.

' This parsonage of Bourne, is from Canterbury three ' miles, and near to the common road that leads from ' that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr Hooker had ' not been twelve months, but his books, and the inno- ' cency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, ' that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars ' especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life ' and learning were so much admired; and alas! as our ' Saviour said of St John Baptist, *What went they out ' to see! a man clothed in purple and fine linen?* no, in- ' deed; but an obscure harmless man; a man in ' poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown or ' canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and ' yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body ' worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifica- ' tions; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his in- ' activity and sedentary life. And to this true character ' of his person, let me add this of his disposition and be- ' haviour; God and nature blest him with so great a ' bashfulness, that as, in his younger days, his pupils ' might easily look him out of countenance; so neither ' then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any ' man in the face: And was of so mild and humble a ' nature, that his poor parish clerk and he did never

' talk

'talk but with both their hats on, or both off at the same 'time; and to this may be added, that though he was 'not purblind, yet he was short, or weak-sighted; and 'where he fixt his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, 'there they continued till it was ended; and the reader 'has a liberty to believe that his modesty and dim-sight 'were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs Churchman 'to choose a wife for him.

'Mr Hooker here gave a holy valediction to all the 'allurements of earth; possessing his soul in a virtuous 'quietness, which he maintained by constant study, 'prayers, and meditations: His use was to preach once 'every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the 'second lesson in the evening prayer: His sermons were 'neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, 'and an humble voice: His eyes always fixt on one place, 'to prevent his imagination from wandering; insomuch, 'that he seemed to study as he spake; the design of his 'sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew 'reasons for what he spake: And with these reasons such 'a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, 'than frighten men. Studying not so much for matter, '(which he never wanted) as for apt illustration, to in-'form and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar exam-'ples, and then make them better by convincing applica-'tions; never labouring by hard words, and then by 'needless distinctions and subdistinctions to amuse his 'hearers, and get glory to himself: But glory only to 'God. Which intention he would often say, "was as "discernable in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural "beauty."

'He never failed on the Sunday before every Ember-'week, to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuad-'ing them both to fast, and then to double their devo-'tions, for a learned and pious clergy, but especially for 'the last; saying often, "That the life of a pious cler-"gyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that "the most godless men (though they would not deny "themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet "secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives." 'And to what he persuaded others, he added his own ex-'ample of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Em-'ber week, take from the parish clerk the key of the 'church door; into which place he retired every day, 'and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like 'most Fridays, and other days of fasting.

'And

'And as he was watchful and charitable to the sick, so 'he was as diligent to prevent law-suits; still urging his 'parishioners and neighbours, to bear with each others 'infirmities, and live in love, because (as St John says) '*He that lives in love, lives in God, for God is love.* And 'to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning, 'his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep 'themselves in a disposition to receive the communion, 'and then to receive it often; for it was both a confirm-'ing, and a strengthening of their graces. This was his 'advice; and at his entrance or departure out of any 'house, he would usually speak to the whole family, 'and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed 'in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this 'place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by his walking 'with him, in all holiness and humility; making each 'day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in 'this weak and declining age of the world, such exam-'ples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let 'his memory be blest with this true recordation, because 'he that praises Richard Hooker, praises God, who hath 'given such gifts to men; and let this humble and af-'fectio nate relation of him, become such a pattern as may 'invite posterity to imitate his virtues.'

Mr Walton goes on to inform us, that 'In the year '1600, and the forty sixth year of his age, he fell into 'a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in 'his passage betwixt London and Gravesend, from the 'malignity of which he never recovered; for, till his 'death, he was not free from thoughtful days, and restless 'nights; but a submission to God's will, who makes 'the sick man's bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made 'his very languishment very comfortable: And yet all 'this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often 'to Dr Saravia, (who saw him daily, and was the chief 'comfort of his life), "That he did not beg a long life "of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his "three remaining books of POLITY; and then, *Lord, let* "*thy servant depart in peace*; which was his usual expres-'sion. And God heard his prayers, though he denied 'he 'benefit of them as completed by himself; and it is thought 'he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to 'his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to 'his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts 'and resolutions.

'About

'About a month before his death, this good man, that 'never knew, or at least, never considered the pleasures 'of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then 'to have an averseness to all food; insomuch, that he 'seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of 'meat only; and yet still studied and writ. And now 'every thing about him seemed to tell him, that his years 'were past away as a shadow, bidding him prepare to fol-'low the generation of his fathers, for the day of his dis-'solution drew near; for which his soul appeared to 'thirst.

'In this time of his sickness, and not many days before 'his death, his house was robbed; of which, he having 'notice, his question was, "Are my books and written "papers safe?" and being answered, that they were. His 'reply was, "Then it matters not; for no other loss can "trouble me."

'About one day before his death, Dr Saravia, who 'knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were 'supposed to be confessors to each other) came to him, 'and after a conference of the benefit, and safety of the 'church's absolution, it was resolved the doctor should 'give him both that and the sacrament the day follow-'ing. To which end the doctor came, and, after a short 'retirement and privacy, they returned to the company; 'and then the doctor gave him, and some of those friends 'that were with him, the blessed sacrament of the body 'and blood of our Lord. Which being performed, 'the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaity and joy in 'his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmi-'ties did return suddenly, and became more visible, in-'somuch, that the doctor apprehended death ready to 'seize him: Yet, after some amendment, left him at 'night, with a promise to return early the day following, 'which he did, and then found him better in appearance, 'deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; 'which gave the doctor occasion to require his present 'thoughts: To which he replied, "That he was medi-"tating the number and nature of angels, and their "blessed obedience and order, without which, peace "could not be in heaven; and oh! that it might be so on "earth!" after which words, he said, "I have lived to "see, that this world is made up of perturbations; and I "have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering "comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account "with God, which I now apprehend to be near: And

"though

"though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, "and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a "conscience void of offence to him, and to all men, "yet if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have "done amiss, who can abide it? And therefore, where "I have failed, Lord shew mercy to me; for I plead not "my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighte-"ousness, for his merits who died to purchase a pardon "for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death; "Lord, let it not be terrible; and then take thine own "time, I submit to it: *Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy* "*will be done!*" with which expression he fell into a dan-'gerous slumber, dangerous as to his recovery; yet re-'cover he did, but it was to speak only these few words, "Good doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions; for "I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with "me; and from which blessed assurance I feel that in-"ward joy, which this world can neither give nor take "from me." More he would have spoken, but his spi-'rits failed him; and after a short conflict betwixt na-'ture and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last 'breath, and so he fell asleep.'

Thus departed this modest, humble, and candid man to the inheritance of the saints in light, where the most lowly are the most highly exalted. He appears, from what remains of him, rather to be considered as an *Author* than a *Preacher*; as one of the calm and retired, than of the active and popular. He seems not to have cared, so that he possessed grace, holiness, and knowledge, who enjoyed all the world beside; considering very justly, that these are treasures, and lead to treasures, which can never perish, but which shall enrich and cheat the soul to all eternity.

In his will, which was dated October 26, 1600, he made his wife Joan sole executrix. By an inventory, his estate, which chiefly consisted in books, amounted to about one thousand pounds, which (says Walton), was 'much more than he thought himself worth, and which 'was not gotten by his care, much less by the good 'housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant 'Thomas Lane, who was wiser than his master in getting 'money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in 'keeping it.' This *precious* wife married again immediately after his decease, but she lived not long enough to report the difference of her second marriage, for which doubtless

less she would have found cause, if there had been but *four months* between Mr Hooker's and her death.

Whatever stress and value Mr Hooker himself might put upon his books of "Ecclesiastical Polity," he could not put a greater upon them, than almost every body else has done. They have been admired for the soundness of reasoning which runs through them, and the prodigious extent of learning they every where discover: And the Author has universally acquired from them the honourable titles of 'the JUDICIOUS' and 'the LEARNED.' When K. James I. came out of Scotland, and ascended the throne of England, he is said to have asked archbishop Whitgift, for his friend Mr Hooker, from whose books of "Ecclesiastical Polity" he had so much profited; and being informed by the archbishop, that he died a year before the queen, he expressed the greatest disappointment and the deepest concern. K. Charles I. it is well known, earnestly recommended the reading of Mr Hooker's books to his son; and they have ever since been held in the highest veneration and esteem, by all who have any regard to sound reasoning and good learning. An anecdote is preserved by the writer of his life, which shews, that Mr Hooker's fame was by no means confined to his own country, but travelled abroad; and so far and so loudly, that it reached even the ears of the pope himself. Cardinal Allen and Dr Stapleton, though both in Italy when his books were published, were yet so affected with the fame of them, that they contrived to have them sent for; and after reading them, are said to have told the pope, then Clement VIII. that 'though his holiness had not yet met 'with an English book, as he was pleased to say, whose 'writer deserved the name of an author, yet there now 'appeared a wonder to them, and so they did not doubt 'it would appear to his holiness, if it was in Latin; 'which was, that a poor obscure English priest had writ 'four such books of Law and Church Polity, in so majestic a style, and with such clear demonstrations of 'reason, that in all their readings they had not met with 'any thing that exceeded him.' This begetting in the pope a desire to know the contents, Dr Stapleton read to him the first book in Latin; upon which the pope said, 'There is no learning that this man hath not searched 'into; nothing is too hard for his understanding. This 'man indeed deserves the name of an Author. His books 'will get reverence by age; for there is in them such

'seeds

'seeds of eternity, that, if the rest be like this, they shall 'continue till the last fire shall devour all learning.' All which, whether the pope said it or no, may possibly be strictly true of the books themselves.

His Works. Besides the eight books of "Ecclesiastical Polity," and his "Answer to Mr Traver's Supplication," there are some "Sermons" of Mr Hooker's in being, which of late have been collected and printed in the volume of his works in folio.

JOHN HOLLAND.

OF this excellent person, we have no remains, but a short account of his death, which was so truly exemplary and edifying, that we cannot but present it to our Readers. We suppose this event to have occurred about the year 1600.

The day before he died he called for the bible, saying, "Come, O come; death approaches: Let us gather some "flowers to comfort this hour."

And turning with his own hand to Romans viii. he gave me the book, says Mr Leigh, and bade me read: And at the end of every verse he would have a pause; and then gave the sense to his own comfort, but more to the joy and wonder of his friends. Pity it is, that we have not what he said on this occasion, and that some of his writings are kept from the public view. Having continued his meditations on Romans viii. thus read to him for two hours or more, on a sudden he said,—"O stay your "reading. What brightness is this I see? Have you "lighted up any candles?" To which, says Mr Leigh, I answered,—'No: It is the sun-shine;' (for it was about five o'clock in a clear summer's evening.)—"Sun-shine! "(said he) Nay, my Saviour's shine.—Now farewell "world; welcome heaven. The day-star from on high "hath visited my heart. O speak it when I am gone, "and preach it at my funeral; GOD DEALETH FAMILIARLY WITH MAN. I feel his mercy; I see his majesty; *whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell, God knoweth:* But I see things that are unutterable."—Thus ravished in spirit, he roamed towards heaven with a cheerful look, and soft sweet voice; but what

he said we could not conceive. At last, shrinking down, he gave a sigh with these words: "Ah, yet it will not "be. My sins keep me from my God."

Thus that evening, twice rising, and twice falling, with the sun; in the morning following, he rose never to fall; when again raising himself, as Jacob did upon his staff, he shut up his blessed life with these blessed words: "O what a happy change shall I make! From death to "life! From sorrow to solace! From a factious world "to a heavenly being! O my dear brethren, sisters, and "friends, it pitieth me to leave you behind. Yet re-"member my death when I am gone; and what I now "feel, I hope you shall find ere you die, that God doth "and will deal familiarly with men. And now, thou "fiery chariot, that camest down to fetch up Elijah, "carry me to my happy hold. And all ye blessed angels, "who attended the soul of Lazarus to bring it up to hea-"ven, bear me, O bear me into the bosom of my best Be-"loved. *Amen, Amen. Come, Lord Jesus; come quickly.*" And so he fell asleep.

ALEXANDER NOWELL, D. D.

DEAN OF ST PAUL's.

ALEXANDER NOWEL, or Nowell, a learned divine in the sixteenth century, was the second son of John Nowell of Great-Meerley in Lancashire, an ancient family, and born at Read, in that county, in 1514. At thirteen years of age he was admitted in Brazen-nose-college in Oxford, where making great progress in grammar, logic, and philosophy, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, May 29, 1536, and that of master June 10, 1540. Before he took this last degree he was elected fellow of his college, and grew very famous for piety and learning, and for his zeal in promoting the Reformation of religion. In the reign of K. Edward VI. and perhaps before, he kept a school in Westminster, wherein he trained the youth up in Protestant principles. He was an allowed Preacher by licence from that king, about the year 1550; and, December 5, 1551, was installed prebendary of Westminster. In the first parliament of Q. Mary I. at Westminster, he was returned

turned one of the burgesses for Portpigham, alias Westlooe, in Cornwall; but his election was declared void, because, as he was prebendary of Westminster, and, by virtue of that, had a voice in the convocation-house, therefore he could not be a member of the house of commons. Being a noted Protestant, he was marked out, with some other eminent divines, for a sacrifice to popish persecution in that bloody reign; had not Mr Francis Bowyer, afterwards sheriff of London in 1577, rescued him from the danger, and safely conveyed him beyond sea. He withdrew to Frankfort with the rest of the English exiles; and joining himself to the episcopal church there, subscribed, among the rest, to the discipline they established. He was also one of the subscribers to an excellent letter, sent from Frankfort to the discontented English exiles at Geneva, dated the third of January, 1559 *. Upon the death of Q. Mary, and accession of Q. Elizabeth, he was the first of our Protestant exiles that returned to England: And soon after obtained many and considerable preferments. For, January 1, 1559-60, he was presented to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, which he resigned the year following: And, June 21, was made the first canon of the seventh stall in the collegiate church of Westminster. But this he quitted again, upon his being elected dean of St Paul's cathedral in London, November 17, 1560. The third of December ensuing, he was collated to the prebend of Wildland in the same church: And December 28, 1562, to the rectory of Hadham in Hertfordshire. Thus quietly

* In that letter are these moderate and pacific expressions.—'For ceremonies to contende (where it shall lye neither in your hands or oures 'to appoint what they shall be, but in suche mennes wisdomes as shall be 'appointed to the devising off the same, and whiche shall be receyved by 'common consent off the parliament) it shal be to small purpos. But we 'truste that bothe true religion shall be restored, and that we shall not be 'burthened with unprofitable ceremonies. And therefore, as we purpos 'to submit oure selves to such orders, as shall be established by authoritie, 'beinge not of themselves wicked, so we would wishe yow willingly to 'do the same. For, whereas all the Reformed churches differ amongst 'themselves in divers ceremonies, and yet agree in the unitie of doctrine: 'We se no inconvenience if we use some ceremonies divers from them, so 'that we agree in the chief points of our religion. Notwithstandinge, if 'anie shal be intruded, that shal be offensive, we, upon juste conference 'and deliberation upon the same at oure meetinge with yow in Englande, '(whiche we truste by God's grace, will be shortly) wil brotherly joine 'with yow to be sewters for the Reformation and abolishinge of the same. 'In the meane season, let us with one harte and mind cal to the Almighty God, that of his infinit mercie, he will finishe and establishe that 'worke that he hathe begon in oure countrie.'

settled again in his own country, he became a frequent and painful preacher, and a zealous writer against the English catholics that had fled out of the kingdom; as will appear in the sequel. For thirty years together he preached the first and last sermons in the time of Lent before the queen, wherein he dealt plainly and faithfully with her, without dislike; only at one time speaking less reverently of the sign of the cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return to his text. At the recommendation of archbishop Parker, he was chosen prolocutor of the lower house of convocation, in 1562, when the articles of religion were settled. In 1564, when the debates ran high between the churchmen and puritans about the use of the garments, dean Nowell appears to have been moderate upon that subject. For he was for the general using of them, but with a protestation, that it were desirable, these differences of garments were taken away. In the year 1572, he founded a free-school at Middleton, in his native county of Lancashire, for teaching the then rude inhabitants the principles of learning and true religion. He was one of those learned divines, who had, in 1581, some conferences with Edmund Campian in the tower, which were published in 1583.

August 20, 1588, he preached a thanksgiving sermon at Paul's Cross, for the deliverance from the Spanish armada; when he exhorted his audience, to give praise and thanks to God for that great mercy. Having soon after resigned his prebend of Wildland, he was collated, November 11, 1588, to that of Tottenhall, which he kept as long as he lived. About the beginning of the year 1589, he resigned the rectory of Hadham; and, April 28, 1594, was installed canon of Windsor. September 6, 1595, he was elected principal of Brazen-nose-college in Oxford, and, October 1st following, actually created doctor in divinity, with allowance of seniority over all the doctors then in the university, not only in regard of his age, but of his dignity in the church. He resigned his place of principal December 14, 1595. After having arrived to the long and uncommon age of ninety, and enjoyed to the last a perfect use of his senses and faculties, he departed this life February 13, 1601-2, and was buried in the chapel of the virgin Mary, within the cathedral of St Paul. Soon after, a comely monument was erected over his grave, with a Latin epitaph. He was so fond of fishing, that his picture, kept in Brazen-nose-college, Oxford, represents

him

him surrounded with hooks, lines, and other apparatus of that sort. He gave an estate of two hundred pounds a year to Brazen-nose-college: And was also a benefactor to St Paul's school.

He was, in the time he lived, a very learned man; reckoned an excellent divine, and much esteemed by the heads of our church. His charity to the poor was great and exemplary, especially if they had any thing of a scholar in them; and his comfort to the afflicted either in body or mind was very extensive.

His WORKS. His controversies were entirely with the Papists. The first piece he published, was against Thomas Dorman, B. D. sometime fellow of New-College, Oxford, who had written a book against some part of bishop Jewel's challenge, and entitled it, A Proufe of Certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr Jewell; [viz. the supremacy of the pope, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, and the mass.] Antwerp, 1564, Mr Nowell's answer, therefore, was "A Reproof of a Book intituled, A Proufe of certain Articles in Religion, denied by Master Jewell, set forth by Thomas Dorman, B. D. London, 1565, 4to. Dorman replying, in a Disproufe of Nowell's Reproufe. Mr Nowell vindicated himself, in II. A Reproof of Mr Dorman's Proof continued, with a Defence of the chief Authority of Princes, as well in causes Ecclesiastical as Civil, within their Dominions, by Mr Dorman maliciously impugned. Lond. 1566, 4to. III. He published A Confutation as well of Mr Dorman's last Boke, intituled, A Disproufe, &c. as also of Dr Sanders's Causes of Transubstantiation, by Alexander Nowell. Whereby our Countrymen (especially the simple and unlearned) may understande howe shamefully they are abused by those and like Bokes, pretended to be written for their Instruction. Lond. 1567, 4to. Besides some controversial pieces, he published a catechism, very much esteemed, which he was put upon composing by secretary Cecil, and other great men in the nation; on purpose to stop a clamour raised amongst the Roman catholics, that the Protestants had no principles. When it was finished, the Dean sent it with a dedication to secretary Cecil. The convocation, that met in 1562, did it so much honour, as diligently to review, and interline it in some places; and unanimously to approve and allow it as their own book, and their professed doctrine. After those corrections, the Dean caused a fair copy of it to be taken,

which he sent to secretary Cecil; not in his own name afore, but in the name of the clergy of the convocation, as their book: And, after it had lain in the secretary's hands above a year, he returned it to the Author with some learned man's notes, probably bishop Ponet's. At length, at the joint request of the two archbishops, it was first printed and published in 1570, under this title, IV. *Christianæ Pietatis prima Institutio; ad usum Scholarum Latinè scripta.* Lond. 4to. reprinted very often since, and translated into English by Thomas Norton. Lond. 1571, 4to. and into Greek by William Whitaker. Lond. 1575. Mr Strype informs us, that this catechism seems to be nearly the same with one set forth a month or two before K. Edward the VIth's death, and licensed, and recommended by that king's letter prefixed to it. We may conclude, that this first catechism was also composed by Mr Nowell; for it is not to be imagined, that a man of his great reputation would have published it, as his own, after it had undergone some corrections and alterations, unless it had been originally of his own composition. Several years after, it was in so great esteem, that bishop Cooper, in his Admonition to the People of England, gives this high character of it. 'For a catechism, I refer them to that which was made 'by the learned and godly man, Mr Nowell, dean of 'Paul's, received and allowed by the church of England, 'and very fully grounded and established on the word of 'God. There may you see all the parts of true religion 'received, the difficulties expounded, the truth declared, 'the corruptions of the church of Rome rejected.' V. Dean Nowell published also a lesser catechism, which he entitled, *Catechismus parvus, Pueris primùm, qui ediscatur, proponendus in Scholis;* in Latin and Greek. Lond. 1574, 8vo. Translated into English, Lond. 1587, 8vo. and afterwards into Hebrew. VI. A Letter of his is published in the Appendix to archbishop Parker's life, by J. Strype. And he is said in the same life, to have composed a homily on account of the plague in 1564."

FRANCIS

From an original Painting.

FRANCIS JUNIUS.

LEARNING to grace is a useful handmaid, and by no means to be contemned, particularly not by those, who because they do not know, affect to despise her: But learning, when indeed she assumes the room of grace, makes but a poor and proud mistress, and instead of leading the soul to GOD, and happiness, turns it into the world after low and sordid objects. The great utility of learning in proper subservience is fully exemplified by the life and conduct of Junius. Before he knew GOD in truth, his great knowledge only led him to consider himself: But, after the gracious change had passed upon him, he seemed to value all his attainments from the uses alone to which they might be applied in the cause of GOD and salvation.

This extraordinary man was descended of a noble family in France, and was born at Bourges in the centre of that kingdom, on the first of May, in the year 1545. His mother had a most difficult labour; and her life, together with that of her most valuable son, was for some time quite despaired of. He was long afterwards so infirm and weakly, that his friends never expected his continuance to manhood; though, as it proved, he survived most of his family. His constitutional infirmity was increased by an excessive and over-weening care in nursing; and, at length, the morbid matter, either the cause of his incessant disorders, or the consequence of them, terminated in an ulcer of the leg, which, though healed, was always affected by any occurring ailments to the end of his days.

Under a very kind and learned father, who gave him as much time as he could spare, he received the rudiments of his education. His parents did not choose to venture him at a public school, on account of his weakness and infirmity. Yet, with all this weight of disorder, in his most tender age he discovered great wit and parts, and a certain hilarity of disposition, which often created much amusement, as well as expectation to his friends. He discovered early a high sense of honour and love of fame, a great

a great quickness of temper, and for his age a very solid judgment in matters which came before him, insomuch that his mother used jestingly to say of him, 'that he cer-'tainly would be another Socrates.' He had likewise such an invincible modesty, that, throughout his life, he appeared to common observers under a peculiar disadvantage, and could scarce speak upon the most common subjects with strangers without a suffusion in his countenance. In this respect he seems to have equalled our famous Mr Addison, who likewise was at once one of the greatest scholars, as well as the most abashed and modest man of his time.

About the twelfth year of his age, Junius quitted the private education of a tender father for the public one of a school; as a preparation for the study of the civil law, for which he was designed. His friends, indeed, wished for him to prosecute his fortune at court; but his love of learning and the bashfulness of his temper soon diverted that design. He had the unhappiness of impetuous and tyrannical preceptors, who, if his love of letters had not been uncommonly ardent, were sufficient to have extinguished it; as hath been too often the case in many others. The least fault or error, which Junius committed (and which the first geniuses in the world cannot but commit) in attaining knowledge, was only to be atoned for by stripes; and with such stupid and illiberal severity was this conduct pursued, that one of the most hopeful boys of the age was often flogged seven or eight times in a day, and often beat upon the ground too in the harshest manner. Such brutes of teachers are fit only to preside over the galleys or to discipline miscreants in a prison, instead of training up the tender mind to the love of science and truth! Yet all this did not abate the ardour of Junius's mind for knowledge, nor tempt him once to disclose his severe and barbarous usage to his friends.

After some time he was removed to Lyons for his farther improvement in knowledge. Here he had great leisure, and as many books as he could desire, which he began to read with immense avidity; not selecting his authors, but taking them indiscriminately as they fell in his way. The president of the college, Bartholomew Anulús, observing this wild pursuit, took an opportunity of hinting to him its impropriety and waste of time, assuring him, 'that he would rather injure than inform his mind 'by that mode of reading; that, on the contrary, he 'should have some proposed end before his eyes in the

'course

'course of his studies, to which they should be princi-
'pally directed; and that neither the life of man, nor the
'mind of man, would suffice for all kinds of learning at
'once, but the attempt might shorten the one while it
'only confounded the other.' This caution he never for-
got, but found it of use to him ever afterwards.

Lyons was then, as well as since, a very dissolute city; and the placing a raw youth there, without the authority of parents or guardians, who could take care of his morals, (as was the case with Junius,) was exposing him to a torrent of temptations. Two women, in particular, having conceived a regard for his person, haunted him with oblique testimonies of their affection, and, forgetting the modesty of their sex, pursued him with their solicitations. Whether from aversion to their indecent conduct, or from the natural bashfulness of his temper, GOD's providence however preserved him from seduction; and he overcame this temptation. But he fell under a sad temptation of another kind, till the mercy of God restored him. This evil was neither more nor less than downright Atheism, into the espousal of which he was drawn by the sophistry of a bad companion, and his own indiscretion or inexperience. Junius was reading Tully's books upon Laws, in which the vile proposition of Epicurus is cited, 'That God is without all care both of his own affairs, 'and for those of other beings *.' His evil counsellor had adopted this maxim, and by every argument of a wicked wit inculcated it upon Junius. He had so inculcated it, that his young friend became rooted in the principle, and as complete an Atheist as himself.

For more than a year, did our Atheist maintain his profession, and with so much openness, that it appears to have been known by all who knew him. A tumult that occurred at Lyons, first staggered him in his new opinion. He was wonderfully preserved in the commotion; and he began to see, that there was plainly something more than mere chance in the case, and something that looked very much like an over-ruling providence. About the same time, his father, having been informed of the alarming state of his son's mind, sent for him, and with the utmost tenderness, learning, and piety, invited him to read over the New Testament with attention, and confer with him upon it. He obeyed his father's direction; and it pleased GOD to open his eyes to a full view

* This passage is cited by Marcus, in *Cic. de legibus*, lib. 1.

view of the abominable notions, which he had adopted. The first chapter of St John's gospel, which he began upon, was made the happy means of this revolution of mind He was struck with the dignity of the expression, and the weight of the matter. He says of himself, "I read "part of the chapter, and was so impressed with what I "read, that I could not but perceive the divinity of the "subject, and the authority and majesty of the scriptures, "to surpass greatly all human eloquence. I shuddered in "my body with horror at myself; my soul was astonished; "and I was so strongly affected all that day, that I scarce "knew who, or what, or where I was. But thou, O "Lord my God, didst remember me in thy wonderful "mercy, and didst receive a lost and wandering sheep into "thy flock! From that time, when the Lord had granted "me so great a portion of his Holy Spirit, I began to "read the bible, and treat other books with more cold-"ness and indifference, and to reflect more upon and be "much more conversant with the things that relate to "salvation."

From that time, the world and its pursuits appeared vain and insipid to Junius; and the things of GOD and of heaven engaged his whole concern. His father was rejoiced enough at the happy change, but still intended him for the civil law and human affairs. The inclination of the son soared higher; and, by permission and consent of his father, he went to Geneva, with a view of studying divinity and the languages, about the time of the first breaking out of the civil war in France. He was dismissed with a supply of money, sufficient for his present occasions; and his father promised to remit him in future, what might be necessary, but was not able through the public commotions. Thus ill-provided with subsistence, he could only purchase four books; and these were the Holy Bible, Calvin's Institutes, Beza's Confession, and Cevallerius's Hebrew Grammar; which engaged him for a year. Within this space, he was prevailed upon to accompany a party, who were making an excursion into Switzerland, just when his little stock was almost exhausted. In this tour, which lasted three weeks, Junius made an acquaintance with Musculus, Haller, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Farel, &c. who were all at that time in the cantons. When he returned to Geneva he had scarce any money left, and for seven or eight months afterwards he received none from his friends. His excessive modesty forbad him to borrow, and therefore he formed a scheme

of

of living hard. He determined with himself to employ one day as a labourer in the fortifications, for his subsistence, the other to engage in his studies. What a sight! to look upon a burgher of sordid views and attainments wallowing in the fullness of bread, contrasted with one of the most learned, pious, and valuable of men, destitute of necessaries, and working like a slave for this burgher's security! If the faith of Junius had not been secured on the rock, the devil might probably have furnished him with an argument from hence for his atheism, by which he has puzzled thousands.

But if Providence tried Junius's faith upon this account, it did not leave him long without a testimony of its care. For a countryman of his was put in his way, whose mother, being left a widow with a numerous offspring, had often been assisted in her necessities by Junius's parents; and this man very gratefully embraced the opportunity of acknowledging his obligation. Here indeed was *bread sown upon the waters, and found again after many days.* He lodged, he boarded, and did for his benefactor's son, all that was in his power to do. On the other hand, Junius, feeling for the burden and inconveniences which his grateful friend chearfully underwent upon his account, endeavoured to make that burden as light as possible; and, out of a quick sense of delicacy, almost wholly abstained from the food, procured by the laborious industry of his host. He abode with him near seven months; and, for four of the seven, constantly took care to be from home at dinner-time, which he spent in walking, meditation, and prayer. In the evening, he eat a couple of eggs, and drank a small cup of the *petit vin*, or low wine, which is the common beverage of that country, as beer is with us; and all this, that he might not be too chargeable to his kind benefactor. His modesty and extreme delicacy, however, cost him dear; for by this over-abstemious kind of life, he contracted a decline, which almost destroyed his tender frame. Providence again interposed in this emergency; for, by the assistance of his friends, and, at length, by the remittance of a sum of money from his father, he was enabled to adopt a better regimen, and to use such means as wholly recovered him.

Mr Leigh, in his Treatise of Religion and Learning, quotes from Junius himself, that he received a most courteous entertainment from a countryman (and perhaps the countryman above-mentioned) in the time of his distress, and adds another circumstance which is wholly omitted

by

by Melchior Adam, and other biographers. He relates it in Junius's own words: "Here (O the wonderful wisdom "of God!) my Master had prepared for me the best school "of true religion I ever found in my life. For God so "wrought upon my soul by the ardent and zealous piety "of this poor good man, that a portion of the same di- "vine fervour was imparted through him to me; while I, "in the comparison, a very indifferent Christian, was "made useful to him in the communication of other "knowledge. Upon both of us, at one and the same "time, the Lord bestowed an increase of his mercy and "grace; upon my simple countrymen, by enabling me "to enlighten his head; and upon me, by enabling him "to kindle a flame of zeal in my heart."——The transparent piety, humility, and modesty of this acknowledgment needs no comment. This man of learning had, through grace, followed the apostle's rule, and *became a fool* in his own eyes, *that he might be wise indeed*; not for the puny concerns of time and the world, but to everlasting salvation.

It being contrary to the plan of life, which Junius's father had intended, that he should study divinity, he wrote for him to return home. He wished his son might be religious; but he did not wish him to be a preacher. This reduced Junius to a disagreeable dilemma, out of which he was much relieved by the interposition of a pious and learned friend of his father, who explained to him the necessity of his son's remaining longer at Geneva, for the sake of his studies. In the interim, an awful providence determined the affair. At Issoudon in Aquitain, a murdering banditti set upon Junius's father, and barbarously bereaved him of his life *.

Upon

* On Corpus Christi day, the Roman Catholics of Issoudon, regardless of the treaty of peace, that had been concluded just before, committed a thousand outrages upon the Protestants; upon which Denys Junius (our Junius's father) received a commission, as counsellor in the laws, from the king, to enquire into the authors of the sedition and punish them. Denys Junius went to Issoudon, accompanied only by three sheriff's officers, posting the rest in various places before he entered the city. His precautions, however, were of no use. The common people guessed the motive of his coming, and, seizing the gates, invested the commissioner's house, and entering by force, killed D. Junius, threw his body out of the window, dragged it through the streets, flung it to the dogs, and publicly forbade it burial. The king, out of indignation at so horrid a murder, ordered the walls of Issoudon to be demolished; but the arret was changed, by the interest of some Lords, because the commissioner had been deemed a Lutheran for twenty-four years.

Upon this sad news, Junius had no heart to return to his country, but wrote a most affecting and affectionate letter to his mother, condoling with her upon their mutual loss, and at the same time begging her to indulge no anxiety upon his account, because he was resolved to be no burden to her, but to trust in GOD's blessing upon his own industry for his future maintenance and support. In this generous and tender resolution, he took upon him to assist in a school, under a minister of the gospel at Geneva; where, in the day-time, he taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and, for a great part of the night, pursued his own proper studies in divinity and philosophy. But his feeble constitution could not endure a long continuance of such unremitted labours, which at once emaciated his body, and tended to impair his mind.

About this period, the head-master of the school at Geneva died, and the chaplain of the hospital succeeded to him. The chaplainship was offered to Junius; but he declined it, partly lest it should hinder his studies, and partly because he did not wish to fix himself for the present at Geneva. In the year 1565, however, he was made minister of the Wallpon church at Antwerp, which became a troublesome and dangerous situation to him. The Spaniards, who then possessed the Low Countries, were about to establish the inquisition, to which the principal people, of Brussels in particular, were very averse, and had a meeting to confer upon the best mode of preventing the execution of that diabolical tribunal. To this meeting our Junius was called, and readily gave his assistance, both by his prayers and advice. His wisdom always inclined him to moderation; and he opposed not only the malicious attempts of the Papists, but the unbridled zeal of his Protestant friends, who were sometimes disposed to go lengths, which neither religion nor reason could justify. When he returned to Antwerp he published some "Political Admonitions," which gave great offence to the Papists. A reward was offered for the discovery and apprehension of the author; though, it seems, in this very paper, he had blamed the intemperance and indiscretion of the Reformed, as well as condemned the violent proceedings of the Roman Catholics. By the style and manner, Junius was suspected to be the author, and very narrowly escaped from the designs of his enemies.

With all this love of moderation, and his earnest endeavours to inculcate peace among others, he could find none for himself. He was persecuted every where, and encoun-

encountered difficulties and dangers, which way soever he turned. But it pleased GOD wonderfully to preserve him, for his own glory and the good of souls. A rage of Reformation (as an affair of novelty) among the mob, not the sober zeal of true religion, over-ran the Low Countries about this time, and drave all before it. The outrageous multitudes brake into the churches, and swept away all the images, and paintings, and every "rag of the Whore of "Babylon," before them. All this was done with the fury of madmen, instead of the orderly spirit of Christians. This conduct displeased Junius, who was concerned for the disgrace of the Protestant cause; and he, by opposing it, displeased many among the Reformed, who joined with the Papists themselves in persecuting him. Wise and good councils, opposed to popular outrage and tumult, are but as declamations to waves in a storm, which drown all other sounds by their own noise, and dash upon every thing indiscriminately which resists them. Men of peace and moderation (and truly religious men must be such) may expect this treatment in all ages. If they will not espouse the *cause* of a party with the *rage* of the party; the furious partizans will not thank them for a sober adherence and advice, but perhaps will be the first to condemn them. Thus *the works of the flesh* are mingled with the things of GOD, and are generally so conducted by the devil, as to bring a disgrace upon them.

When Junius afterwards returned to Antwerp, he found himself excluded from the duties of his profession, by an ordinance of state, which enjoined, that, for the prevention of sedition, only two ministers should be allowed to preach there, and those two to be natives of the country, who should take an oath of allegiance to the prince. Junius was an alien, and could not be naturalized if he would.

From Antwerp he went to Limbourg, but found, like the great apostle, that, wherever he went, persecutions attended him. He lost his library and all his goods by the removal. His labours here were attended with such success, that new and new dangers arose upon him on every side. In the midst of which, he went on as long as he could with any degree of safety; but at last was obliged to fly to preserve his life.

While he lived here, he was made an instrument of gracious relief to a poor widow, who had been for thirteen years exercised with spiritual conflicts, almost to desperation. The Papists, imagining that she was possessed, plied

plied her with exorcisms: Her friends, believing her mad, laid on blows and bonds. She broke from her bonds, and took to the woods, avoiding the sight of man, lest she should undergo a repetition of this sort of discipline. At length she was caught, and brought to Junius, who soon discovered the cause of her disorder, which arose from the fear of perdition: And this fear sprang from the excessive attention and care she had been obliged to pay to her nine fatherless children, which had taken her off from all religious duties, and in particular from the mass, which she had once constantly frequented. Our Divine, perceiving the disease, recurred to the bible for a medicine, from which he shewed her the vain pageantry, idolatry, and corruption of the papistical mass, and at the same time, after laying open the gospel of salvation to her mind, shewed to her, that her honest industry in behalf of her children was far more acceptable to GOD, being commanded of him, than ten thousand idle masses, which never were commanded. In short, he was enabled to quiet the woman's horrors, and to give that balm to her conscience, which soon dispelled all her melancholy, to the no small astonishment of those who had known her before.

The Anabaptists and Papists united to defeat the great work, which GOD enabled Junius to carry on at Limbourg. With the former, by his mild deportment and gentle conferences, he prevailed so much, as to thin their numbers, and recover many of them to the truth. He had greater opposition, both with respect to numbers and malice, from the Papists. These raised all manner of false reports upon his person and doctrine; and some of them went so far, in folly as well as falsehood, as to aver, that he was really cloven-footed, and a monster rather than a man. With an effrontery, peculiar almost to that communion,

'They *lent* this *lie the confidence of truth.*

But their malice was as fierce, as their charge was false and foolish; and so fierce, that it became necessary for him to remove from Limbourg, which he did, by the advice of his friends, and retired to Heidelberg, where the elector palatine, Frederick the Third, received him very graciously.

After some time, he made a visit to his mother and family in France; and from thence returning to Heidelberg, was appointed minister of the church of Schoon. This

was

was but a small congregation; and, in the following year, the plague appeared among the people, and made it less. In that interim, he was sent by the elector to the prince of Orange's army, during the unsuccessful campaign of 1568, and continued his chaplain till the elector's troops returned home, when he resumed his church, and continued in it till 1578. The elector several times wished him to return to his chaplainship in the army, but it was so much against Junius's inclination, that he constantly excused himself from that service.

He continued labouring, with the divine blessing, in the palatinate till about the year 1592, and for some years before that period, had been engaged with the learned Tremellius, by the elector's command, in a new translation of the Old Testament into Latin—a work which will do them honour, as scholars and divines, to the end of time.

About the year 1581, he had been appointed divinity professor of the university at Heidelberg; and he continued in that station, till he took the opportunity of revisiting France, his native country, under the patronage of the duke de Bouillon. He was introduced to Henry the Fourth, who sent him with a commission into Germany, when he took an opportunity of paying his grateful respects to the elector, and of resigning in form his professor's chair.

In his return to France, he passed through Holland, partly for the sake of his children, and partly for the convenience of the way and facility of correspondence. When he arrived at Leyden, the university and the magistracy gave him a most earnest invitation to fix himself among them, and offered him the divinity chair; which, by the permission of the French king (who had been a Protestant, and was then believed to be one in disguise), he finally accepted in 1592. In this office he continued till his death, filling it with great reputation for ten years. It was a station of labour and eminence; and he laboured in it by teaching and writing most incessantly. At length, GOD was pleased to remove this faithful servant, after a life of trouble and difficulty, by the plague, which ravaged through Holland, and had just before carried off his wife. He died on the thirteenth of October, in the year 1602, and was followed to the grave with the tears of the university, and the concern of all good men.

In his last hours he had great composure and consolation. He died, as he had lived, full of faith in the salvation of Jesus. When the celebrated Francis Gomar, his

his friend and colleague, visited him near the end, and proposed several scriptures to him by way of comfort; he answered, "that he gave himself up entirely to GOD— "to that GOD who would graciously do what was best "for him and for his own glory." When his disorder permitted, he spent his remaining moments in hearing particular passages of scripture read to him, and in pouring out his soul in ardent prayers. And when his friend Gomar called upon him on a subsequent day, and exhorted him, 'that in his last extremity he would draw for himself out of that treasury of comforts, out of which 'he had so happily drawn for others; and that, in particular, he would remember that God was his tender 'father in heaven, ready to receive him; that Christ was 'his Saviour; that heaven was his country and inheritance; that the Holy Spirit in his heart was a pledge 'of all this; that death was only the way to this heaven 'and life immortal; and that by faith and hope he should 'rejoice in what was before him;' Junius very earnestly answered, "that he well remembered and observed those "things which he had taught to others; that his only "confidence and stay was in the free grace of God; "and that he was assured, God would perfect what re- "mained concerning his future salvation." Upon being asked, if he had any thing particular to say about his affairs, he answered, "that he would think but very little "of perishing things at that time;" and, after saying that in his public duties he had aimed, as far as he could, at the glory of GOD and the good of men, he added, "that with respect to all other things he entirely com- "mitted them to the divine Providence."

He was four times married, and survived all his wives. He was deprived of the first by the ignorance of a midwife, who injured her so much in labour, that she lingered in constant pain for seven years, when she died. His second wife he lost suddenly by a fever. The third died of a dropsy; and his fourth was taken from him, a little before his own death, by the plague. He had a son and a daughter by his second wife, which daughter was married to the learned John Gerard Vossius; and by his third wife he had another son, named Francis Junius, a very amiable and learned man, who spent most of his days in England, especially at Oxford, his beloved residence. He died in 1677, upon a visit to his nephew Isaac Vossius at Windsor, and was buried in St George's chapel, within the castle.

Nothing hardly can set Junius's literary character in a higher

higher view, than the great panegyric which the famous Scaliger made upon him after his death. Scaliger had been highly piqued against him upon some occasion, and was known to be always extremely sparing in his commendations of any body. He observes, however, of him, 'that 'Junius, who had so lately dealt his excellent instruc-'tions to crowded audiences, was unhappily snatched 'away by the plague; that his scholars bewailed his 'death; the widowed church lamented him as her parent, 'and the whole world as its instructor; that they did not 'weep for him as the vulgar do, who are not sensible of 'the value of a thing till they have lost it; but that 'every one knew the great merits of Junius in his life-'time, and therefore they were not more sensible of his 'value by his death, but were the more grieved.' Thuanus had conceived an ill-founded prejudice against him, from which he was defended by Vossius, his son-in-law. Even Bale could say of him, 'that he was a learned and 'an honest man, and so far from running into extremes, 'that it was his opinion people might be saved in the 'Romish communion; and that he was never more sen-'sible of the deficiency of his knowledge, than when he 'knew most; which is an indication of a right under-'standing.' We will add no more concerning his worth, but the opinion of our excellent bishop Hall, who, (in his Epistles, decad. 1. ep. 7.) styles him, 'the famous and 'truly illuminate Dr Francis Junius, the glory of Leyden, 'the hope of the church, the oracle of textual and school-'divinity; rich in languages, subtle in distinguishing, and 'in argument invincible.'

His WORKS (in Latin) were published in two volumes folio, and consist of the following articles: "1. *Prælectiones in tria prima capita Geneseos.* 2. *Confutatio argumentor, viginti duor. a simplicio in historiam Mosis de creatione proposita.* 3. *Libri Geneseos analysis.* 4. *Libri Mosis qui Exodus inscribitur analytica explicatio.* 5. *Levitici, Numeror. & Deuteronomici, analytic. explic.* 6. *Methodica Psalmi quarti enarratio.* 7. *Enarratio Psalmi centes. primi, secundi, & vigesimi tertii.* 8. *Eirenicum.* 9. *Expositio prophetarum Danielis & Ezekiel.* 10. *Lectiones in Jonam.* 11. *Sacrorum parallelorum libri.* 12. *In epistolam Judæ perbreves notæ.* 13. *Apocalypsis Johannis analysi & notis illustrata.* 14. *De theologia vera.* 15. *De peccato primo Adami.* 16. *De politia Mosis.* 17. *Ecclesiastici, seu de natura ecclesiæ Dei, libri tres.* 18. *Theses theologicæ.* 19. *Ad theses theologicas appendix.* 20. *Tres defensiones catholicæ doctrinæ*

doctrinæ de sancta trinitate—adversus Samosaten. errores. 21. *Examin. enunciationum—Gratiani Prosperi.* 22. *Catholicæ doctrinæ de natura & gratia collatio.* 23. *Animadversiones ad R. Bellarmini controversiam primam de verbo Dei, &c.* 24. *Ad secundam de Christi capite totius ecclesiæ.* 25. *Ad tertiam de summo pontific.* 26. *Ad tres libros de translatione imperii Romani a Græcis, &c. ad Francos.* 27. *Ad controversiam quartam de concilius iis & ecclesia militante.* 28. *De ecclesia liber, singularis, &c.* 29. *Animadversiones ad libellum controversiæ tertiæ propositum.* 30. *Ad controversiam de ecclesia quæ est in purgatorio.* 31. *Ad controversiam septimam de ecclesia triumphante, &c.* 32. *Specularius —adversus Genebrardum.* 33. *Summa aliquot locorum communium s. theologiæ.* 34. *Evangelii secund. Matthæum analytica explicatio.* 35. *Evangel. sec. Marcum analyt. expositio.* 36. *Responsum ad fratres Sandwicenses in Anglia.* 37. *Oratio de lingua Hebræa.* 38. *Grammatica Hebrææ linguæ.* 39. *Orationes duæ Frankentaliæ habitæ ad lection. Vet. Test.* 40. *Acta apostol. & epistol. Pauli ad Corinthios ex Arabico translatæ.* 41. *Apocryphi libri translati cum notis.* 42. *In anathematismum Greg.* XIII. *adversus Gibbard. Colon. episc.* 43. *Orationes quatuor ad lectiones Vet. Test.* 44. *Apologia catholica Latine facta, præfatio in indicem expurgatorium censorum Belgii.* 45. *Lexicon Hebraicum.* 46. *Præfatio in indicem expurgatorius.* 47. *Liber cui titulus Academia.* 48. *Curopalates Græce & Latine cum notis.* This book appeared under the name of *Nadal Almonius, Hebrew* for *Junius.* 49. *Prætexta pulla in obitum principis Anhaltini.* 50. *Johannis Bodini Daimoniaca in linguam Latinam conversa.* 51. *Johannes Tilius de regibus & regno Gallorum, & epistolæ duæ,* &c. *Latine factæ.* 52. *Oratio de vita & obitu Zach. Ursini.* 53. *Manilius cum castig. & notis.* 54. *Libitina in obitum J. Casimiri,* &c. 55. *Oratio Anton. Arnaldi contra jesuitas Latine facta.* 56. *Emendationes et notæ in Ciceronis epistolas ad Atticum & Quintum fratrem.* 57. *Notæ in Tertullian.* 58. *L'Ecclesiastique,* in Latin and French. In which last language he also published, 59. *Une oraison du Roi d'Espagne pour la défense de Païs Bas.* 60. *Advertisement Crétien contre Jean Heron.* 61. *La confession du Roi de France.* 62. *Le paisible Crétien, &c.* 63. *Methode de lieux communs de l'ecritures Saintes.* 64. *Aimable confrontation de la simple verite de Dieu,* &c.

WILLIAM PERKINS.

AT Marston, in Warwickshire, was born the celebrated William Perkins, a great scholar, a profound divine, and a successful preacher in the university of Cambridge. He received his academical education in Christ's-college, in that university, where, for some time, he was very wild, and ran great lengths in prodigality; probably permitted, that when he should become a preacher, he might more fully detect and lay open the workings of sin and vanity in others, sympathise with them in their sad condition, and be the better qualified to counsel and comfort them in their *repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.* At the same time, and while yet a graduate, he gave proofs of the great genius with which Providence had endowed him, by his deep researches into nature, and the secret operations of natural powers. But when the Lord was pleased to convert him from the error of his ways, he applied himself with uncommon diligence, to the study of divinity, and, in a short time, made an almost incredible proficiency.

About the age of twenty-four, he was chosen fellow of Christ's-college, and entered into holy orders; when, according to the precepts of the gospel, having *freely received, he freely gave*; and after the pattern of his great Exemplar, went and *preached deliverance to the captives.* The jailor being prevailed upon to bring the prisoners into the county-house, near to the gaol, he preached the gospel to them every Sunday, with great power and success. As soon as this pious labour was known, many from the neighbouring parishes resorted thither, to hear him; and it pleased GOD to make him the happy instrument in bringing to the knowledge of *salvation*, and into the *liberty of the children of God*, not only those whose bodies were in prison, but those whose souls, like their's, were in captivity and bondage to sin and Satan. His fame, which was afterwards in all the churches, soon spread through Cambridge; and he was chosen to St Andrew's parish in that town, where he remained an industrious, faithful labourer, till he finally *entered into the joy of his Lord.*

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Being settled thus in a university, his hearers consisted of the collegians, town's-people, and people from the country, which required such a peculiar gift as Providence had bestowed on Mr Perkins; for in all his discourses he was able to accommodate his style and phrases to the capacities of the common people; and, at the same time, the pious scholar could not but admire them. Luther used to say, 'That as thunder without rain did more harm than 'good; so ministers that preach the terrors of the law, 'but do not at the same time drop in the dew of gospel-'instruction and consolation, are not wise master-build-'ers; for they pull down, but build nothing up again.' But Mr Perkin's sermons were said to be 'all law, and 'all gospel.' He was a rare instance of those opposite gifts meeting in so eminent a degree in one and the same preacher——the vehemence and thunder of a Boanerges, to awaken sinners to a sense of their danger, and to drive them from destruction; and the gentle persuasives and comforts of a Barnabas, to pour in the wine and oil of gospel-consolation into the wounded spirit, which he pointed to Jesus Christ. And such was his wisdom in administering advice and comfort in all cases of conscience, that, it is said, 'the afflicted in spirit came far and near to him, 'an received comfort from him.'

He had a surprising talent in perusing books so speedily, that one would think he read nothing; yet so accurately, that one must think he had read all. Besides his frequent preaching, and other ministerial labours, he wrote many excellent books; which, on account of their worth, were many of them translated into Latin, and sent abroad, where they have been greatly admired and valued; and some of them translated into French, High-Dutch, and Low-Dutch, and his "Reformed Catholic," into Spanish; which, however, so far as we know, was never answered. Voetius, and several of the foreign divines, have mentioned him with great honour: And our bishop Hall said of him, 'That he excelled in a distinct judgment, and a rare 'dexterity in clearing the obscure subtleties of the schools, 'and easy explication of the most perplexed discourses.' He was much afflicted with the stone, the frequent attendant on a sedentary life, under which severe complaint he was remarkably patient. In the last fit, a little before his death, hearing a friend pray for the mitigation of his pains; he cried out, "Hold! hold! do not pray so; but "pray the Lord to give me faith and patience, and then "let him lay on me just what he please." At length pa-

tience had its perfect work, and he had a final and everlasting farewell to all pain of the body and affliction of the soul, was crowned with eternal rest and glory, A. D. 1602, in the forty-fourth year of his age. He was born in the first, and died in the last year of the reign of Q. Elizabeth. He died rich only in grace, and in the love of GOD and of good men: Yet, like the apostle Paul, (2 Cor. vi. 10.) *however poor, he was enabled to make many rich.* He was buried, with great solemnity, at the sole expence of Christ's college; the university and the town striving which should shew the most gratitude for his faithful labours among them, or pay the greatest respect to his memory. Doctor Montague preached his funeral sermon on the following words; *Moses my servant is dead,* Josh. i. 2.

He was so pious and exemplary in his life and conversation, that malice itself could find no ground for scandal or reproach. He was naturally chearful and pleasant; rather reserved towards strangers, but when once acquainted very familiar. He was of a middle stature, ruddy complexion, bright hair, and inclined to corpulency, but lame of his right hand; yet with his left hand he wrote two folio volumes, so well, and to so good purpose, that he proved himself an able evangelical divine, and an invincible champion in the Protestant cause. And such was his humanity and condescension, that he not only preached to the prisoners, as we observed before, but accompanied the condemned to the place of execution; and what success he had in this line of his labours, will appear from the following example.—A stout young man, going up the ladder, discovered great dejection of spirit, and when he came to the top, and turned round to speak to the people, he looked like one half dead, which Mr Perkins observing, endeavoured to encourage him; but finding it to be without effect, said, "Man, what is the matter with thee, "art thou afraid of death?" 'Ah, no (said the malefac-'tor, shaking his head) but of a worse thing.' "Dost "thou so (replied Mr Perkins) then come down again, "and thou shalt see what GOD's grace will do to "strengthen thee." When he came down, Mr Perkins took him by the hand, and, at the foot of the ladder, they both kneeled down, hand in hand, when Mr Perkins prayed with so much of the divine presence and with such power, in confession of sin, with its aggravating circumstances, and the horrible and eternal punishment due to the same, according to GOD's justice, that the poor man burst out into a flood of tears, being broken and contrite

contrite in heart; which when Mr Perkin's observed, he proceeded to the second part of his prayer, in which he set forth the Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of every believing penitent sinner, as stretching forth his arms of mercy and power to save him in his miserable distressed condition, and from all the powers of darkness, and to give him heaven and glory. This he was enabled to do in so wonderful and successful a manner, that the poor creature continued, indeed, to shed tears; but they were now tears of love, gratitude, and joy, flowing from a belief that all his sins were cancelled by the merciful shedding of his Saviour's blood. And when they rose from prayer, he evidenced so good and satisfactory a confession, that the spectators lifted up their hands and praised GOD, for seeing such a glorious display of sovereign grace, in converting, at the eleventh hour, this dying malefactor, who went up the ladder again, with apparently great comfort, and hasting as it were to have the grace he had so lately been made a partaker of, consummated in glory.

His WORKS, which are usually bound in two volumes folio, are, "1. The Foundation of Christian Religion. 2. A Golden Chain; or, the Description of Divinity. 3. An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. 4. An exposition of the Lord's Prayer. 5. A Declaration, whether a Man be in a state of Damnation, or a State of Grace. 6. A Case of Conscience. 7. A Direction for the Government of the Tongue. 8. Two Treatises; one on Repentance, and the other on the Combat of the Flesh and Spirit. 9. A Treatise how to live well in all Estates and Times, especially when Helps and Comforts fail. 10. A Treatise on dying well. 11. A Discourse on the Nature of Conscience. 12. The Reformed Catholic. 13. The true Manner of knowing Christ crucified. 14. A Grain of Mustard-Seed. 15. Of true Wealth. 16. A Warning against the Idolatry of the last Times. 17. A Treatise of God's Free Grace, and Man's Free Will. 18. Of Man's Callings. 19. Of Predestination, in Latin by the Author, but since translated into English. 20. His Bible Harmony. 21. A Dialogue of the World's Dissolution. No. 7, 8, 13, 14, were translated into Latin by Thomas Drax: And No. 19. written in Latin, is translated into English."

The following were published after his death: "Vol. II. 1. Three books of the Cases of Conscience. 2. Commentaries on the five first Chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians. 3. Of Christian Equity. 4. Of Man's Imagination.

gination. 5. Problems against Cox, in Latin. 6. The Key of Prophecy. 7. Commentaries on the fifth, sixth, and seventh Chapters of St Matthew. 8. Commentaries on the three first Chapters of the Revelation. 9. Of the Temptation of Christ, from Matthew iv. 1—12. 10. An Exhortation to Repentance. 11. Two excellent Treatises of Ministers' Calling. 12. A Commentary on Jude's Epistle. 13. A Treatise of Poisoning. 14. Against Prognostics. 15. Of Household Discipline, in Latin. No. 1. written in English, is translated into Latin: And No. 4, and 15, written in Latin, have been translated into English."

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT.

THIS divine was born in Hertfordshire, about the year 1535; and being by his parents kept at school till he was fit for the university, he went to Cambridge, and was admitted into St John's-college, in 1550. There he followed his studies very hard; and being a man of excellent natural parts, he profited in learning more than ordinary; which he pursued with unremitting diligence to the end of his life.

At the death of K. Edward VI. he left the university, and betook himself to the service of a counsellor, yet followed his studies very hard, taking more pleasure therein than in the study of the law: Thus he continued till the beginning of Q. Elizabeth's reign, at which time his master, meeting with doctor Pilkinton, master of St John's-college in Cambridge, told him of his man's learning and studious disposition. The doctor desired to speak with him, and perceiving his great abilities and hopefulness, with his master's consent, took him again to St John's college, where his proficiency in the arts and tongues was so eminent, that in the year 1560 he was chosen fellow in that college. About three years after he was removed to a fellowship in Trinity-college, where for his great worth he was ere long made one of the eight senior-fellows.

In the year 1564, Q. Elizabeth coming to Cambridge, great preparation was made for her entertainment, and four of the most eminent men in the university being cho-

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sen to keep a philosophy-act before her, he was one of them, who performed it with extraordinary abilities, and to the great satisfaction both of the queen and other auditors. In 1567, he commenced bachelor of divinity, and three years after he was chosen to be the lady Margaret's divinity-reader. He read upon the first and second chapters of the Acts of the apostles, and performed it with such acuteness of wit, and solidity of judgment, as caused admiration in his hearers; and even at that time he was so famous for his ministry, that when his turn came to preach at St Mary's, the sexton was obliged to take down the windows, by reason of the multitudes that came to hear him. In his lectures he used to discover his judgment about church-discipline, which gave offence to the doctors and heads in the university; Mr Cartwright's sentiments being in favour of the Geneva discipline, and opposite in some particulars to the establishment of the church of England. At length, he was convened before the vice-chancellor and other doctors, and examined upon sundry articles or propositions of doctrine delivered by him publicly in his lectures, and elsewhere; which they affirmed to be contrary to the form received and allowed by public authority in this realm; and thereupon they demanded whether he would stand to, or revoke, the said opinions and doctrines delivered by him *.

Mr Cartwright, upon deliberation, desired that he might have leave to set down in writing what his judgment in those things was, and what he would stand to; which being granted, he drew up in six propositions what his judgment was, and, setting his hand to it, delivered it to the vice-chancellor, who thereupon admonished him to revoke the same; and upon his refusal, punished him by the suspension of his stipend, and so he continued in his lectures that year; but the year after, Dr Whitgift being chosen vice-chancellor, he again convened him before him, requiring his absolute answer whether he did mind to teach his auditors otherwise, revoking what he had before taught,

* It has been generally conceived, that Mr Cartwright was the first great diſſenter from the eſtabliſhed church; but improperly. Dr Turner, dean of Wells, (about the year 1563,) ſeems to have been the firſt, or one of the firſt, after the church of England was ſettled, who oppoſed both its epiſcopacy and ceremonies, and made a diſturbance about them. This Turner was a very intemperate and indiſcreet man, as appears by an anecdote, recorded of him even by Martin Marprelate, (an abuſive writer,) concerning his rude treatment of a biſhop whom he invited to dinner. See Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 151.

taught, or whether he would abide in the maintenance of the same? To this Mr Cartwright answered, "that for "the propositions delivered by him under his hand to "Dr May, and now shewed to him, they were his own "hand writing, such as he had openly taught, and still "continued fully determined to maintain and defend as "truths." Hereupon, after Mr Cartwright had a while withdrawn, and the vice-chancellor had conferred with the other doctors, Mr Cartwright was again called for, and this definitive sentence was pronounced against him by the vice-chancellor Dr Whitgift: 'That perceiving 'that no admonition would help, but that he still per-'sisted in the same mind, he did therefore pronounce him, 'the said Mr Cartwright to be removed from his said 'lecture, and by his final decree or sentence did then and 'there remove him, and declare the said lecture to be 'void; and that he minded, according to the foundation 'thereof, to proceed to the election of a new reader. 'And further he did then and there, by virtue of his of-'fice, inhibit the said Mr Cartwright from preaching with-'in the university and the jurisdiction of the same.

The articles, which Mr Cartwright drew up, are as follow, translated from the original Latin.

"1. The titles, as well as the offices and duty of archbishops and archdeacons, ought to be abolished.

"2. The titles of the lawful ministers in the church, such as those of bishops and deacons, being separate from their functions as described simply in the word of God, ought to be disallowed, and brought back to the apostolic institution; so that a bishop should be exercised in the word and in prayer, and a deacon in taking care of the poor.

"3. The government of a church ought not to be intrusted with the chancellors of bishops, or the officers belonging to archdeacons, but should be committed to a proper minister, and one who is a presbyter of the same church.

"4. It does not behove a minister to be either without a charge, or exempt from attendance on his charge, but every such person should devote himself to the care of one particular flock.

"5. None should solicit the ministry as a candidate.

"6. Ministers are not to be appointed and made merely by the authority and power of the bishops; much less in a study or any other private place; but the election ought to be made by the church.

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"These reformations being effected, every one should labour in his calling (for I mean to speak of the calling) that the magistrate should act by his authority, the minister by the word, and all persons by their prayers.

"By me, THOMAS CARTWRIGHT."

Mr Cartwright being thus expelled, and finding the way for the exercise of his ministry in England obstructed, he went beyond the seas to visit other Reformed churches, where he grew acquainted with the most eminent men for piety and learning in Christendom, with whom he kept correspondence all his life after. He was also highly prized by them, insomuch that Beza, writing about that time into England to a friend of his, hath this expression; *Est quidam Anglus nobiscum, nomine Thomas Cartwright, &c.* Here is now with us your countryman Thomas Cartwright, than whom I think the sun doth not see a more learned man, &c. He was also chosen preacher to the English merchants at Antwerp, and afterwards at Middleburgh, where he had great success in his ministry; and when he understood that the merchants, by whom he was maintained, through their great losses, decayed in their estates, he returned their salary to them again.

Not long after he came over into England, being earnestly solicited by letters from Mr Deering, Mr Fulke, Mr Wisburne, Mr Leaver, and Mr Fox; about which time the non-conformists having drawn up AN ADMONITION TO THE PARLIAMENT for the Reformation of the church, Dr Whitgift, who was then preferred to the archbishopric of Canterbury, answered the same in print; whereupon the ministers who wrote the 'Admonition,' consulting, but not agreeing upon the choice of to reply to Dr Whitgift, Mr Cartwright was at last chosen by lot to undertake it, and performed it so well, that some of his very adversaries were heard to advance and commend him for it.

Mr Walton says, in his life of Hooker, 'that Mr 'Cartwright appearing to justify himself and his party in 'many remonstrances, which he caused to be printed, 'the bishop (Whitgift) made a first answer, and Cart-'wright replied upon him; and then the bishop having 'rejoined to his reply, Mr Cartwright either was, or was 'persuaded to be satisfied; for he wrote no more, but 'left the reader to judge which had maintained their 'cause with most charity and reason.' p. 15.

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However, Mr Cartwright, with others of the nonconformists, was brought into the high commission court, where, for refusal of the oath *ex officio*, they were put in prison, and afterwards proceeded against in the star-chamber; but those very witnesses, who were brought to accuse them, did so clear them, that they were dismissed, and sent home much more honoured and beloved than they were before.

Whilst Mr Cartwright was prisoner in the Fleet, he had thirty pounds sent him from a noble friend, of which he took but ten shillings, returning the rest with many thanks to the donor; and when the earl of Leicester offered him the provostship of Eaton-college, saying, that it was a hundred pounds a year more than enough, besides the conveniency of the place, Mr Cartwright answered, "that the hundred pounds more than enough was enough "for him."

About the year 1580, his fame was so spread through the Reformed churches, that K. James, then king of Scotland, sent for him, offering to make him professor in the university of St Andrews, whereof, twenty years after, upon K. James coming into England, Mr Cartwright makes mention in his Epistle before his Commentary upon Ecclesiastes, which he dedicated to K. James, returning humble thanks for that royal favour. The archbishop of Dublin also sent for him into Ireland, offering him preferment in the kingdom.

Mr Walton says, that 'after some silence (meaning of 'the controversy between archbishop Whitgift and him) 'Mr Cartwright received from the archbishop many per-'sonal favours, and retired himself to a more private liv-'ing, which was at Warwick, where he was made master 'of the hospital, and lived quietly and grew rich [which 'last, when the profits are considered, seems doubtful;] 'and where the bishop gave him a licence to preach, upon 'promise not to meddle with controversies, but incline 'his hearers to piety and moderation: And this promise 'he kept during his life, which ended in 1602, or 1603, 'the bishop surviving him but one year, [Strype says, 'only two months,] each ending his days in perfect cha-'rity with the other.' Who, reading this, cannot but wish, that two such excellent men had never maintained a controversy between them at all; but that, as they could at last, in the wisdom of grace, find out the way of charity and peace, they had never entered any other? What disputes, what factions in religion, to the disgrace of our

our common Christianity before the world, might have been avoided or healed? Cartwright is said to have expressed himself to this effect upon his death-bed; and, doubtless, Whitgift thinks so now.

Mr Cartwright was sent to from many eminent divines beyond sea, wherein they craved his advice for the direction of young men in the method of their studies, and in behalf of the churches in general, for his counsel in regulating their proceedings in the weightiest affairs.

It was the earl of Leicester who preferred him to be master of the hospital at Warwick, which place was worth to him about one hundred pounds *per annum*: His employment was, to pray with the poor men twice a-day, to catechise twice a week, and to preach once on the Lord's day at the parish church.

His carriage and deportment was such, that there was not a nobleman or gentleman of quality in all the country that looked heaven-ward, or was of any account for religion and learning, but sought to enjoy his company, and found much pleasure and content therein; for his conversation was such, that scarce a word came from his mouth that was not of some good use and concernment. He was of a very laborious and indefatigable spirit; it was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly Father; so that besides all his pains in writing, and in the hospital, he preached every sabbath-day in the morning about seven o'clock in the lower parish of Warwick, and, when he could be suffered, in the upper parish in the afternoon; besides which, he preached a lecture on Saturdays in the afternoon in the upper church, in which he went over a great part of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, with great judgment and profit; and this he did of his own free will, without demanding or receiving one penny for his pains.

Presently after his coming to Warwick, the English seminary at Rheims published their version of the New Testament, and annotations upon it in English; which coming over into England, it was looked upon by all as a book of dangerous concernment, and therefore fit to be answered by the ablest pen that could be found; hereupon (as it is said) Q. Elizabeth sent to Beza to request him to undertake the answer; but he modestly excused it, and returned answer, that she had one in her own kingdom, far abler than himself to undertake such a task, and upon further enquiry declared, that it was Mr Thomas Cartwright. Then Sir Francis Walsingham, a man of eminent

place

place and power, who in this, as in other affairs, was accounted the mouth and hand of the queen and state, wrote to Mr Cartwright, earnestly requesting him to undertake the work, assuring him also of such aid as should further him in the finishing of it; for which end he sent him one hundred pounds towards the charges of buying books, and procuring writers which were to be employed by him in the work; this was in the year 1583.

The same year also he was earnestly solicited by some learned men of the university of Cambridge, to undertake the Answer, in which, amongst other passages, they have these expressions: 'With you we are earnest, most reverend Cartwright, that you would set yourself against 'the unhallowed endeavours of these mischievous men, 'either by refuting the whole book, or at least some part 'thereof. It is not for every man workmanlike to frame 'God's tabernacle, but for Bazaleel and Aholiab; neither 'is every one rashly to be thrust forth into the Lord's 'battles; but such captains are to be chosen from amongst 'David's worthies; of which as we acknowledge you to 'be, by the former battles undergone for the walls of our 'city the church, we doubt not, if you will enter this 'war, which truly you ought according to the zeal and 'piety you bear to your country and religion, but that 'you fighting for conscience and country (yea even for 'the very inmost holy place of the temple) will be able 'to tread under foot the forces of the Jebusites, which set 'themselves to assault the tower of David. Moreover '(which may marvellously sharpen the edge of your cou-'rage) you are not now to fight with a brother or fellow 'of the same religion (which maketh the conflict more 'faint) but with the most inveterate enemies of Jesus 'Christ, &c.' Then they thus conclude: 'You see to 'what an honourable fight we invite you. Christ's busi-'ness shall be undertaken against satan's champions. 'We stir you up to fight the battles of the Lord; where 'the victory is certain, which the triumph and applause 'of the angels will ensue. Our prayers shall never be 'wanting unto you. Christ, without doubt, whose cause 'is defended, will be present with you. The Lord Jesus 'much increase your courage and strength, and keep you 'very long in safety for his church's good! Farewell.' This was subscribed by Roger Goad, William Whitaker, Thomas Crook, John Ireton, William Fulke, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Giles Seintler, Richard Gardener, William Charke, &c.

But

But besides these, the ministers of London and Suffolk did by their several letters earnestly exhort him to this work. Mr Cartwright was at last by these importunities drawn to undertake it; and neither diligence nor constancy was wanting in him to have carried it on to perfection; but he met with such great discouragements and hinderances from potent adversaries, that he was forced often to lay his pen aside.

Whilst he was at Warwick, he was requested by the Lord Zouch, governor of Guernsey, to go with him into that island, with whom he continued some time; and in his absence substituted one Mr Lord, a godly minister then living at Woolstone, in his room at the hospital at Warwick, allowing him the greatest part of the proofs of the place during his abode there; and the rest he caused to be distributed amongst the poor.

He was far from seeking after great places or great things in the world; and for riches, he sought them not; yea he rejected many opportunities whereby he might have enriched himself. His usual manner was, when he had good sums of gold sent him, to take only one piece, lest he should seem to slight his friends kindness, and to send back the rest with a thankful acknowledgment of their love, and his acceptance of it, professing that for that condition wherein GOD had set him, he was as well furnished as they for their high and great places.

His manner was, not to keep any more money in his purse but what might serve for charitable uses. He was very bountiful to poor scholars. He distributed money every Sabbath-day amongst the poor of the town of Warwick, besides what he gave to the prisoners, and upon other occasions both at home and abroad.

For his household affairs, he never troubled himself with them, but wholly left them to be ordered and managed by the prudence of his wife.

He was very careful to regulate and order the business of the hospital for the best advantage of the poor brethren. He continued his diligence and assiduity in his studies even in his old age; and his manner was to rise at two, three, and four o'clock at the latest, both summer and winter, notwithstanding his bodily infirmities were such, that he was forced to study continually kneeling upon his knees.

He could not endure, so much as in private, to hear his adversaries reproached; and if any in his presence used disgraceful speeches of them, he would sharply reprove them for it, saying, "that it is a Christian's duty to pray for,

"and

" and not to reproach his adversaries;" and when Martin Mar-Prelate's book came forth, he shewed much dislike of the satyrical and tart language used in it. He was also very humble, not enduring to hear any thing spoken in his own commendation, or any titles given him, which in the least measure savoured of ambition. He affected not popularity, but avoided it as much as possibly he could. Indeed, all his ambition was, to advance the knowledge and cause of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to promote GOD's glory. It was the great joy and rejoicing of his heart to hear of the welfare and prosperity of the churches at home and abroad; for this he earnestly and daily prayed: And when he heard any ill tidings, with Nehemiah he sat down and mourned, and fasted, and prayed before the GOD of heaven; so that all that conversed with him might easily discern that nothing did affect him in any degree, like the good or ill tidings of the church's state.

He was frequent in prayer every day; and in his younger years rose many times in the night for that purpose. And as his labours were very great in the work of the ministry, so it pleased the Lord to make them very successful for the conversion and confirmation of many, and for terror and restraint unto others. There was one Mr Chaplin, a woollen-draper in Warwick, who made a profession of religion, but many times broke out into scandalous practices; Mr Cartwright on a time walking with him in his garden, dealt plainly and faithfully with him, rebuking him for his miscarriages, and shewing him the dishonour that he brought to GOD and the gospel thereby. This so wrought upon Chaplin, that he presently sunk down, and being carried home, died within a few hours after.

In his old age he was much troubled with the stone and gout, which much impaired his strength, yet would he not intermit his labours, but continued preaching when many times he could scarce creep up into the pulpit. The Sabbath before his death, which was the last sermon that he made, December the 25th, he preached upon Eccles. xii. 7. *Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.* The morning before his death, which was the Tuesday following, he was two hours on his knees in private prayer; in which, as he told his wife, he found wonderful and unutterable joy and comfort, GOD giving him a glimpse of heaven before he came to it; and within a few hours after he quietly resigned up his

From an Original Painting in Lambeth Palace

his spirit unto GOD, December the 27th, 1603. aged sixty-eight years. Mr Dodd preached his funeral sermon.

His WORKS. His Harmonia Evangelica is a very learned and able performance. A Comment upon the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. A Confutation of the Rhemist's Translation, Glosses, and Annotations. Reply to Archbishop Whitgift. *Commentaria practica in totam historiam evangelicam.* And some other Works.

JOHN WHITGIFT,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THIS great man might be called, the undaunted champion of the rites, discipline and revenues of the church of England. The greatest part of his life, which was a very active one, was employed in her service: And her establishment, under GOD, to this day may be in great measure ascribed to his zeal and abilities. He had not the mildness and deep erudition of an Usher, nor the spirituality and ascetic turn of a Leighton, who held the same rank in the church; but he seemed to be an instrument raised up to preserve its ecclesiastical state, which enters so deeply into our whole political constitution, that (as it was proved under Charles I.) the one could not subsist without the other.

He was the son of Henry Whitgift, merchant of Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, by Anne Dynewell, a young gentlewoman of good birth and reputation in that town, where he was born in the year 1580. He was descended of the ancient family of the Whitgifts of Whitgift in the West Riding of Yorkshire, some of whom had been considerable benefactors to the church. But his grandfather John Whitgift, Gent. having a numerous family, and placing his sons out in different ways of life, one of them [Robert] was bred to the church, and became abbot of the monastry of Wellow, near Grimsby. In this situation, as he applied himself to instruct young gentlemen in the first rudiments of learning, he took his nephew (the subject of our present article) under his care. Here our Author early imbibed an ill opinion of the Romish church from

from this uncle, who often declared in his hearing, 'That 'they and their religion could not long continue; be- 'cause he had read the whole scripture over and over, 'and could never find therein that it was founded by 'God, which consequently (said he,) cannot stand, 'since these are our Saviour's words, *Every plant that my 'heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up*, Matth. 'xv. 30.' In the mean time, observing the promising genius of his nephew, he advised his father to send him to St Anthony's school at London. For this purpose he was lodged in St Paul's Church-yard at his aunt's who had married one of the vergers of that church. While he was here, his aunt often importuned him to go to mass, and procured also some of the canons of St Paul's to persuade him to it; but having already some relish of the doctrine of the Reformation, he constantly withstood all their endeavours. By this his conduct she grew at length so much exasperated, as to turn him out of doors, imputing all her losses and domestic misfortunes to her harbouring of such an heretic (as she called him) under her roof; and at parting told him, that 'she thought at first she had re- 'ceived a saint into her house, but now she perceived he 'was a devil.'

Thus rudely treated by his aunt, he repaired home to his father in Lincolnshire, where his uncle the abbot, finding upon examination that he had made a good progress in grammar learning, advised the sending of him to the university. Accordingly he was sent to Cambridge in the year 1548 or 1549, and placed first in Queen's-college; but not liking the disposition of some there, he was removed soon after to Pembroke-hall, and put under the tuition of the celebrated John Bradford, the martyr, who was then lately chosen fellow of that society. He had not been long here before he was recommended by his tutor and Mr Grindall, then fellow, (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) to the master, Nicholas Ridley; by which means he was made scholar of that house, and chosen bible-clerk. These advantages were the more acceptable to him, as his circumstances were then but indifferent, by reason of his father's great losses at sea. Mr Bradford leaving Cambridge in the year 1550, our Author fell under the care of Mr Gregory Garth, who continued his tutor while he staid at Pembroke-hall, from whence he went out bachelor of arts in 1553-4. But in 1555, being unanimously elected fellow of Peter-house, he was admitted there in that quality by Thirlby, bishop of Ely, the-

the thirty-first of May the same year. He commenced master of arts in 1557.

About this time he had a severe fit of sickness; and soon after his recovery happened the remarkable visitation of this university by the authority of cardinal Pole, in order to purge out the heretics. To avoid the storm, our Author's first resolution was to go to Strasburg, Frankfort, or somewhere in Switzerland; but Dr Perne, the master of his college, though at that time a professed Papist, yet having a great esteem for him, undertook to skreen him from the commissioners, which prevailed on him not to leave the university. The master's promise was faithfully performed: and notwithstanding the severity of that visitation, he escaped without any inquiry, by the connivance of his friend, who being then vice-chancellor, and shewing himself active in the present transactions, was the less suspected to favour any but thorough devotees of Rome.

In 1560, our Author entered into holy orders, and soon after preached his first sermon at St Mary's before the university, upon Rom. i. 16. *I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ*, &c. with general and great approbation. The same year he was appointed chaplain to Dr Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, who gave him the rectory of Teversham, in Cambridgeshire. In 1563, he proceeded bachelor of divinity; and Matthew Hutton, then fellow of Trinity-College, being appointed Regius professor of divinity, the same year, our Author succeeded him in the Margaret professorship. Soon after this he joined with his brother professor and several heads of colleges, in a petition to Sir William Cecil, their chancellor, for an order to regulate the election of public officers, the want of which created great disturbance in the university at that time. Two years after this he distinguished himself so eminently in the pulpit, that Sir Nicholas Bacon, then lord keeper, sent for him to court to preach before the queen, who heard him with great satisfaction, and gave orders presently to have him sworn her chaplain. The same year, 1565, being informed that some statutes were preparing above to enjoin an uniformity of habits, particularly to order the wearing of surplices in the university, he promoted the writing of a joint letter privately to Cecil, earnestly desiring him to stop (if possible) the sending down any such orders, which it was perceived would be very unacceptable to the university: But this address was taken so ill at court, that our Author was obliged afterwards to

make an apology for his conduct in it. However, he grew into so great esteem at Cambridge, as well under the character of a preacher as the restorer of order and discipline there, that the next year, June the tenth, the university granted him a licence under their common seal, to preach throughout the realm; and on the fifth of July following, the salary of his professorship was raised, out of respect to him, by that body, from twenty marks to twenty pounds.

He had the year before been a considerable benefactor to his college; where the next year, 1567, he held the president's place, but was called thence, April the twenty-first, to Pembroke-hall, being chosen master there; and not long after he was likewise appointed Regius professor of divinity. In both these preferments he succeeded a second time his old friend Dr Hutton (now made dean of York), and to the first had the same recommendation which had been given to his predecessor, viz. that of Dr Edmund Grindal, then bishop of London. But his continuance here was very short; for in less than three months, upon the death of Dr Beauchamp, her majesty promoted him to the mastership of Trinity-College. This place was procured for him chiefly by the interest of Sir W. Cecil, who, notwithstanding some objections had been made to his age, got him sworn into it the fourth of July. The same year the university admitted him inceptor for the degree of doctor in divinity; and being appointed likewise to keep the commencement act, he chose for his thesis upon that occasion, *Papa est ille antichristus*; the pope is the antichrist. In 1570, having first applied to Cecil for the purpose, he compiled a new body of statutes for the university, which were of great service to that learned community.

This work he finished in August, and the same month he was the principal agent in procuring an order from the vice-chancellor and heads to prohibit Cartwright, who was now Margaret professor, from reading any more lectures without some satisfaction given to them of his principles and opinions. Our author informed the chancellor of this step, and at the same time acquainted him with Cartwright's principles, and the consequences of them, upon which he received the chancellor's approbation of what had been done. Upon which Cartwright, being convened, and refusing to renounce his principles, was deprived of his professorship; and as he gave out that his assertions were rather suppressed by authority, than refuted

refuted by reason, our Author took an effectual method to obviate that calumny. In the mean time, at the chancellor's request, he likewise wrote a confutation of some of the chief of those principles, and sent them to archbishop Parker, in a letter dated December 29, with an intention to publish them, but was prevented. In 1671, he served the office of vice-chancellor. The same year an order was made by the archbishop and bishops, that all those who had obtained faculties to preach, should surrender them before the third of August; and that upon their subscription to the thirty-nine articles, and other constitutions and ordinances agreed upon, new licences should be granted. This being signified to the university, and an order sent, requiring them to call in all the faculties granted before, our Author in pursuance thereof surrendered his former liscence, obtained in 1566, and had another granted him September 17, 1571, wherein he was likewise constituted one of the university-preachers. June the nineteenth, in consequence of the queen's nomination, he was elected dean of Lincoln, into which dignity he was installed August the second following. October the thirty-first he obtained a dispensation from the archbishop, impowering him, together with his deanery, his prebend of Ely, and rectory of Teversham (besides the mastership of Trinity-College) to hold any other benefice whatsoever. Towards the end of the same year he preached the Latin sermon at the meeting of the convocation, being then proctor for the clergy and chapter of Ely. May the fourteenth, the next year, he was presented to the lower house for their prolocutor and chosen. In August the same year, he resigned the rectory of Teversham.

He was now, by particular apointment from the archbishop of Canterbury, writing his answer to the Admonition, which requiring more ease of mind and leisure hours than the execution of his office as master of Trinity-College (where he met with much trouble and opposition) seemed to allow of, he even desired to leave the university. However, the heads applied to the chancellor in a letter dated September the twenty-eighth, to prevent it. He had a little before, in the same month this year, expelled Cartwright from his fellowship, for not taking orders in due time, according to the statute of the colleges. November the second, by the appointment of the bishop of London, he preached at Paul's Cross; and before the expiration of the year came out his answer to the 'Admonition.'

As archbishop Parker was the chief person that set Whitgift about this work, so he gave him considerable assistance therein; and the several parts of the copy as it was finished were sent to him to revise; and Cooper, bishop of Lincoln, another of the most learned bishops of that time, together with other bishops and learned men, were consulted with. For, in September 1572, the doctor having made an end of his confutation, as soon as he had written out fair the first part of it, he sent it to the bishop of Ely, (Dr Cox,) Dr Perne, (dean of Ely,) and some other learned men, for them to peruse; and then afterwards, for the last perusal of it, it was by him sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied with a letter, dated from Trinity-college, September the twenty-first; and shortly after having transcribed the second part, which the bishop of Lincoln had read over, he sent that also to the archbishop, with a letter, bearing date October the twenty-first, from Ely, desiring his grace to peruse it, and to correct it as should seem good to him; he likewise desired to be directed by the archbishop to whom he should dedicate it, whether to the queen or parliament, as Cartwright had done, or any other; and lastly he prayed his grace, that the printer might be charged not to give a copy of it, or a sheet of it, till all were printed. In this letter he acquainted the archbishop, that he had an Epistle of Mr Gualter (the learned divine of Zurich) written of late to the bishop of Ely (a copy of which he sent him inclosed,) which would be, he said, a very fit answer for the Epistle of the same eminent foreigner set at the end of the Admonition by the compilers of it, as favouring their cause. He did not know the bishop of Ely's pleasure, whether he would have it printed; but he told his lordship, the archbishop, that he would resort unto his lordship of Ely for the same. It appears that he had that bishop's leave, this letter being published in Latin and English at the end of his book, with this preface: And forasmuch as the authors of the Admonition, for their better credit, had set down in print the Epistles of Mr Beza and Mr Gualter, so he thought good to set down an Epistle of Mr Gualter, revoking the same upon better information; as also another of Mr Bullinger, chief minister of Zurich, concerning the same subject. So that (as Mr Strype observes,) in this book, taking in his defence printed a year or two after, may be seen all the arguments and policy used in those times for laying episcopacy and the liturgy aside, and all the exceptions to them drawn up to the best advantage;

vantage; and herein also are subjoined a full and particular answer and refutation of the one, and vindication of the other; together with the favourable sense of the learned men abroad, as Peter Martyr, Bucer, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin, Gualter, expressed in their letters, or other writings of theirs, and their approbation of this church's frame and discipline, and the government of it by bishops. Mr Strype was of opinion, that this book may be justly esteemed and applied to as one of the public books of the church of England concerning her profession and principles, and as being of the like authority in respect to its worship and government, in opposition to the disciplinarians, as bishop Jewel's Apology and Defence in respect of the Reformation and doctrine of it, in opposition to the Papists. It was first printed in 4to, and reprinted the year following, with this title: An Answer to a certain Libel, intitled, An Admonition to the Parliament, by John Whitgift, D. of Divinity, newlie augmented by the Authour, as by Conference shall appear. Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman, for Humfrey Toy, Anno 1573. To this a reply being published by Mr Cartwright the next year, 1573, our Author wrote his defence the same year.

In 1575, a Rejoinder being published by Cartwright to our Author's Defence, he consulted his friends upon it, who advising him to let it pass as not worthy his notice; he yielded to that opinion. Amongst others who dissuaded him, the learned Dr Whitaker, (though himself much inclined to favour Puritanism) was one; who, in a letter to Dr Whitgift upon this occasion, has these words: *Quem Cartwrightus nuper emisit libellum ejus magnam partem perlegi: Ne vivam, si quid unquam viderim dissolutius ac pene puerilius. Verborum satis ille quidem lautam novamque supellectilem habet, rerum omnino nullam quantum ego judicare possum. Deinde non modo perverse de principis in rebus sacris & ecclesiasticis authoritate sentit, sed in Papistarum etiam cæstra transfugit, a quibus tamen videri vult odio capitali dissidere. Verum nec in hac causâ ferendus, sed aliis etiam in partibus tela a Papistis mutuatur. Denique, ut de Ambrosio dixit Hieronymus,—verbis ludit, sententiis dormitat, & plane indignus est, qui a quoquam docto refutetur.* Thus translated by Dr Bancroft: 'I have 'read a great part of that book which Mr Cartwright 'hath lately published. I pray God I live not, if ever 'I saw any thing more loosely written, and almost more 'childishly. It is true, for words he hath a great store,

'and those both fine and new; but for matter, as far as 'I can judge, he is altogether barren. Moreover, he 'doth not only think perversely of the authority of princes 'in matters ecclesiastical, but also flyeth unto the Pa- 'pists holds, from whom he would be thought to dissent 'with a mortal hatred. But in this point he is not to be 'endured, and in other points also he borroweth his argu- 'ments from the Papists. To conclude, as Jerom said 'of Ambrose, he playeth with words, and is lame in his 'sentiments, and is altogether unworthy to be confuted 'by any man of learning.'

At the same time Whitgift appeared, with that warmth that was natural to his temper, against a design, then on foot, of abolishing pluralities, and taking away the impropriations, and tythes, from bishops, and spiritual (not including temporal) persons, for the better provision of the poorer clergy. March the 24th, the last day of the year 1576, he was nominated to the bishopric of Worcester, to which being confirmed, April 16, he was consecrated April the 21st, 1577; and as this bishopric brought him into the council for the marches of Wales, he was presently after appointed vice-president of those marches in the absence of Sir Henry Sydney, lord president, made lord lieutenant of Ireland. He did not resign his mastership of Trinity-college till June; and in the interim procured a letter from the chancellor in order to prevent the practice (then in use) of taking money for the resignation of fellowships.

The queen had it in her eye to raise him to the highest dignity in the church before her intentions took place, and shewed an inclination, as was said, to put him into archbishop Grindal's room before that prelate's death. So much is certain, that Grindal, in the condition he then was, had been desirous to resign, and as desirous of Whitgift for his successor; but Whitgift could not be persuaded upon to comply with it; and in the queen's presence begged her pardon for not accepting thereof upon any condition whatsoever, during the life of the other. But upon Grindal's death, which happened the sixth of July, 1583, the queen nominated Whitgift to succeed him, August the fourteenth following; and accordingly he was elected the twenty-third of the same month, and confirmed the twenty-third of September. On the seventeenth of November, the queen's accession happening on a Sunday, he preached at St Paul's Cross upon this text, *Put them*

in

in mind to be subject to principalities, &c. Titus iii. At his first entrance upon this charge, he found the archbishopric over-rated, and procured an order for the abatement of one hundred pounds to him and his successors, on the payment of first-fruits. He shortly after recovered from the queen, as part of the possessions of the archbishopric, Long-Beech Wood in Kent, which had been many years detained from his predecessor by Sir James Croft, comptroller of her majesty's household. But that which most concerned him was to see the established uniformity of the church in so great disorder as it was from the non-complying Puritans, who, taking advantage of his predecessor's easiness in that respect, were possessed of a great many ecclesiastical benefices and preferments, in which they were supported by some of the principal men at court. He therefore set himself with extraordinary zeal and vigour to reform those infringements of the constitution, for which he had the queen's express orders. With this view, on the fifth of December this year, he moved for an ecclesiastical commission, which was soon after issued to him with the bishop of London, and several others. To the same purpose in 1584, he drew up a form of examination, containing twenty-four articles, which he sent to the bishops of his province, enjoining them to summon all such clergy as in their respective dioceses were suspected of nonconformity, and to require them to answer those articles severally upon oath *ex officio mero*, likewise to subscribe to the queen's supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the thirty-nine articles of religion.

At the same time he held conferences with several of the Puritans, and by that means brought some to a compliance; and when others appealed from the ecclesiastical commission to the council, he resolutely asserted his jurisdiction, and vindicated his proceedings at the peril of his life, and even in some cases against the opinion of lord Burleigh, who was his chief friend there. He waited this year also, about these matters, upon the queen, who had been solicited in favour of some of the innovators against the liturgy, and soon after sent her highness his answer to all their most plausible objections that were commonly urged by them, and gave her several reasons why the discipline was rather to be suppressed, than by writing confuted. In the mean time he prevailed to have some of the sees filled, that had been vacant ever since the ejection of the popish bishops; and obtained a promise

from Burleigh to complete the whole bench. Nor did his zeal for the established ecclesiastical purity display itself with less warmth of opposing the election this year of Mr Walter Travers to the mastership of the temple, and in advising a restraint to be laid upon the press at Cambridge. Several petitions being offered to this parliament in favour of the Puritans, for receiving their new platform and book of public prayer, as also against pluralities and the court of faculties, the archbishop answered them, and presented his answer to the queen in person. He sent notes also upon them to Lord Burleigh, December 26. However, being made sensible of the justness of a complaint against the excessive fees taken in spiritual courts, he set about drawing up a new state of those fees, according to ancient custom, and at the same time prevailed with the queen not to give her assent to some bills that had passed both houses, which affected the present good estate of the clergy; namely, one giving liberty to marry at all times; another for the trial of ministers' sufficiency by twelve laymen, and such like. This last was a precedent for a like act passed and rigidly executed against the Royalists during the rebellion and usurpation of Cromwell.

In the same parliament he procured an act for the better foundation and relief of the poor of the hospital of Eastbridge in Canterbury; and, before the year was expired, he found means to put a stop to a commission that was then upon the anvil for a *melius inquirendum*. In 1585, by special orders from the queen, he drew up rules for regulating the press; which were confirmed and set forth by the authority of the star-chamber, June 23d. In all his transactions for uniformity, he had constantly both the commission and countenance of the queen, as well as the general concurrence of Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham. Yet in his proceedings with the Nonconformists his grace had received sometimes, even from these his friends, very hard words. Upon which account, about this time, he joined himself in a more close friendship with Sir Christopher Hutton, then vice-chamberlain to the queen, to whom he now (July 16. opened his mind, and complained of the other's usage of him. The earl of Leicester particularly, not content with having made Cartwright master of his hospital newly built at Warwick, attempted by a most artful address to procure a licence for him to preach without the subscription; but the archbishop peremptorily refused to comply. Presently after this, the same earl applied to him to declare his judgment about the

the queen's aiding the Low Countries, to which he gave a very wary answer. This was in the end of July; and before the end of August he prevented the issuing of a commission for farming out the first fruits and tenths, with a view of enhancing those payments, to the detriment of the clergy. This year he silenced Mr Travers from preaching at the Temple; notwithstanding, about the same time being called upon for his judgment in the dispute betwixt him and Hooker, he gave his opinion less in favour of the Papists than Hooker had done.

On Candlemas-day he was sworn in the privy council, and the next month framed the statutes of cathedral churches, so as to make them comport with the Reformation. And the year was not expired, when he sent a prohibition to Cartwright, forbidding him to publish his answer to the Rhemish Bible. In 1586, his name appears among those counsellors who condemned secretary Davison for procuring the execution of Mary queen of Scots, without the consent of his sovereign; and upon the discovery of Babington's design to marry the said queen, the archbishop put forth some prayers under the title of A Form of Prayer for these dangerous Times. This year likewise he granted a licence to an Italian merchant-bookseller to import several popish books. The reason of this may be seen in the licence itself, of which the following is a copy:

"Whereas sundry books are from time to time set forth "in the parts beyond seas, by such as are addicted to the "errors of Popery, yet in many respects expedient to be "had by some of the learned in this realm, contayninge "also oftentimes matter in them against the state of this "land, and slaunderous unto it, and therefore not fit "books to pass through every man's hand freely; in "consideration whereof I have tolerated Ascanio de Re-"nialme, merchant-bookseller, to bring into this realme, "from the parts beyond seas, some few copies of every "such sort of books, upon this condition onlie, that any "of them be not had or dispersed abroad, but first "brought to me, or some other of her majesty's privy-"council, so that they may be delivered, or directed to "be delivered furth unto such persons onlie, as by us or "some of us shall be thought most meet men, upon good "considerations and purposes, to have the reading and "perusal of them.

"Given at Lambeth the day of October, 1586.
"*Anno Regni Reginæ Eliz.* 28°."

The

The lord chancellor's place becoming vacant by the death of Sir Thomas Bromley, April 12, 1587, the queen made the archbishop an offer of that post, which he declined; but recommended Sir Christopher Hatton, who on the twenty-ninth of April was made lord chancellor in his Grace's palace at Croydon. The following year, 1588, he joined with lord Burleigh in restoring to his fellowship at St John's-college, at Cambridge, Mr Everard Digby, who had been expelled by Dr Whitaker the master, and some of the fellows, upon suspicion of Popery; and about the same time gave an answer to a captious syllogism, in which he was concluded by practice of popish tyranny, to endanger his majesty's safety.

Upon the alarm of the Spanish invasion this year, he procured an order of the council to prevent the clergy from being cessed by the lord lieutenants for furnishing arms, and wrote circular letters to the bishops, to take care that their clergy should be ready with a voluntary appointment of arms, &c. This year came out a virulent pamphlet, entitled, *Martyn Marprelate*, in which the archbishop was severely handled in very coarse language. The university of Oxford losing their chancellor, the earl of Leicester, this year, several of the heads and others signified to the archbishop their intention to choose him into that post. This offer, being a Cambridge man, he declined for himself, but made use of it to recommend his friend Sir Christopher Hatton, who was elected: By which means the archbishop came into a great share of the government of that university. In 1590, Cartwright being cited before the ecclesiastical commission for several misdemeanors, and refusing to take the oath *ex officio*, was sent to the Fleet prison; and the archbishop drew up a paper containing several articles, more explicitly against the Disciplinarians than the former, to be subscribed by all licensed Preachers. The next year, 1591, Cartwright was brought before the star-chamber, and upon giving bail for his quiet behaviour, was discharged at the motion of the archbishop, who this year was appointed by common consent, to be arbitrator between two men of eminent learning in a remarkable point of scripture chronology. These were Hugh Broughton, of Christ's-college in Cambridge, the greatest scholar in Hebrew and Jewish learning in those times, and Dr Reynolds, of Corpus Christi in Oxford, divinity professor there. The point in dispute was, 'Whether the chronology of the times from Adam 'to Christ could be ascertained by the holy scriptures?'

The

The first held the affirmative, which was denied by the latter. The same year in the vacancy of the see of Sarum by the translation of Dr Piers to the archbishopric of York, our archbishop presented and instituted Mr Hooker into the living of Boscomb in Wiltshire, and to the prebend of Nether-haven, in the church of Sarum.

In 1592, he visited All-souls-college, and the following year Dr Bancroft published his Survey of Discipline, wherein he censured Beza's conduct in intermeddling with the English affairs in respect of church-government, upon which that minister complained of this usage in a letter to the archbishop, who returned a long answer, in which he not only shewed the justice of Dr Bancroft's complaint, but further also vindicated Saravia and Sutcliffe, two learned men of the English church, who had written in behalf of the order of episcopacy against Beza's doctrine of the equality of ministers of the gospel, and a ruling presbytery. In 1594, fresh complaints being made in parliament of the corruption of the ecclesiastical courts, the archbishop made a general survey of those courts and their officers; and the same year he put a stop to the passing of some new grants of concealed land belonging to the cathedrals. This year he likewise procured of the queen for Mr Hooker the good rectory of Bishops-bourne, near Canterbury. The same year he summoned the famous Hugh Broughton to give an account of some of his doctrines concerning the article of Christ's descent into hell. In 1595, when the tumults of the Disciplinarians appeared to be in a good measure appeased, there sprung up the Prædestinarian controversy, which occasioned the drawing up of the 'Lambeth Articles,' wherein the archbishop had the direction, and sent a copy of them to Cambridge, with a letter and private directions to teach the doctrine contained in them in that university; and praying that nothing should be publicly taught there against them, notwithstanding he was sensible at the same time, that this step was not agreeable to the queen. See page 286. Note.

This year he obtained letters patent from her majesty, and began the foundation of his hospital at Croydon. The same year he protected the hospital of Harbledown, in Kent, against an invasion of their rights and property: And the queen having made a grant to him of all the revenues belonging to the hospital of Eastbridge, in Canterbury, he found out and recovered the next year some lands wrongfully withheld from it. In 1597, the foregate

gate of his hospital at Croydon was finished, and in 1599, the whole building being completed, it was consecrated by Dr Bancroft, then bishop of London. The founding of this hospital (the largest then in the kingdom) having given rise to an invidious report of the archbishop's immense wealth and large revenues, he drew up a particular account of all his purchases since he had been bishop, with the sums given for the same, and the yearly value of the lands, and to what and whose uses, together with the yearly value of the archbishopric. The mayor of Canterbury having this year summoned the choir of that church to muster with the militia, he opposed it with great warmth.

Mr Hooker dying in November before he had published his three last books of his Ecclesiastical Polity, the archbishop made the most diligent search after the copy, and not being able to find any thing but some rough draughts of them, these, as it is said, he put into the hands of a particular friend of the Author, who at the archbishop's request finished the design.

This year, 1600, he suspended a clergyman for three years, for executing a clandestine marriage between Edward earl of Hertford and Francis Pranel. Thomas Cartwright dying this year, the archbishop had the satisfaction of finding the opinion, he had not long before given of his good inclinations towards the established constitution of the church, confirmed. After Cartwright was admitted to bail at the archbishop's motion, he always acknowledged the obligation, as appears by several letters of his to the archbishop. In one, dated March 24, 1601, he acknowledges 'his bond of most humble duty so much the 'stricter, because his Grace's favour proceeded from a 'frank disposition, without any desert of his own;' and the archbishop, says Sir George Paul, hath been heard to say, 'that if Master Cartwright had not so far engaged 'himself as he did in the beginning, he thought verily 'in his latter time he would have been drawn to conformity; for when he was freed from his troubles, he often 'repaired to the archbishop, who used him kindly, and 'was contented to tolerate his preaching in Warwick 'divers years, upon his promise not to impugn the ecclesiastical establishment, but persuade and procure as much 'as in him lay the estimation thereof, which he performed; but when her majesty came to know of the 'archbishop's connivancy, she was displeased with it.' Sir Henry Yelverton assures us, that his last words on his death-

death-bed were, 'that he sorely lamented the unnecessary 'troubles he had caused in the church by the schism he 'had been the great fomenter of; and wished he was to 'begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the 'dislike he had of his former ways; and in this opinion 'he died.' The next year Whitgift constantly attended the queen in her last illness, and composed a prayer upon that occasion; he was principal mourner at her funeral, received the offering, and had the banners presented to him. K. James being proclaimed March 24, 1602, the archbishop sent Dr Nevil, dean of Canterbury, into Scotland to his majesty, in the name of the bishops and clergy of England, to tender their allegiance, and to understand his majesty's pleasure in regard to the government of the church, and though the dean brought a gracious message to him from the king, assuring him that he would maintain the settlement as his predecessor had left it, yet the archbishop passed this summer of the year 1603 in some pain about its preservation.

The Puritans had, immediately upon the death of queen Elizabeth conceived fresh hopes of some countenance, if not establishment of their new discipline, and began to talk loudly of challenging forthwith all exemption from the censure of, and subjection to, the ecclesiastical authority. A book had been printed the year before by that party, entitled, The Plea of the Innocents, and this year in April there came out The humble Petition of the thousand Ministers for redressing Offences in the Church, at the end of which they required a conference; and in October a proclamation was issued touching a meeting for the hearing and determining things pretended to be amiss in the church. The archbishop's diligence in this affair is seen in a letter which he wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury soon after, by which it appears also, that he was then (viz. in December) so much indisposed with the jaundice (a disorder incident to his constitution) as not to be able to wait upon the king and court abroad that summer. Before the conference he sent some queries to his old friend Dr Hutton, then archbishop of York, of matters that should be concerted at this conference, for his judgment. The conference was held at Hampton-court, and lasted three days, June 14, 16, and 18. An account of it was afterwards written by Dr Barlow, then dean of Chester, at the particular request of the archbishop: One principal design of which was thereby to wipe off an aspersion

aspersion that was thrown upon him, and some other bishops, at the close of it.

The time of the parliament's meeting now drawing near, the archbishop, that he might be the better prepared, appointed a meeting at the bishop of London's house at Fulham, to confer with some of the bishops and judges of his court concerning the affairs of the church, which were then to be treated on. As he was thus going in his barge on a very cold day, and having his barge-cloth tied up (as his custom was) to the top of the bales, the wind blew so sharp, that the young gentlemen in waiting desired to have the cloth down, which he would by no means permit, because the water was rough, and he would therefore see his way. At night he complained of having taken a great cold in his head. However, the next Sunday being the first Sunday in Lent, he went to Whitehall, where the king held a long discourse with him and the bishop of London about the affairs of the church. Going thence, after fasting till near one o'clock, to the council chamber to dinner, he was taken with a fit, which ended in the dead palsy on the right side, and his speech taken away, whence he was carried to the lord treasurer's chamber, and thence (after a while) conveyed home to Lambeth. On Tuesday he was visited by the king, who told him, 'he would pray to God for his life, and 'that if he could obtain it, he should think it one of the 'greatest temporal blessings that could be given him in 'this kingdom.' The archbishop would have said something to the king, but his speech failed him, so that he uttered only imperfect words. But so much of his speech was heard, repeating it once or twice earnestly (with his eyes and hands lifted up) *pro ecclesia Dei:* i. e. "for "the church of God." And as he would have spoken his mind to the king being present, so he made two or three attempts to write his mind to him, but could not, the pen falling out of his hand by reason of the prevailing of his disease, which put an end to his life the day following, being the twenty-ninth day of February, 1603-4.

Camden, notwithstanding he assigns the palsy for the immediate apparent cause of his death, yet expressly declares, that 'he died with grief, as he found the king 'began to contend about the liturgy, and judged some 'things therein fit to be altered. *Dum de liturgia recepta 'Rex contendere cœpit, & nonnulla in ea mutanda censuit, 'Johannes Whitgiftus Archiepisc, ex mœrore obiit.*' This seems

seems also to be the general opinion, by the account which another author gives us, that upon his death-bed he should use these words: *Et nunc, Domine, exaltata est anima mea, quod in eo tempore succubui quando mallem episcopatus mei Deo reddere rationem, quam inter homines exercere:* 'And now, O Lord, my soul is rejoiced that 'I die in a time wherein I had rather give up to God an 'account of my bishopric, than any longer to exercise it 'among men.' He was interred the twenty-seventh of March in the parish-church of Croydon, where a monument is erected with an inscription to his memory. His funeral was graced with the presence of the earl of Worcester, and the Lord Zouch, who attended the hearse carrying his banners; and Dr Babington, bishop of Worcester, preached his funeral sermon with great applause on 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16.

In his person he was of a middle stature, a grave countenance, and brown complexion, black hair and eyes. He wore his beard neither long nor thick. He was small boned and of good agility, being straight and well-shaped in all his limbs to the light habit of his body, which begun somewhat to spread and fill out towards his latter years. His learning seems to have been confined to the Latin language, as Hugh Broughton often objected to him; neither doth he appear to have been much skilled in deep points of theology. He was a popular and a diligent preacher, and took delight in exercising his talent that way; yet his mind led him chiefly to ecclesiastical government, in the administration of which he was both indefatigable and intrepid.

After he left Trinity-college, while he was bishop of Worcester and archbishop of Canterbury, he took for many years into his house a number of young gentlemen, several of quality, to instruct them, as their tutor, reading to them thrice a day in mathematics and other arts, as well as in the languages, giving them good allowance and preferments as occasion offered; besides these, he kept several poor scholars in his house till he could provide for them, and prefer them (as he did several to good estates) he also maintained several others at the university. His charitable hospitality extended to foreigners. He relieved and entertained in his house for many years together several distressed ministers (recommended by Beza and others) out of Germany and France, who were driven from their own homes, some by banishment, others by reason of wars and extremity, shewing no less bounty to them at their

their departure. Sir George Paul assures us, that he remitted large sums out of his own purse to Beza.

In the execution of his charge in the ecclesiastical commission, every Thursday in term being a solemn court-day, the archbishop had a sermon in his chapel, and entertained the commissary and the attendants at great expence. That day was seen a senate of the greatest counsellors of state, with the assistance of the chief prelates, justices, judges, and sufficient lawyers of both professions that those times afforded. This kept up the reputation of the court, through the neglect of which its credit sunk afterwards, till at length, by several great abuses that crept into it, this court became so odious, as to be utterly abolished. He gave audience to suitors twice a-day at set hours, entertaining them hospitably. His courage and resolution in this court appears from what has been already related; but there is one remarkable instance, which ought not to be omitted. It happened before he was made privy-counsellor, when a gentleman of good account perceiving which way the court leaned in his cause (not according to his desire) told the archbishop, that upon another occasion there grew some speech of that cause before the lords of the council, and their lordships were of another opinion than his grace and the rest of the commissioners seemed to be: "What tellest thou me "(said the archbishop) of the lords of the council? I "tell thee, they are in these cases to be advised by us, "and not we by them." Upon such like occasions he would oftentimes say to his private friends towards the latter part of his time, when in familiar discourse they observed his courage and stoutness, "that two things did "help much to make a man confident in good causes, "namely, *Orbitas & Senectus*, age and want of children; "and (said he) they steed me both."

He was naturally of a choleric disposition, which, however, was so tempered with grace and prudence, that his choler rather served for a whetstone of his courage in just causes, than to be a weapon whetted against the person, goods, or good name of any other. When Pickering was censured in the star-chamber for libelling him after his death, it was observed by the earl of Salisbury (Cecil) who knew him well, 'that there was nothing more to be 'feared in his government, especially towards his latter 'time, than his mildness and clemency.' This part of his character is sufficiently confirmed by the judicious Hooker, who, with that majestic simplicity which distinguishes

guishes his pen, expresses it thus: 'He' (the archbishop, says he,) 'always governed with that moderation, which 'used by patience to suppress boldness, and to make 'them conquer that suffer.' As the reducing both the popish Recusants and Presbyterian Puritans to conformity with the established church, was what lay nearest to his heart, he plied both these kinds of people as well with his power and authority, as with his lenity and persuasion; and was so assiduous in preaching, that even after he was bishop of Worcester, unless extraordinary business of the Marches of Wales hindered him, he never failed to preach every Sunday, either in the city or in some neighbouring parish church. The like he did also when he was archbishop, and lay at Croydon, the queen being in her progress. Neither did any Sunday escape him in Kent, and he often preached the morning lecture both in Worcester and Canterbury, early enough to be present afterwards at sermon in the cathedral.

Upon the whole, Mr Strype remarks, that he lived and died in great reputation, and particularly happy in being highly esteemed for his wisdom, learning, and piety, by both his sovereigns, Q. Elizabeth and K. James; who both consulted with him in all matters of the church, and in making laws and orders for the well government of it: And likewise in taking always his advice for proper men to be placed in the chief preferments of it; and who seeing the great danger of the overthrow of the religion as it was reformed at first, that is, of the doctrine of it by Papists, and its discipline, and constitution by the new Reformers, devoted himself, his pains, his studies, his learning, and his interest to the preserving of it, wherein he had success to the end of his days, though through much opposition.

Our Metropolitan printed no Books besides those above mentioned against Cartwright's 'Admonition.' His genius was turned not to a sedentary but an active life, which was handsomely intimated to the French ambassador Boys Sici, to whom, upon his enquiring what works the archbishop had published, for that he would willingly read 'his' books, who was reputed 'The peerless prelate for piety and learning in our 'days,' and whom in conference he found so grave, godly, and judicious; it was answered, That he only published certain books in the English tongue in defence of the Ecclesiastical Government; and being incidentally told, that he founded an hospital and a school, the ambassador immediately broke out into this expression: *Profecto*

hospitale ad sublevandam paupertatem, et schola ad instruendam juventutem, sunt optimi libri quos archiepiscopus [aliquis] conscribere potuit. 'Truly an hospital to sustain the poor, 'and a school to train up youth, are the worthiest books 'that an archbishop could set forth.'

THEODORE BEZA.

THIS great minister of Geneva was one of the chief pillars of the Reformed church. He was born the twenty-fourth of June, 1519, at Vezelay, a city of Burgundy in France, where his family was in great esteem, and he was nobly descended by both parents. His father was called Peter de Beza, and was bailiff of the town. His mother's name was Mary de Bourdelot. Beza tells us this himself; as also, that he was not the offspring of monks; and that his family, if it could recover what it had superstitiously bestowed on monks for two hundred years, would be very wealthy He was sent to Paris very young, where he was tenderly educated under the care of his uncle Nicholas Beza, counsellor of the parliament, till 1528, when he was sent to Orleans, to study under Melchior Wolmar, a German, and professor of the Greek language at Bourges; but he left that employment, and returned to Germany, in 1535. Beza then began to study the law at Orleans; but he spent the best part of his time in composing verses, and reading the classics. He distinguished himself in a very particular manner by his poetry, which made him caressed by the most learned men of the university, and highly extolled by the best poets of that time.

His uncle the counsellor, who designed him for the church, died in 1532: But another uncle, abbot of Froidmont, had the same kindness for this nephew, and intended to resign his abbey to him, which was worth fifteen thousand livres a year. Beza took his licentiate's degree in 1539, when he was in his twenty-first year, and then went to Paris, where some good preferments were provided for him, which he might well expect from the interest of his friends, his great talents, and uncommon reputation. The allurements of pleasure, the sweets of fame

From the Medal of Dacier.

fame, and the hopes of the greatest honours, gave him very pleasing sensations, and combated for some time the resolution he had taken to follow Wolmar, and make a public profession of the Reformation.

The temptations of the world made him irresolute about renouncing popery; but he provided against the temptations of the flesh by a marriage of conscience. He was handsome and polite, as well as witty and learned; and he paid his addresses to Claudia Denossa, who was a very amiable woman, and of noble extraction, if Ancillon is to be credited: But he says her name was Frances de St Marcel d'Avencon, sister of a bishop of Greenoble; in which he was greatly mistaken. Her name was Denossa, and Scaliger says, she was the daughter of an advocate. He made this lady a solemn promise to marry her publicly, as soon as the obstacles which hindered him at that time should be removed; and not to engage himself in the ecclesiastical state till after the celebration of their nuptials. He faithfully performed these two promises; and says himself, that "he entered into a contract of marriage, "but secretly; yet with the privacy of one or two of his "pious friends, partly that he might not offend the rest, "and partly because of his ecclesiastical benefices."

Beza had published some poetical pieces which were esteemed worthy even of the Augustan age: But afterwards some new pieces of his, especially a witty epigram that he composed, being censured as licentious and too free; and some envious persons calumniating his life; he quitted his priory of Lonjemeaux, and retired to Geneva in 1548. His poems, entitled Juvenilia, have raised great clamours. They were printed at Paris in 1548, by Conrad Badius, with a licence of the parliament for three years. The Author was then twenty-nine years, and dedicated these poems to his professor Melchior Wolmar. They consist of Silvæ, Elegies, Pictures, Icones, and Epigrams. It cannot be denied that they contained verses too licentious, and little becoming the chastity of a Christian mind; but if the Author's enemies had been reasonable, they would rather have praised him for the grief he expressed for them, than have put an ill construction upon the epigram on Candida and Audebert. These poems of Beza should be placed among the sins of his youth, for which he asked pardon both of God and the world. He endeavoured by all means to suppress them, after his conversion; but the Papists, in order to vex and disgrace him, often reprinted them. One of that generation, objecting to him the loose

poems of his youth, he answered; "That man vexeth "himself, because Christ hath vouchsafed me his grace."

Mezerai treats Beza very ill: He adopts the story for truth, which had been spread, of an accusation of sodomy entered against that minister before the parliament of Paris; and another story of his running away with Candida, his taylor's wife. This appears unworthy of a judicious historian; for he warrants the thing, and can bring no proof. He charges Beza with simony and adultery, which is most shameful in so famous and illustrious an historian, who has greatly injured himself with persons of judgment, for leaving such slanders, unsupported by authentic acts. Maimbourg only paraphrased Mezerai when he drew an horrible picture of Beza; except that he quotes Bolsec, Spondanus, Florimond de Remond, and Claudius de Xaintes. Beza has publicly maintained, that those stories were enormous calumnies; that he had lived an unblameable life at Paris; that he left it neither out of fear, nor for debt, but for his religion; and that he had never attempted his neighbour's wife any more than the Indies. If the fact in question be of such a nature that it may be proved authentically; and if the accusers want neither good will, nor industry; it must be concluded, if they do not prove it, they are calumniators; and this is sufficient to convict Beza's accusers of calumny.

The honour which Beza afterwards acquired in zealously maintaining the Reformation, caused his poems to be remarked, without which they had never been exclaimed against. Cardinal Richelieu has charged Beza with imitating the lewdness of Ovid and Catullus in his poems: But this proceeded from his negligence in transcribing some of the rhapsodies, which were thrown out against Beza by his inveterate enemies. We can never sufficiently deplore the malice or ignorance of men, when we remember that Beza was accused of an abominable crime, on so frivolous a ground as his epigram, *De sua in Candidam et Audebertum benevolentia.* Maimbourg renewed this accusation in his history of Calvinism: But he is very fully refuted by an examination of the piece itself, without strengthening the apology from the great merit of Audebert, who was a worthy man, a good Latin poet, and president in the court of accessors of subsidies in Orleans. Audebert justified Beza, who made use of the same argument, and says to one of his enemies, 'What, when you 'are transported to such a pitch, as even to construe my 'most intimate friendship and familiarity, with a man of the

'highest honour, into so wicked and abominable a crime 'as I cannot so much as mention without horror; though 'it serves you in your cells for jest and sport, must you 'not be detested by all good men." Audebert died in 1599; and his epitaph, in the church of the Holy Cross at Orleans, says, that he was ennobled, with all his posterity, and knighted by Henry III. for his virtue only. 'Such an authentic piece alone (says a learned minister), 'seems to me capable of putting an end to the abominable 'calumny which has hitherto been charged on the me-'mory of that excellent and religious man.' He meant Beza, of whom he wrote a small Latin apology.

Beza was of opinion, that the equality of pastors is of divine right, and that the ecclesiastical hierarchy is a fundamental corruption, meaning undoubtedly the perverted system of the church of Rome; for it appears (says Mr Strype) 'that afterwards Beza and Sadeel, in the name of 'the church of Geneva, professed, in a letter written to 'our archbishop Whitgift, their respect, honour, and ap-'probation of the church of England, by way of contra-'diction to some persons, who, under sanction of the 'Geneva form, attempted to overthrow its constitution.'

He fled to Geneva with his intended bride, and arrived there the twenty-fourth of October, 1548. He was accompanied by John Crispin, a particular friend. But Beza went to see Melchior Wolmar, at Tubingen; and the following year, he accepted the professorship of the Greek tongue at Lausanne, a city in the canton of Bern. He then married Claudia Denossa, with whom he lived forty years lovingly and honourably: For she was a lady of great merit, diligent, frugal, and particularly careful of her husband.

Beza soon became very famous for his Latin compositions, and particularly for his excellent Translation of the Psalms of David in verse. And he wrote a Treatise of the Rights that Magistrates have to punish Heretics. The last was upon the occasion of Michael Servetus, whom the senate of Geneva had ordered to be burnt.

He published several other books at Lausanne, particularly, "A short Explanation of Christianity; an Answer to Joachim Westphalus concerning the Lord's Supper; Two Dialogues on the same subject against Heshusius; and an answer to Castalio concerning the Doctrine of Predestination." Beza, at this time, had not tempered his fire, and moderated his gay disposition, which made him let fall many railleries in his works: It is true, he called

them pious railleries; but they exposed him to the censure of his adversaries.

Beza went frequently to Geneva, to visit Calvin, during the vocations. Calvin was delighted with his poetry; but exhorted him to dedicate his talents to the service of the church; and particularly advised him to finish what Marot had begun. Beza followed this advice, and translated into French verse, the hundred Psalms, which remained undone by Marot. The Translation of the remainder of David's Psalms shews what Beza could do; though he was not so happily succeeded as Clement Marot in his fifty. This Translation was made into French.

During the nine years that Beza continued at Lausanne, he would not confine himself to Greek lectures. He read some also in French on the New Testament, which were for the instruction and consolation of several refugees of both sexes, who lived at Lausanne: But they have been considered as the seeds of his Latin translation of the New Testament, with notes, which he first published in 1556: A second edition was published ten years after, and dedicated to Elizabeth queen of England: The fifth edition came out in 1528, which he dedicated again to the same queen by a new epistle, and suppressed the first wherein he had largely explained his method and design. He revised this work several times, and made many corrections in it, for which he has been cruelly reproached. It was said, that many at Cambridge disregarded religion; being induced by Beza to believe that the New Testament was corrupt; as they had been, by Edward Livilejus, that the Old one was very much so. But no man, who is sensible of the difficulty of such a work, will think it strange, that Beza should make some alterations in each edition.

Calvin had a thorough knowledge of men, and intended Beza for his successor. He often commissioned him to confer with the Lutherans, and at last invited him to Geneva. Before Beza quitted the professorship which he exercised at Lausanne, he made a journey into Germany, in the character of a deputy, and had the pleasure of conferring with Melancthon as he passed through Frankfort in 1557, when he went with Farel and John Budæus to the court of the elector palatine, the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Wirtemberg, to desire the intercession of those princes for the vallies of Piedmont, which were then in the possession of the French king.

Beza taught Greek about ten years at Lausanne, and returned and settled at Geneva in 1559. His enemies gave out

out that he was expelled the former city; and Reboul, that satyrical writer, who was beheaded at Rome for his Pasquinades, says it was because Beza got his maid with child. This is false: If it had been true, it would have been known at Geneva as well as at Lausanne; and he would not have gone away honourably, as he tells his preceptor Wolmar. He would not have come every year, as he did, to Lausanne, and have been so well received: They shewed him so much respect, that they used to go out and meet him, as their public memoirs testify. Beza himself says, "that he returned from Lausanne to Geneva, "that he might dedicate himself wholly to divinity." Viret, and other learned men, also went to Geneva, for certain reasons which it was not thought proper to declare; but we may conjecture, that it was owing solely to consistorial or academic factions.

Beza strongly attached himself to Calvin at Geneva, where he soon became his colleague in the church, and university. He succeeded Claudius Pontanus as minister; and composed his Confession of Faith in Latin, which he had formerly wrote in French, to justify himself to his father, and with a view of converting the old man. He published this Latin confession in 1560, dedicated to Wolmar.

The Guises had invaded the royal authority under the reign of Francis II. to the prejudice of the princes of the blood. Beza was sent to Nerac, at the instigation of some great persons of the kingdom, to convert Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, and to confer with him about matters of consequence. That king signified, both by letters and deputies to the senate of Geneva, that he desired Beza should assist at the conference of Poissi, to which the senate readily consented. No better choice could have been made for the good of the cause; and Beza went to the conference that was held there in 1561. The king of Navarre had been engaged in behalf of the Protestants by Jane d'Albret's wife. She had received the chief sectaries of Luther, who were come into France, in hatred of Julius II. which furnished Ferdinand of Arragon with a pretence to seize upon Navarre. Q. Catharine of Medicis sometimes cruelly persecuted the Protestants, and sometimes favoured them; for she made all things subservient to her passion for dominion.

There were then at the French court several ambassadors from the German princes, who came to congratulate Charles IX. upon his accession. The king of Navarre began to

take measures with them to engage the Protestant princes to defend and promote the pure doctrine of the Reformation. The ambassadors represented to him, on the part of their masters, that he ought to establish, and cause to be received, the doctrine, which was according to the confession of Augsburg, composed in part of that of Luther, and not of Calvin, which was according to the confession of the Switzers. The prince replied, 'that, this latter 'being already established in France, it must be suffered 'to continue in the state it was in: That it was of small 'import, whether the doctrine of Luther or Calvin was 'followed, since they were both equally opposite to the 'pope in all things, and differed from each other but in 'very few points: And that the two confessions ought to 'be considered as containing the same doctrine, since 'they were equally contrary to the common enemy, the 'pope.'

The continual disputes, subsisting among the French subjects about religion, at last determined the bishops to appoint a conference between the French subjects and the Protestant ministers. It was held at Poissi, where the princes, the cardinals, and the greatest lords of the kingdom assisted, and the king himself presided. It was opened on the ninth of September, 1561. The chancellor De l'Hospital declared, that the king's intention in assembling them was, to discover, from their sentiments, a remedy for the disorders which arose in his kingdom on the subject of religion; that they should therefore endeavour to correct such things as required it; and that they should not separate, till they had put an end to all differences by a sincere reconciliation. The chancellor, in his harangue, made no scruple to give the title of National Council to this conference; and compared it to the provincial synods of Orleans, Arles, and Aix, which the emperor Charlemagne had caused to be held.

This conference continued near two months: Great disputes arose upon the contested points: And a secretary was always present to take down minutes of every thing that was said or done. The Protestant doctors, and particularly Beza, spoke with great freedom. He had a ready wit, and much learning: He knew the world, and spoke well. His speech was heard with great attention, till he touched upon the real presence, when an expression which he made use of caused a murmuring. The expression was this: "We say, that the body of Jesus Christ is as far "from the bread and wine, as the highest heaven is re-

"mote

« mote from the earth." It is surprizing, that such a grave historian as Mezerai durst say, that this proposition of Beza was passionate and offensive; that Beza was ashamed of it himself; that it strangely offended the ears of the Catholics; and that the prelates trembled with horror at it. Mezerai might think these tremblings reasonable; but he made himself ridiculous by it; for it is the same thing to say, 'the body of Jesus Christ is not 'present in the holy sacrament;' and to say, 'it is at 'a very great distance from it.' Bayle observes, that 'this 'single expression, though many others as contrary and 'repugnant to the doctrine of the church of Rome had 'been said by him, was the cause that the prelates began 'to stir, and to murmur. Some cried out, *blasphemavit*; 'others arose to be gone, not being able to do any thing 'worse, because of the king's presence. The cardinal 'De Tournon, dean of the cardinals, who was seated in 'the chief place, required of the king and the queen, 'that silence might be imposed on Beza; or that he, and 'his whole company, might be permitted to retire. Neither the king nor any of the princes, stirred; and 'audience was given to proceed. Silence being made, 'Beza said; "I desire you, sirs, to hear the conclusion, "which will satisfy you:" And then he returned to his 'discourse, which he continued to the end.' Nothing will better discover the weakness of the human mind. An old cardinal, and many bishops, are scandalized, are going away, and cry out *blasphemy*: For what? Because they heard a minister say, that Jesus Christ is not corporeally present in the symbols of the bread and wine of the eucharist. Can there be a worse grounded, or more childish cause of offence? When people teach, that the body of Jesus Christ is present but in one place at one time, and that it is always seated in Paradise at the right hand of GOD, they plainly maintain, that it is as remote from the sacrament of the eucharist, as Paradise is from the earth. Now the prelates of the conference at Poissi could not be ignorant, that the Protestants taught, that the humanity of Jesus Christ is always in heaven, at the right hand of GOD; and that it can be present but in one place at one time; and they could not expect that Beza would neglect to explain the doctrine of his persuasion: Therefore, they should not have been offended with this expression; or else they went to the assembly with this opinion, that the Protestant ministers would betray their cause, and only endeavour to deceive their king. Catharine

rine de Medicis said, in her letter to M. de Rennes, ambassador of France at the emperor's court, that 'Beza, 'speaking of the sacrament, forgot himself, in a com-'parison, so absurd and offensive to the ears of all the 'assistants, that she was near silencing him, and sending 'all the ministers away, without suffering them to proceed 'any farther.'

In the remaining part of this conference, Beza behaved like a man of great capacity, and never suffered himself to be surprized by the artifices of the cardinal of Lorrain. But they at last separated, without coming to any conclusion; the catholics not being disposed to make concessions in any one article.

In the course of one of the debates, a doctor of the Sorbonne, irritated at the strength of his adversary's arguments, pointed with his finger to Beza, and said in a threatening manner, 'If we could but once catch thee 'within the walls of the Sorbonne, thou shouldest not get 'out again.'—A lively argument truly!

Beza did not return to Geneva when the conference was ended; for, being a Frenchman, Catharine de Medicis would have him stay in his own country. He preached frequently before the queen of Navarre, the prince of Conde, and in the suburbs of Paris. The king of Navarre, though of the religion of the Protestants, declared himself against them, to preserve the title of viceroy: But the prince of Conde, the Coligny's, and several others, being discontented at the absolute government of the triumvirate, and incensed by the ill treatment of the Protestants, whose doctrine they had embraced, retired from court, and began to make the protestants take up arms in their own defence. The pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and the catholic Swiss cantons, entered into a league against the prince of Conde, and undertook to prevent the Protestant princes from raising troops to succour his party. This league made very strong impressions upon the minds of the people in France, Germany, and all the northern nations, where they were so highly disposed in favour of the Protestants, that they furnished them with one hundred thousand crowns to carry on the war; and the prince of Conde obtained leave to raise troops among all the Protestant princes.

The prince took Orleans, Roan, Lyons, and several other places, in 1562, without effusion of blood, except Tours, which was taken by assault. The victorious soldiers broke open the churches, and pulled down the images and

and statues of the saints: But the vessels of gold and silver, and the sacred ornaments, which were very numerous, were saved. The king of Navarre took Roan, but was mortally wounded at the siege, and died when he was no more than twenty-five years of age. Some hours before his death he received the sacrament, according to the ancient custom of the church; but he declared, that if GOD was pleased to restore him to his health, he would publicly embrace the confession of Augsburg.

Beza attended the prince of Conde during this civil war, and was at the battle of Dreux, in 1562, as a minister. The fortune of this engagement was very uncommon; for the generals of both parts were taken prisoners. The constable Montmorency was carried to Orleans; and the prince of Conde to the camp of the king's troops: After which, the duke of Guise commanded the Royalists, and Coligny commanded the Protestants. Claudius de Xaintes reproached Beza for being in arms: But Beza answered him, that he was present at the battle in the habit of his order, not armed; nor could he be justly charged with the slaughter of one man, or with flight.

During the imprisonment of the prince of Conde, Beza always kept with admiral Coligny, and did not return to Geneva, till after the peace of 1563. The duke of Guise was pistoled before Orleans by Poltrot, a Protestant gentleman, who was taken, and brought before the queen. He was interrogated in her presence, and answered like a madman; sometimes declaring that he had committed this action at the solicitation of Coligny, Soubize, and Beza; at other times denying this; and again saying things contradictory to both these. The duke of Guise was esteemed one of the greatest men of his time; and his party accused Beza of having a hand in the murder. The great and universally acknowledged probity of admiral Coligny did not suffer the public to believe he had any concern in so detestable an action, nor even that he had the least knowledge of it: But the princes of the house of Guise were of another opinion; and looked upon him as the author of the murder. Poltrot was condemned to be torn in pieces by four horses. Before the execution he was put to the rack, and denied that Coligny, Soubize, and Beza were privy to his crime. The constable Montmorency, and the prince of Conde, were afterwards both killed in battle.—Coligny was assassinated, and the Protestants were massacred throughout all France.

When

When Beza returned to Geneva, he succeeded Calvin. He wrote an apology for his Latin translation of the New Testament, which had been censured by Sebastian Castalio, whom Beza charges with openly endeavouring, in a preface on the perversion of the sacred books, to destroy the sufficiently evident authority of the divine word. Sainte Aldegonde wrote to Beza, that 'there was a new 'kind of enthusiasts, who from the German theology, trans-'lated into Latin by Castalio, from Taulerus a crazy monk, 'and from the ravings of other heretics both ancient and 'modern, patch together those rhapsodies which are so 'very agreeable, not only to the superstitious and ignorant 'vulgar, but to men of moderate learning and no contemp-'tible piety, that they all press to the books of these men, 'as to some hidden treasure. It would be tedious to 'reckon up all their wild notions; nor can you be igno-'rant of most of them, who have often been obliged to 'encounter these monsters, among whom I reckon Cas-'talio not the least considerable.' Beza was persuaded, that Castalio had translated that book into Latin; yet he would not affirm it in a public work, before he had informed himself whether it could be possible to produce good proofs of it, if Castalio should deny it. A wise precaution; for Castalio denied, before the ministers of Basil, that he had any share in that book.

Nicholas Beza, who was bailiff of Vezelai, fled to Geneva, on account of his religion, in 1568, and djed there soon after of the plague, at the house of Theodore Beza, his brother by the father's side. Theodore took a journey to Vezelai, to settle the affairs of the family of the deceased. He endeavoured to persuade a sister which he had in a nunnery, to forsake the church of Rome: But she was an old nun, very obstinate in her religion, and would not listen to his remonstrances.

On Beza's return to Geneva from Vezelai, he attacked Brentius, and James Andreas, upon their doctrine of ubiquity. He also attacked the errors of Flaccius Illyricus; and wrote his book *De Divortiis & Repudiis*, against Ochinus, who had written in favour of polygamy. He answered Selnecerus and Pappus. He turned the Psalms of David into all sorts of Latin verses; and translated the Canticles into lyric verse. He published a treatise of the sacrament; and some sermons on the passion of Christ.

The religious war in France destroyed many thousands on both sides, and Beza returned again to that kingdom in

in 1571, to assist at the national synod of Rochelle, of which he was elected moderator. The Papists broke the peace of 1568, by the massacre of Paris in 1571, which was called the massacre of St Bartholomew. Above thirty thousand Protestants were murdered; and the king of Navarre, with the young prince of Conde, the only two persons saved, were compelled to abjure the Reformed religion. This horrid business, commonly called the wedding of Paris, has been scandalously represented by Gabriel Naude as a master-piece in policy. But all the Europeans looked upon this action with the utmost abhorrence; saying, that, in the accounts of the most barbarous nations, there was not an example of such horrid cruelty.

The Hugonots recommenced the war with great animosity; and Beza, in 1572, assisted at the synod of Nismes, where he opposed the faction of John Morel, who designed to introduce a new discipline. The royal army besieged Rochelle, which was so gallantly defended by the Protestants, that peace was granted them in 1573.

The fifth civil war began the next year, when Charles IX. died, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry III. The prince of Conde at that time sent for Beza to Strasburg, that he might carry on a negotiation with prince John Casimir, administrator of the palatinate; which shews, it was well known, that Beza understood other things besides lectures and books. He succeeded so well, that Casimir brought an army from Germany to assist the Hugonots, who obtained a peace upon more advantageous terms than any of the former.

Beza returned to Geneva, where James Arminius was sent in 1582, to perfect his studies, at the expence of the magistrates of Amsterdam. He chiefly followed the lectures of Beza, who at that time expounded the epistle to the Romans. Arminius was afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden; and formed a separate sect, which was condemned in a national synod; for he opposed Beza as a Supralapsarian; and acknowledged no other election, but that which was grounded on the obedience of sinners to the call of GOD by Jesus Christ, or, in other words, that there is really no such thing as election at all, in which he agreed with the Papists, Pelagians, and other heretics.

Beza wrote his *De cœna Domini*, against Harchius; and afterwards continued quietly at Geneva till 1586, in which time there had been three other civil wars in France about religion.

religion. The duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal, were assassinated by order of the king, who, in 1589, was stabbed in his turn by James Clement, a monk, and died of the wound. The line of Valois ended in this prince, who was succeeded by Henry IV. a Protestant of the Bourbon branch, and king of Navarre.

Some gentlemen had left France for religion, and fled to Montbelliard, in the Franche-Comte. The count of that country, in compliance with the desire of these refugees, desired the canton of Bern to name deputies, to confer with the divines of Wirtemberg; and he also desired the republic of Geneva to send Beza to the conference. Beza and Anthony la Faye, came as deputies from Geneva; Musculus, and Huberus, were the Swiss deputies; and James Andreas, and Luke Osiander, were the chief deputies of Wirtemberg. The dispute was left to Beza and Andreas. The former would have the dispute managed syllogistically; but he was obliged to yield to the desires of his adversary, who would not be confined to such rules. Andreas used a long and declamatory way of speaking, which obliged Beza to do the same; and the dispute was not cleared up, though it lasted many days. Each party boasted to have gained the victory, and published an account accordingly. This conference was held more for political than theological reasons. The count of Montbelliard had been an Ubiquitarian, till he heard Beza's sermons and lectures, when he altered his opinion, and gave protection to the refugees: But his aim in holding this conference was to clear himself from the suspicion of Calvinism, that the emperor might favour his succession to the duchy of Wirtemberg.

Beza lost his wife in 1588, but this domestic affliction did not prevent him from going to the synod at Bern, where the doctrine of Samuel Huberus, concerning our justification, which, he said, consisted in an inherent quality, was condemned. Beza grieved for his wife, who has been praised for several good qualities, and chiefly for her conjugal affection; he was now near seventy; yet, the same year, he was married again to a widow, who survived him. The name of this second wife was Catharine de la Plane, who also took care of him as long as he lived.

The inconveniences of old age began to come upon him in 1597, and obliged him to speak but seldom in public. In that year a report was spread throughout Italy, Germany, and Holland, that Beza had renounced his

his religion before the senate, and had exhorted the magistrates to reconcile themselves to the church of Rome; and that, by a special order from the pope, the bishop had absolved him before his death. They who invented and spread this story were little acquainted with the true interests of their church. The falsehood was easily confuted by the ministers of Geneva, who published two pieces, one in Latin, and the other in French, attended with all the authenticity necessary to refute this foolish lie. Beza confuted it in a letter to William Stuckius; and the jesuit Clement du Puy, who was looked upon as the inventor of this fable, had a shower of satyrical verses on himself in particular, and on his own order in general, which Beza's muses, old as they were, made very formidable.

The last time that Beza preached was on the day that peace was proclaimed in 1598, when he expounded the eighty-fifth Psalm, *Thou hast made peace, O Lord, with thy people.* The last verses which he composed were a *Votiva Gratulatio,* to Henry IV. after he had been kindly received by that monarch near Geneva, in the month of December, 1600. The king had been obliged to embrace the Romish religion in 1593: But, in 1598, he published an edict at Nantz, to quiet the minds of the Protestants, by securing to them the free exercise of their religion. He concluded a peace with Spain at Vervins, and then attacked the duke of Savoy, whose dominions he had almost conquered, and lay encamped at St Catharine's-fort, about two leagues distant from Geneva, when he received the deputies at Luysel, a quarter of a league from the fort. Dr Span reports the speech which Beza made to that prince, and the king's answer. Beza praised the piety of Henry, in rescuing the churches of GOD from oppression; and contented himself in "saying and applying to "human things, what Simeon said of divine, "*Now, Lord, "let thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word;* "seeing that mine eyes have seen, before I die, not only "the deliverer of us, but of all France, and of the faith-"ful in general." The king answered, 'Father, these 'few words, which signify much, are worthy the re-'putation you have acquired.' He then granted the deputies what they desired, which was the demolition of St Catharine's-fort: And Thuanus says, that the king made Beza a present of five hundred crowns: But Collier says five hundred pistoles, for the good services he had done his father and mother.

Beza

Beza preserved his senses to the last day of his life. His memory was very good as to things which he had learnt, during the vigour of his mind; for he could repeat all the Psalms in Hebrew, and all St Paul's epistles in Greek, by heart: But it was very bad as to things present; for he soon forgot many things, of which he had been speaking. He continued in this condition almost two years, if we may believe Thuanus: And Casaubon affirms, that in point of erudition, Beza shewed himself in the latter years of his life, such as he had appeared twenty years before. He discoursed so clearly upon ancient history, that it seemed as if he had just been reading Plutarch, and the like authors: But, after having amply discoursed on the subject of the new king of England, he would often ask, in the same conversation, whether it was true that Q. Elizabeth was dead. His last sermon was preached in January, 1600, when he was eighty-one years of age, on these words; *Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.* In his last illness he was afflicted with tedious watchings, lying awake all the nights; but he sweetened the time by holy meditations: And speaking to his friends of it, he used the words of the Psalmist: *My reins also instruct me in the night season. I have set the Lord always before me. In his favour is life. My soul is satisfied as with marrow and fatness, when I remember thee upon my bed, and meditate on thee in the night watches.* He often used the words of the apostle; *We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to good works.* Likewise those of St Augustine; 'I have lived long, I have sinned long: Blessed be the name of the Lord.' He often repeated the following prayer; "Cover, Lord, what has been: Govern what shall be. O perfect that which thou hast begun, that I suffer not shipwreck in the haven." Likewise from Bernard: 'Lord, we follow thee, through thee, unto thee: We follow thee, because thou art the truth; through thee, because thou art the way; and to thee, because thou art the life.'—On the Lord's day in the morning, October 13, he rose and prayed with his family; and then desiring to go to bed again, he sat down on the side of the bed and asked; "if all things were quiet in the city?"—He was answered, 'They were.' And being perceived to be near his end, a minister was sent for and immediately came; and while he was praying with him, Beza, without the least pain or noise, yielded up

up his spirit to GOD, in the year 1605, aged eighty-six years, three months, and nineteen days *.

He was a robust man, and of a robust constitution; and, what is very unusual among hard students, never felt the head-ach.

In his last will he expressed his thankfulness, "That "GOD had called him to the knowledge of the truth at "sixteen years of age, though he walked not answerably to "it, till the Lord in mercy brought him home and carried "him to Geneva, where under that great man Calvin, "he learned Christ more fully: That having returned to "Geneva, after many dangers, he was there chosen pastor, "while he deserved not to be one of the sheep: That not "long after, he was made colleague with that excellent "man, John Calvin, in reading divinity; and that God "had preserved him in many dangers."

He never had any children; and he left Catharine de la Plane, his wife, who supported his old age, and placed all her glory in taking the greatest care of him for seventeen years, sole heiress of his estate at Geneva. He was interred in St Peter's cloister, and not in the burying-place of the Plein-palaix; because the Savoyards gave out, that they would take up his corps, and send it to Rome.

Beza

* Beza, in his younger years, after the Lord had touched his heart by the word, was one day in the church of Charenton, where he providentially heard the ninety-first Psalm expounded. It was followed with such power to him, that he not only found it sweet at present, but was enabled to believe that the Lord would fulfil to him all the promises of that Psalm. At his death, he declared to his Christian friends, that he had found it so indeed! That as he had been enabled to close with the second verse, in taking the Lord for his GOD, and got a sure claim that he would be his *refuge and fortress*; so he had found remarkably in the after changes of his life, that the Lord had *delivered him from the snare of the fowler*; for he had been in frequent hazard from the lying in wait of many to ensnare him: And *from the noisome pestilence*; for he was sometimes in great hazard from the pestilence in those places where he was called to reside. And amidst the civil wars which were then so hot in France, he had most convincing deliverances from many imminent hazards, when he was called to be present sometimes with the Protestant princes upon the field, where *thousands did fall about him*. And thus, when near his end, he found that Psalm so observably verified, on which he was caused to hope, that he went through all these promises, declaring the comfortable accomplishment of them. How he had found the Lord *giving his angels charge over him, often answering him when he called upon him*; how he had *been with him in trouble, had delivered him, and had satisfied him with long life*. "And "now (says he) I have no more to wait for, but the fulfilling of these last "words of the Psalm, *I will shew him my salvation*; which with confidence "I long for."

Beza was a man of extraordinary merit, and very instrumental in conducting the Reformation. He was looked upon as the chief of the Protestants of France and Switzerland. The Romanists commonly called him the Hugonot pope: And pope Sixtus V. caused two conferences to be held, at which himself was present, to deliberate about the means of depriving the Protestant party of the great support they had in the person of Beza. They would have assassinated, or poisoned him, if it had been possible that any enterprize against his person could succeed. What could be said more to the honour of this minister, than the representing him as a man who made the pope and cardinals uneasy, as to affairs of state; for there was no controversy in the case?

His WORKS. He wrote a great number of books, besides those already mentioned, particularly the "Icones of illustrious persons, who assisted in the Reformation; and the Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches." This last work is very curious, and extends from 1521, to the thirteenth of March, 1563. His Annotations upon the New Testament have ever been much esteemed. Our archbishop Grindal, to whom Beza presented a copy, gave them very particular commendations; and indeed, for their learning and piety, they are invaluable.

Henry IV. survived Beza but a few years; for he was stabbed in his coach by Francis Ravillac in 1610. Thus this hero, after having surmounted innumerable difficulties in his way to the crown, and stifled above fifty conspiracies, most of them formed by churchmen, against his life, died by the hands of a villain. Hostilities were recommenced against the Hugonots in 1625, when their strength was entirely broke, and an end was put to the wars which had so long ravaged France on a religious account. Historians say, that these wars cost above a million of lives, in which two kings were murdered, and above one hundred and fifty millions of livres, or seven millions and a half of pounds sterling, were spent: And that nine cities, four hundred villages, twenty thousand churches, two thousand monastries, and ten thousand houses were burnt, or otherwise destroyed, during their continuance. Lewis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantz in 1685, whereby the Protestants were prohibited the exercise of their religion, and their churches demolished. The consequence was, that France lost above five hundred thousand inhabitants; a prodigious quantity of specie; and, above all, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves.

JOHN-

JOHN RAINOLDS, D. D.

'THIS singular man of infinite reading, this treasury 'of all learning, both divine and human,' (says Dr Featly) John Rainolds, was born at Pinto in Devonshire, in 1549, and sent to Merton-college in Oxford, in 1562. He removed to Corpus Christi-College, of which he became first scholar, and then fellow. He took both the degrees in arts and divinity. In 1598, he was made dean of Lincoln; but, being unwilling to quit an academical life, he exchanged his deanry the year following, for the presidentship of Corpus Christi-college. Q. Elizabeth offered him a bishopric; but he modestly refused it, and said (what is not very usual), *nolo episcopari* in real earnest. The learned have bestowed most uncommon praises upon this divine. Bishop Hall, a very competent judge, observes, that 'he alone was a well-furnished li-'brary, full of all faculties, of all study, of all learn-'ing. The memory, the reading of that man, were to a 'miracle.' Dr Crakenthorp says, that 'for virtue, pro-'bity, integrity, and piety, he was so eminent, that as 'Nazianzen speaks of Athanasius, to name him is to com-'mend virtue itself.' He had a hand in translating part of the Old Testament, by command of K. James I. He was inclined to Puritanism, but with such moderation, that he continued a conformist to the church of England. He was thought to shorten his life by too severe application to his studies; but when his friends urged him to desist, he used to reply, that he would "not lose the very "end of living for the sake of life: *Non propter vitam* "*vivendi perdere causas.*"

He was a most able adversary, as well as his friend Dr Whitaker, against Bellarmine and Rome.

He departed this life with great comfort and testimony of faith, much lamented by all learned and good men, on the twenty-first of May, 1607, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

His WORKS. Those that have been printed are: 1. "Two Orations, printed in the year 1576. 2. Six Theses, in 1579. 3. His conference with Heart, in

1585; and afterwards translated into Latin by Henry Pary, bishop of Gloucester, and printed by command of archbishop Bancroft, in 1610. 4. *De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Idololatria*, in 1596. An Apology for his Thesis, in 1602. 6. Since his death, certain Epistles between him, Dr Gager, and Albericus Gentius, concerning Stage Plays. 7. A Treatise of Divorce, and marrying again in case of Adultery. 8. A Censure of the Apocrypha in two tomes, containing two hundred and fifty of his Lectures in the divinity Schools. 9. Epistles and Orations, in Latin, published by A. Jackson. 10. His Lectures upon Obadiah, with a Thanksgiving Sermon for the Queen's deliverance from a dangerous Treason, published by Hinde.

Those in manuscript are: 1. A Commentary upon Aristotle's Three Books of Rhetoric, in Latin. 2. The materials and first draught of six books, *De Idololatria Romanæ Ecclesiæ*. 3. Sermons upon Haggai, preached in Oxford. 4. His learned Answer to *Sanders De Schismate Anglicano*, in defence of the Reformation, the Regal Supremacy, and the book of Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. 5. A Defence of the English Liturgy against Robert Browne, the Separatist. 6. A Treatise of the Beginning and Progress of Popish Errors, shewing, that for the first three hundred years after Christ, bishops ruled their own dioceses without subjection to the pope. 7. A Treatise of Daniel's Weeks, against Hugh Broughton, dedicated to Archbishop Whitgift."

THOMAS HOLLAND, D. D.

LEARNING, with grace, is a happy advantage both to the church, and to the souls of the possessors: But learning, without grace, becomes too often the instrument of error and mischief, and, instead of leading men to GOD, only involves them, under the shew of ingenuity, in the deeper destruction. Human knowledge, at the best, is but a specious kind of ignorance; and, while it pretends to extend the mental capacity, too often swells it with a windy pride, which not only leaves no room for better things, but commonly raises a thousand prejudices against them. On the contrary, the knowledge which cometh from GOD,

GOD, at once exalts the soul and humbles it; enables it to set a due value upon all earthly attainments, and puts it upon the keenest pursuit after those which are divine.

The truth of these reflections was exemplified in the life of this excellent man. He thought all knowledge proportionably estimable, as it led him to GOD, and might be employed for him. This is the true end of our being: And nothing can deserve the name of wisdom, which does not lead us to it.

He was born in Shropshire, in the year 1539, and received his academical tuition at Exeter-College, Oxford, in which university he took his degrees with much applause. In process of time, he commenced doctor in divinity, was chosen master of Exeter College, and, upon account of his excellent learning, was appointed Regius professor, or doctor of the chair, in succession to the learned Dr Humfreys. In this station, he distinguished himself so much by every kind of desirable attainment, divine or human, that he was esteemed and admired, not only in our seminaries of learning at home, but also by the universities abroad. Like the eloquent Apollos, he was mighty in the scriptures; and like the learned apostle, faithful in explaining them. His example followed his doctrines; and he lived himself what he preached to others. He was a zealous advocate for the Reformed religion; and was so possessed with aversion in himself, and with fear for others, concerning the superstition and idolatry from which the nation had lately emerged, that, whenever he set out upon a journey from his college, he constantly called the society together, and commended them to the love of GOD, and to the abhorrence of popery. This was the more needful, as the Papists had many secret favourers, at that time, in both our universities.

He continued in this respectable office for twenty years, with great reputation and usefulness. And as he approached nearer and nearer to his journey's end, he spent more and more time in meditation and prayer. In his declining years, sickness and infirmities increased upon him: And these served to increase his ardour for his heavenly habitation. He loved and he longed for GOD, for the presence of GOD, and for the full enjoyment of him. His soul was framed for heaven, and could find no rest till it came there. All the comforts he found on earth, resulted from heaven, or related to it. His end (as might be expected) was peace. When he found his

dissolution approaching, and his departure at hand; he often sighed and prayed—"Come; O come, Lord "Jesus, thou morning star! Come, Lord Jesus; I desire "to be dissolved, and to be with thee!"

His request was granted; and he departed to his Master in the year 1612, after having sojourned here seventy-three years.

RICHARD FIELD.

THIS eminent divine, of the church of England, was born of a reputable family at Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, on the fifteenth of October, 1561; and at sixteen years of age, admitted of Magdalen-College in the university of Oxford: But after taking his first degree removed to Magdalen-Hall. He continued seven years in this situation, distinguished as a great divine, a great preacher, and an acute disputant: And then in 1594, being bachelor of divinity, was chosen reader in that faculty to the honourable society of Lincoln's-inn in London. He gave so much satisfaction here, that one of the members of the house became his patron, and gave him the living of Burrowclere, in Hampshire. Soon afterwards he had the offer of St Andrews in Holborn, London, a living of greater value, and more in the way to preferment; but he chose to continue where he was, liking a reserved life, where he might, says Mr Wood, serve GOD and follow his studies. In 1598, being then doctor of divinity, he was made chaplain to Q. Elizabeth; and about that time commenced a friendship with the famous Mr Richard Hooker, whom he much resembled in his great learning and humility. Upon the accession of K. James, he was made chaplain in ordinary to him; and, by his majesty's own appointment, was sent for to Hampton-Court.

In the year 1604, he became canon of Windsor; and the same year, when the king was to be entertained at Oxford with all sorts of scholastic exercises, he was sent for out of the country to bear a part in the divinity-acts. In the year 1609, he became dean of Gloucester; and the year after published a second edition, augmented with a fifth book, and an appendix, of his Four Books of the Church.

Church. This famous work is dedicated to Sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham; and confirmed all men in the high notions they had conceived of his great parts and deep learning. He was esteemed a perfect oracle in his way; and divines of even the first order scarce ever went to him, without loading themselves with questions. When K. James heard him preach the first time, he said, 'This is a FIELD for God to dwell in:' An expression like that of Thomas Fuller, who citing something out of his books upon the church, styleth him, 'that 'learned divine, whose memory smelleth like a FIELD 'which the Lord hath blessed.' The Reader will remember, that this was the age of *punning*. Even books and sermons were too often loaded with witticisms and quibbles of this kind. The king had once an intention to send him into Germany, with a view of composing the differences between the Lutherans and Calvinists; but something put him off.

His majesty however retained the same good opinion of him to the last, and designed him for a bishopric. Salisbury was first fixed on, but the solicitation of great personages carrying that elsewhere, the king was resolved to bestow Oxford upon him; and Sir George Villiers, in a letter dated July 11, 1616, told him, that if he was minded to take that see upon him, he should repair to the court, kiss the king's hand, and hold his benefices *in commendam* with it. GOD, however, was pleased, says Mr Wood, to prefer him to a better place; for on the twenty-first of November following he died, aged fifty-five years.

He was esteemed, says the same author, 'a principal 'maintainer of Protestancy, a powerful preacher, a profound schoolman, an exact disputant, and so admirably 'well-knowing in the controversies between the Protest-'ants and Papists, that few, or none, went beyond him. 'He had a great memory; and any book he read he was 'able to carry away the substance of. He was one that 'much laboured to heal the breaches of Christendom, and 'was ready to embrace truth, wheresoever he found it. 'His desire, his prayers, his endeavours were for peace, 'to make up the breaches of the church, not to widen 'differences, but to compose them. He was a good and 'faithful pastor, and his care reached unto all churches. 'He was a loving husband, a tender father, a good master 'and neighbour, and willing to do good to all, &c.' A very great and amiable character!

His WORKS. His Books upon the Church were reprinted at Oxford in 1628, folio. Besides these, he published a Sermon, preached before the king at Whitehall, upon Jude ver. 8. in 1604; and a little before his death he had almost composed a book entitled, A View of the Controversies in Religion, which in these last Times have caused the lamentable Divisions of the Christian World. But this book, not being finished, was never published, though a preface was written to it by its Author. Perhaps, he would have been thanked by few, if he had lived to publish it. There are not too many Christians, who live above the rage and the cause of a party; which last has sometimes appeared of more consequence to some professors of religion, than the cause of religion itself. The profane world, glad of the occasion, throw the scandal upon piety; not perceiving, that the want of piety is the real source of all the evil.

ROBERT ABBOT,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

ROBERT ABBOT was elder brother to the excellent archbishop George Abbot (whose life will follow in course), and born at Guildford, in Surry, in the year 1560. He was brought up with his brother under the same schoolmaster; till being sufficiently qualified for the university, he was sent to Baliol-College, in Oxford, in 1575. He took his master of arts degree in 1582; became a noted preacher there, also a constant lecturer at St Martin's church, in the Quadrivium, and sometimes at Abingdon, in Berkshire. His preferment was remarkably owing to his merit, particularly in preaching; notwithstanding the distinction which some have affected to make, between the talents and tempers of these two brothers; that George was the more plausible preacher, Robert the greater scholar; George the abler statesman, Robert the deeper divine: Gravity did frown in George, and smile in Robert; such the qualities of this Robert evidently were; that upon the first sermon he preached at Worcester, he was made lecturer in that city, and soon after rector of All-

All-Saints there; and upon a sermon he preached at Paul's Cross, he was presented to the rich benefice of Bingham, in Nottinghamshire, by one of his auditors, John Stanhope, Esq. as Dr Featley has observed in his life: In 1594, he became no less eminent for some of his writings; particularly against a certain Papist, on the sacrament. He then took his degrees in divinity; that of doctor being completed in 1597.

In the beginning of the reign of K. James I. he was made chaplain in ordinary to him; and this king so highly esteemed him for his writings, that, with the second edition of Dr Abbot's book, *De Antichristo*, in 1608, his majesty ordered his own commentary upon part of the Apocalypse to be printed: An honour, which that king did to no other of the great clerks in this kingdom. And, in truth, the doctor's pen had now brought him also into general esteem, for what he had hitherto published in defence of William Perkins's Reformed Catholic, against Dr William Bishop, now a secular priest, but afterwards, in the pope's style, a titular bishop, of the aerial diocese of Chalcedon. It is my author's assertion, that Dr Abbot has herein given that William Bishop as great an overthrow, as Jewel to Harding, Bilson to Allen, or Reynolds to Hart. At the end of this excellent work is added a particular treatise, he soon after wrote, entitled, The true ancient Roman Catholic, which he dedicated to prince Henry; to whom it was so acceptable, that he returned him many thanks in a letter written with his own hand, and promised his assistance, upon the next vacancy, to advance him higher in the church. And though by that prince's untimely death the doctor lost some hopes, yet, in course of time, his deserts found other friends to do him that justice.

In 1609, he was unanimously elected master of Baliol-College. Here (says Dr Featley), he was careful and skilful, to set in this nursery the best plants: and then took such care to water and prune them, that in no plat, or knot, throughout the university of Oxford, there appeared more beautiful flowers, or grew sweeter fruit, than in Baliol-College, while he was master. His diligent reading to his scholars, and his continual presence at public exercises, both countenanced the readers, and encouraged the hearers. These regulations and improvements he further wrought, by establishing piety, which had been much neglected; restoring peace, which had been long wanted; and making temperance more familiar among them, which had been too great a stranger in that society.

In

In May, 1610, we find him nominated by the king, among the first fellows of his majesty's royal college at Chelsea, then newly founded, and designed as a kind of fortress for controversial divinity; being thus, as it were, engarrisoned, with the most able and select champions for the Protestant cause, against all assaults of popery. In November the same year, he was made prebendary of Normanton, in the church of Southwell. Upon his preaching a sermon before the king, during his month of waiting at court, in 1612, when the news of Dr Thomas Holland's death was brought from Oxford, his majesty named him successor in the theological chair, usually called the king's professor of divinity; but he modestly refused the same, till his broth procured a mandate from the king for him to hold it. Some notable circumstances we meet with of him in this station *; and herein, he has had the character given him of a profound divine; most admirably well read in the fathers, councils, and schoolmen; and a more moderate Calvinian, then either of his two predecessors in the divinity chair, Holland and Humfrey, were; which he expressed by countenancing the sublapsarian way

* Among the reſt, while he was profeſſor in the chair at Oxford, was, his preaching a ſermon before the univerſity; in which, he ſo ſignificantly laid open the oblique methods then uſed by thoſe who ſecretly favoured popery, to undermine the Reformation; and Dr Laud, then preſent, was ſo notoriouſly ſuſpected to be one who uſed thoſe methods, as to have the ſaid reflections applied by the whole auditory to him; that in great vexation he wrote to his patron, Dr Neal, then biſhop of Lincoln (therefore about the year 1614), to know whether he ſhould not make a direct reply to it. The paſſage Laud objected to, was, that Abbot ſhould ſay, 'There were men, who, under pretence of truth, and preaching againſt 'the Puritans, ſtruck at the heart and root of that faith and religion now 'eſtabliſhed among us; which was the very practice of Parſons' and 'Campian's counſel, when they came hither to ſeduce young ſtudents; 'who, afraid to be expelled, if they ſhould openly profeſs their converſion, 'were directed to ſpeak freely againſt the Puritans, as what would ſuffice: 'So theſe do not expect to be accounted Papiſts, becauſe they ſpeak only 'againſt Puritans; but becauſe they are indeed Papiſts, they ſpeak no-'thing againſt them: Or if they do, they beat about the buſh, and that 'ſoftly too, for fear of diſquieting the birds that are in it.' Hereupon, Laud, in his letter to the ſaid biſhop of Lincoln, complains, 'That he was 'fain to ſit patiently at the rehearſal of this ſermon, though abuſed al-'moſt an hour together, being pointed at as he ſat; yet would have taken 'no notice of it, but that the whole univerſity applied it to him; and his 'friends told him, he ſhould ſink in his credit, if he anſwered not Dr 'Abbot in his own: Nevertheleſs, he would be patient; and desired his 'lordſhip to vouchſafe him ſome direction.' But, as we hear not that Laud did anſwer it, the biſhop might perhaps vouchſafe him rather directions to be quiet.

way of predestination. Lastly, upon the king's perusal of his *Antilogia*, against the Apology for Garnet, and the fame of his incomparable lectures in the university, upon the king's supreme power, against Bellarmine and Suarez (printed after his death,) his majesty, when the see of Salisbury fell void, sent his Conge d'Elire for him to the dean and chapter.

Thus, as he set forward, one foot in the temple of virtue, his other still advanced in the temple of honour, though indeed, but leisurely; which is imputed to his own humility, the obstruction of his foes, who traduced him for a Puritan (though cordial to the doctrine of the church of England,) and the unwillingness of some friends to adorn the church with the spoil of the university, and mar a professor to make a bishop. He was consecrated by his own brother the archbishop, on December 3, 1615, in his chapel at Lambeth. Herein equalizing the felicity of Seffridus, some time bishop of Chichester, who being a bishop himself, also saw his brother, at the same time archbishop of Canterbury. Other bishoprics were voiced upon him; but the business of the nullity (before-mentioned, in his brother's life,) made a nullity for a time, says my author, in his Grace's good intentions; insomuch, that K. James, when the doctor, newly consecrated bishop of Sarum, came to do his homage, said pleasantly to him, 'Abbot, I have had very much to do to make thee a bishop; 'but I know no reason for it, unless it were, because 'thou hast written against one;' alluding to the name of the popish priest before-mentioned.

In his way to Sarum, he made a farewell oration at the university with great applause. We have some fragments of it preserved, in the original Latin by two authors; and a translation of it, or epitome in English, by a third. His brethren, the heads of houses, and other Oxford friends, parted with him on the edge of his diocese with tears of grief; and the gentry of Sarum received him with those of joy. He soon observed the beautiful old cathedral to be much decayed, through negligence, and the covetousness of those who filled their purses, with that which should have stopped the chinks. Therefore he used such means with the prebendaries, as drew from them five hundred pounds, which he applied to the reparation of this church; and then laboured to repair the congregation, both by doctrine and discipline; visiting his whole diocese in person, and preaching every Sabbath-day,

day, whilst his health would permit, which was not long; for that sedentary course, to which he had accustomed himself, by his close application to study, brought upon him the gravel and stone. But in all the bodily tortures of his last fit, his soul was at ease, and his heavenly hopes disposed him contentedly to resign all earthly enjoyments.

He was so far from needing the advice of patience, to make the remainder of life supportable, that he gave it others. Even to the judges, who in their circuit came to visit him on his death-bed, he spared not his Christian admonitions; and besides his precepts, gave them his example of the comforts that flowed from a clear conscience. And for the inhabitants; he mourned less to leave the world, than they to part with him; who had so much endeared himself to them, by diligence in his pastoral charge, by his hospitality, and bounty to the poor; and humble carriage to all.

Having summoned his domestics, with desire to declare his faith, he was persuaded to refrain, it being manifest in his writings. Thus, with exhortations, benedictions, and the pains of his disease quite worn out, he lay a while slumbering; and at length, with eyes and hands uplifted for some space, gave up the ghost, on March 2, 1617, (and not, as some have mistaken, the year after) in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and before he had completely filled this see two years and three months; being one of the five bishops which Salisbury saw in six years. His last words were, "*Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly*: "Finish in me the work which thou hast begun! Into "thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; for thou "hast redeemed me, thou God of truth. Save thy ser-"vant, who hopeth and trusteth in thee alone. Let thy "mercy be shewed upon me. In thee have I hoped; let "me not be confounded for ever!"

He was buried over-against the bishop's seat in the cathedral: Having been twice married; the last time, with some displeasure to the archbishop, about a half year after his promotion to the said see. He left one son, or more, and also one daughter, named Martha, who was married to Sir Nathaniel Brent, warden of Merton-college in Oxford; and their daughter Margaret, married Dr Edward Corbet, rector of Haseley in Oxfordshire; who gave some of the bishop's MSS. to the Bodleian library *.

His

* There was another Robert Abbot, a minister, and author also of several devout pieces; who though he was scarcely a writer before bishop

His WORKS. Those in print are, " The Mirror of popish Subtilties: Discovering the Shifts which a cavelling Papist, in behalf of Paul Spence, a Priest, hath gathered out of Saunders and Bellarmine, &c. concerning the Sacraments, &c. Dedicated to archbishop Whitgift, London, 4to. 1594. 2. The Exaltation of the Kingdom and Priesthood of Christ. Sermon on the hundred and tenth Psalm. Dedicated to bishop Babington, 4to. London, 1601. 3. *Antichristi Demonstratio: contra fabulas Pontificias, & ineptiam Bellarmini*, &c. Dedicated to K. James, London, 4to. 1603, and in 8vo. 1608. This is much commended by Scaliger. 4. Defence of the Reformed Catholic of Mr W. Perkins, against the Bastard counter-Catholic of Dr William Bishop, Seminary Priest. Dedicated to K. James: The first part, 4to. 1606, the second part, 4to. 1607, third part, 4to. 1609. A most elaborate work, as one calls it; and another wishes, that W. Bishop had answered all the said Reformed Catholic; then we should have had, in Abbot's encounter, a whole system of controversies exactly discussed; and the truth of the Reformed religion, in all points solidly confirmed, by scripture, fathers, and reason. From a small typographical error in one author, there is another also, who has made a great blunder about this book; For the former, mentioning 'Dr Abbot's two volumes against Bishop's,' (next to another book, which was written by his brother the archbishop) has, by not obliterating the last letter of the last word, and by neglecting to distinguish it as a proper name, in Italics, given a foreigner occasion to make his said brother the archbishop, author of a Treatise against bishops; which, as hath been truly observed, would be somewhat extraordinary in a Metropolitan. 5. The old Way; a Sermon, at St Mary's, Oxford. 4to. London, 1610. Dedicated to archbishop Bancraft, and translated into Latin by Thomas Drax. 6. The true ancient Roman Catholic: Being an Apology against Dr Bishop's Reproof of the Defence of the Reformed Catholic. 4to. 1611. Dedicated to prince Henry, as was before observed. 7. *Antilogia: Adversus Apologiam, Andreæ Eudæmon-Johannis, Jesuitæ, pro Henrico Garnetto Jesuitâ proditore. London*, 4to.

bishop Abbot died, is yet here mentioned, that some Readers may not confound him with this bishop of Salisbury, as others have divided him into three distinct persons; because so many different livings are mentioned to his name in his books: Never considering that one man might, by removal, or successively, enjoy them all, as was the case: That Robert Abbot being first beneficed in Kent, afterwards in Hampshire, and lastly in London.

4to. 1613. Dedicated to K. James. The said apology was printed three years before, with the true name of its jesuitical author, as may be seen in the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, before the last edition of his history. 8. *De gratiâ & perseverantiâ Sanctorum, Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxoniensi.* Lond. 4to. 1618, & Franc. 8vo. 1619. Dedicated to prince Charles. 9. *In Ricardi Thomsoni, Angli-Belgici, Diatribam, de omissione & intercessione Justificationis & Gratiæ, animadversio brevis:* Also printed after his death; London, 4to. 1618: For he finished this book the last day of his life; and then, his brother the archbishop directed Dr Featley, the bishop's domestic chaplain, to draw up, from his Grace's notes, the attestation which is affixed to it. 10. *De supremâ Potestate Regiâ, exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxoniensi, contra Rob. Bellarmine & Franc. Suarez.* Lond. 4to. 1619. Dedicated by his son, to George, archbishop of Canterbury."

He also left behind many compositions in manuscript, as his Sermon at St Mary's in Vindication of the Geneva Bible from Judaism and Arianism; which Dr Howson opposed, till K. James turned his edge from Geneva to Rome; and then, he as fiercely declared against the pope; 'That he'd loosen him from his chair, though he were 'fastened thereto with a tenpenny nail.' Our Author also left other Sermons, which he had preached at Paul's-Cross, and at Worcester; and some in Latin, at Oxford, &c. Lectures on St Matthew. Examination of Mr Bishop's Reproof of his Dedication, &c. to the Answer of his Epistle to the King. Preface to be inserted after the dedication of his book De Antichristo: Besides Commentaries on some parts of the Old Testament. And a Commentary in Latin, upon the whole Epistle to the Romans; which is called an accurate work, in large Sermons upon every text; in which he has handled all the controverted points of religion, and enclosed the whole magazine of his learning: And it is regretted, that the church should be deprived of such a treasure, particularly that of Worcester; to which he seems to have bequeathed it, in his Epistle to the sermons he dedicated to bishop Babington: This work, in four volumes folio, was given by Dr Corbet before-mentioned, to the Bodleian library, where it remains. To conclude with the words of our last quoted Author; 'If all he wrote on the history of Christ's Pas-'sion, the prophet Esay, and the Epistle to the Romans, 'had seen the light; he had come near unto, if not over-'taken, the three prime worthies of our university, Jewel, 'Bilson, and Reynolds.'

JOHN

JOHN JAMES GRYNÆUS.

WE gave some account of the lives of two excellent persons of this family in our last volume: And we have here the satisfaction to relate some chief memoirs of a third, not less eminent for learning and piety.

John James Grynæus, descended from a family of husbandmen, was born at Bern in Switzerland, in the year 1540. His father, who was possessed of a pastoral charge at Rohtela, and died of the plague in the year 1564, and his mother, Adelheida Stuberin, were godly persons. He had his school education at Basil, and in the year 1551, was admitted into the university. The next year he fell sick of the plague; but it pleased GOD to restore him again; and he applied himself most diligently to his studies. In the year 1559, he began to preach, and was ordained deacon. In 1563, he went to Tubing, and the year after was made doctor in divinity: And the year following was sent for to succeed his father in the pastoral charge at Rohtela; where, besides his ordinary labours, he read twice a-week privately to the deacons; which work of faith, and labour of love, GOD was pleased abundantly to own and bless.

In the year 1564, he married, and lived happily with his wife forty years, by whom he had seven children. About the same time the 'Form of Concord' (between the Lutheran and Zuinglian parties, touching the corporeal presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper) was much insisted on, which set Grynæus upon reading the scriptures, and the divines, ancient and modern, upon that subject; for hitherto he had been a Lutheran; but now, having studied the matter, he declared his opinion in favour of Zuinglius, which lost him many friends of the contrary party. But in the year 1575, he was sent for to Basil, to be a professor in interpreting the Old Testament; and, beginning with an exposition of the book of Genesis, the Psalms, and the Prophets, was made exceedingly profitable to the people, and happily instrumental in healing the differences and uniting the Lutheran and Zuinglian churches. Many noblemen and gentlemen came from other countries and boarded

boarded with him; for the sake of his agreeable and profitable conversation. After the death of Lewis, prince elector Palatine, prince Cassimire sent for him to Heidelberg, where he read divinity and history almost two years; when he was recalled to succeed Sculcer in his pastoral office at Basil; which cure he discharged with great fidelity and success for the remainder of his life.

In the latter part of his life, he was almost blind, and often tormented with the cholic; and besides the infirmities of old age, he lost his wife and all his children, except one daughter, and his son-in-law Polanus, and also most of his friends; but he bore all with admirable patience, and in the midst of his afflictions and pains would say,—"To die in Christ is sweet, but to rise in "Him is sweeter. Christ is sufficient both in life and "death. On earth are troubles: In the grave is rest. "At the last day we shall have lasting joys." Writing to his friend Chytræus, he said, "If we never see one "another again in this world, yet we shall meet in that "place, where Luther and Zuinglius agree very well to-"gether." In his last sickness, he gave himself up wholly to prayer, experiencing many sweet foretastes of the joys of heaven, and wishing much *to be dissolved, and to be with Christ.* His wishes were at length gratified, and the Lord took him to himself on the thirtieth of August, in the year 1617, aged seventy-seven, after having been a preacher at Basil twenty years. He used to be up at his study, winter and summer, before sun-rising; and to spend the day in prayer, writing, reading, and visiting the sick. A little before his departure, he declared to doctor Meier, that he died in the same faith which he had taught to others; that he had earnestly besought GOD to provide his people with an able and faithful pastor, &c. concluding, (almost in the words of Tully) "O happy "day, when I shall depart out of this troublesome and "sinful world, to go to heaven, to those blessed souls al-"ready departed!"

He was ever a most affectionate friend and relation to his family and all good men, and of the strictest temperance with respect to himself. His great learning and worth was well understood by his contemporaries; and travellers from all parts, who had any concern for religion and science, constantly visited him. He had great wit, tempered with an amiable gravity. This rendered his company not less pleasant than profitable. He was remarkably patient under wrongs, which he revenged only by

by Christian silence, and regarded not the reproaches of men, if his Master could by any means be glorified in his sermons and writings.

His WORKS. 1. A Summary of the Old Testament. 2. Σκιαγραφια *Theologiæ*, or, An Outline of Divinity. 3. The Character of Christians. 4. An Explication of certain Psalms, and some of the Minor Prophets. 5. An Exposition of the ten first Chapters of St Matthew. 6. An Illustration of the Epistles to the Romans, Colossians, Hebrews, and of the first and second of St John. 7. Theological Propositions and Difficulties, in three parts. 8. The Demonstrations afforded by the Evangelists, that Jesus is the Christ, and that Believers have Life in his Name. 9. Theological Theses and Disputations held at Basil. 10. A Commentary upon Irenæus. 11. An Ecclesiastical History. 12. Chronology of the Gospel-History. 13. An Apology upon the Lord's Supper. 14. His Letters to his Friends, which Melchior Adam extols very highly.

WILLIAM COWPER,

BISHOP OF GALLOWAY.

WE cannot better gratify our Readers, respecting an account of this excellent person, than by giving them a memoir of his life, written by his own hand, in January, 1616, about three years before his death, and found among the papers in his study.

"My life hath not been such, that I am ashamed to live longer, if my gracious God have any further service to employ me withal in his church: Neither am I so desirous to live; but yet I am willing, and heartily content to remove out of this body, that I may be with my Lord, freed from those restless temptations, which on every side have sore pressed, but, through his grace, never oppressed me.

"In my younger years I was trained up with the wrestlings of God; from my youth I have borne his yoke, exercised with his terrors; yet so, that many a time his sweet consolations have refreshed my soul. In my old

days men have risen against me, but not without a cause: Betwixt these two my days are spent: My witness is in heaven; he knoweth that in every state of life my heart was ever toward the Lord; it was my joy to serve him, and my grief when I sinned against him.

"Being of the age of eight years, about Martinmas I was carried by my father from Edinburgh to Dunbar school; I could not write, nor read any Latin then. I tarried there till my twelfth year; even then did the Lord begin to acquaint my heart to seek him: We went two and two to the church; he put then this prayer in my heart every day in the way, "Lord, bow mine ear, "that I may hear thy word." In the school many a time have I turned on my face, seeking from God knowledge and understanding. In the space of four years and less, I learned the whole course of grammar, wherein God made me to prosper, not inferior to others in the company with me.

"From thence I was called by my parents to Edinburgh, and, in the entry of my thirteenth year, sent over to St Andrews, and passed in course of philosophy there in the sixteenth year: There made I not such progress in knowledge, as I had done before in my other studies, either mine age not being capable of it, or my wise and merciful Father not thinking it expedient for me; yet even there was the seed of grace still working in me, inclining me to a careful hearing and penning of sermons, and theological lessons, as I could have occasion to hear them. And here Satan, working in corrupt nature, sought many a time to trap me in his snares, intending in my young years to give me that wound, that might have been a mark of shame to me in my old age, when the Lord should call me to do his work: But as on the one part I felt my weakness compared with the strength of corrupt nature; so, though then I could not discern it, afterward I had proof it was the Lord's preventing mercy that kept me from being an offence unto his Church. It is his mercy that he pardoned the vanities and ignorances of my youth, and his mercy also that he preserved me in all my life from any that could make me a shame to his saints, or a scorn and reproach to his enemies.

"Having passed my course in St Andrews, at the age of sixteen years, I returned to my parents in Edinburgh: I was pressed by them to enter into sundry sorts of life I liked not; for my heart still inclined to the study of the holy scriptures: Whereupon I resolved to go into England, where-

where I evidently perceived the Lord going before me, and providing for me at Hodsdon, within eighteen miles of London, my mean portion which I had being all spent (I speak it to his glory that cared for me) in that same place: That same day was I desired by our kind countryman Mr Guthrie, to help him in the teaching of a school; with whom I remained some three quarters of a year, but after did the Lord lead me further: For having occasion to go to London, without my knowledge, or any suit of mine, I was called to the service of a learned divine, Mr Broughton, unto the which, with the good will of Mr Guthrie I entered, and there remained about a year and a half, daily exercised under him in the study of theology. To him under God, and some other learned divines of that city, do I acknowledge myself bound for these beginnings of knowledge I then received.

"In the nineteenth year of my life I returned again to Edinburgh, where having the commodious occasion to be with my elder brother, then one of the ministers of Edinburgh, I still continued in the same study, and at length was required to give a proof of my gift privately, which I did in the new church in presence of Mr Robert Pont, and Mr Robert Rollock, with sundry others of the ministry: Then, after that, I was required to teach publicly in the new church on a Sabbath in the afternoon. And the next week I was commanded to teach publicly in the great church, in time of a fast, on a Thursday in the afternoon. Thus did the Lord train me up, and these were the beginnings of my ministry, which I recount to the praise of his grace, who counted me faithful, and put me into his service.

"A little after that, in the beginning of my twentieth year, there ensued a general assembly of the church at Edinburgh, and by their authority was I sent out, and appointed pastor of Bothkenner, in Stirlingshire; for that church had been desolate ever since the Reformation, and the people had given in their supplication to the assembly for a pastor. This calling of God and his church I embraced, and went unto them, where I found the desolation so great, that except the walls, which were ruinous also, neither door, nor window, nor seat, nor pulpit, nor any part of a roof was there at all; yet it pleased God to give such a blessing to the ministry of his word, that their hearts thereby were stirred up cheerfully to build the Lord's house, which most willingly they fully resolved within half a year, not content to build their own part of

the house, but the choir also, which of due should have been done by the parson: There needed here no letters of horning, nor other compulsatories; neither content to have built it only, they adorned it within and without, not inferior to any other church of such quality round about it. This was my first external seal, and confirmation of my calling to the ministry.

"In this service I remained seven or eight years, subject to great bodily infirmities, by reason of the weakness [or marshiness] of the soil in winter, and the unwholesome waters thereof. And here did the Lord first begin to acquaint me with his terrors, and the inward exercises of sundry sorts of temptations; so that between these two, my life was almost wasted with heaviness; yet I bless the Lord for it, it was unto me like the wilderness of Midian to Moses, a school of temptation, whereby I learned daily more and more to know Christ Jesus, gathering some store of knowledge thereby, inward exercises and outward studies, which the Lord afterward called me to give out in more public places in his church, for the necessity of increasing, disease forcing me to think of a transportation, the purpose of my mind was to another church unplanted in the south, about eight miles from Edinburgh, but the Lord still continued his calling, and drew me another way northward: For at the same time there intervened a general assembly of the church of Perth: There was I nominated, and with consent of the assembly and people was I written for to that ministry, as the letters of both, sent to me out of Perth, with my dear brother, Mr Patrick Simson, yet extant do bear. Thus did the Lord clear my way before me, and lead me there, where I thought never to have gone; yet two or three days before did the Lord give me some signification of it, but I understood it not, till the event did teach me: For in my thoughts in the night, there seemed a man to lead me by the hand to a little pleasant city, in a plain valley on a river's side, having some banks lying at the shore thereof, (as indeed it had the first time, that after this I was brought to it, such a sight got I of it in that vision, as afterward I saw with my eyes) he led me a long time up and down the streets of that town from one to another, at length carried me over the water to an hill, and led me up unto it, by many turnings and windings from one earth to another, very near unto the top thereof. Then did I awake, my face looking to the south-west. This made such an impression in my mind, as after that I could never forget it. Let no man

man here impute to me the superstition of Papists: I know, there is no revelation now of doctrine, or new article of faith, to be sought out in dreams. The Lord hath spoken once for all now unto us by his Son in the Word; but that the living Lord, who sleeps not, can give warnings to the souls of his servants, when their bodies are sleeping, no man acquainted with his working, I trust, will deny.

"After this three or four days, as I said, returned Mr Patrick Simson, from the general assembly at Perth, to Stirling, and delivered me letters from the assembly, and the town, containing my calling to that ministry. The town shortly after sent their commissioners, to transport myself and my family. There I continued doing the work of God, for the full space of nineteen years. How I did carry myself in my open conversation, living among them, not as one separate from them, but mixed myself in all their fellowships, as a comfort to the best, and a wound to the worst inclined sort, this age will not want loving witness to record it. My diligence in like manner in the ministry, not only on the ordinary days, but on others, which I voluntarily chose thrice a week in the evening; to wit, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, for a preparation to the Sabbath, (for these days they had no preaching in the morning) it would have done a Christian heart good, to have seen those glorious and joyful assemblies, to have heard the zealous cryings to God among that people with sighings and tears, melting hearts and mourning eyes. I speak the truth in modesty, and not all the truth. It is not vain-glorying, I abhor that; not I, but his grace in me. Why shall it offend any man, that I eat the fruit of my labour, and that my conscience this day enjoys the comfort of my former painfulness and fidelity? my witness is in heaven, that the love of Jesus and his people, made continual preaching my pleasure, and I had no such joy, as in doing his work. Some witnesses also I want not to remain: For albeit my charge was to teach five times in the week, yet this was more, that I penned thereafter, whatsoever I preached, whereof some are already extant; others, by God's grace, if the Lord spare my days, shall come in their time. And in outward things, what care I had to see the house of God there honoured, the welfare of that people every way, there are monuments standing to witness for me, when I am dead.

"All

"All this time, except some little intermissions and breathing-times, did the Lord still exercise me with inward temptations. O what a vicissitude of estates! O what a variety of combats! It were tedious here to set them down all, as they were done and fought: But this I must say, the end of all and every one of them were unspeakable joy. And once for all, in greatest extremity of horror, and anguish of spirit, when I had utterly given over, and looked for nothing but confusion, suddenly did there shine (in the very twinkling of an eye) the bright and lightsome countenance of God proclaiming peace, and confirming peace with invincible reasons. O what a change was there in a moment! The silly soul that was even now at the brink of the pit, looking for nothing, but to be swallowed up, was instantly raised up to heaven, to have joyful fellowship with God in Christ Jesus; and from this day forth my soul was never troubled with such extremity of terrors. This confirmation was given me on a Saturday in the morning; there found I the power of religion, the certainty of the word: There was I touched with such a lively sense of a divinity, and power of the Godhead, in mercy reconciled with man, and with me in Christ, as I trust, my soul shall never forget: Glory, glory, glory be to the joyful deliverer of my soul out of all adversities for ever!

"In the midst of these wrestlings with God, all this time wanted I not combats with wicked men, like those beasts at Ephesus, with whom St Paul did fight. All the time of my residence-years continued this battle; as one left off, another still renewing the battle: But the greatness of my inward conflicts made me regard lightly all their outward contradictions, and I esteemed them but like the bitings of a flea. I resolved with myself, It was no marvel to see Satan stir up his wicked instruments to disquiet me, since I professed myself a disquieter of him, and his kingdom: Yea, my comfort was, that I had never a controversy with any of them but for their sins. God knows I loved their persons and estates; therefore did the Lord assist me, the power of his word hammering down their pride, they were all of them by course brought to the acknowledgment of their sins.

"But at length, as God turned the heart of Pharaoh and his people from the Israelites, when the time came that he would have them to remove out of Egypt: So by little and little did the zeal and love of the most of this people, at least, in my sense, fall away; so that at last my

battle

battle was not with such as were like the publicans and sinners, (for these were now turned my favourers and comforters), but with such as seemed before justiciars, I mean, unrebukable men for outward offences: These men found I stuffed with such pride, self-conceit, disdain, and intolerable contempt, as carried them further from their duty, than any of the former: Yea, such as above others should have been my comforters, were my crossers: That I had cause to say with Micah, *The best of them are briers*, but I trust it repents them ere now: And therefore I pray God not to lay it to their charge. I will have none of my words extended to that handful there, which truly fear the Lord.

"Now about this time God had opened to me a door, and called me to the charge of the churches in Galloway, in the south-west part of this kingdom: For being named with others, by the general assembly of such as they thought meet to be preferred to the episcopal dignity (whereof I ever acknowledged myself not worthy), and recommended by the fathers of our church; it was his majesty's pleasure to present me to that benefice, due to the office whereunto the church had called me. God knows this was done without my knowledge, or seeking, directly or indirectly: For I could have been contented all my days with a private life, resolved to give honour and obedience in God to such as were called to these places; after that it was once established by order in our church, and I had considered the lawfulness, antiquity, and necessity of it among us.

"Here was I neither guilty of ambition, nor of any precipitate embracing of it; for between the date of his majesty's presentation, and my acceptation, there intervened eighteen weeks.

"Yet as the calling to this work was greater than any other whereto I had been led before, so greatest opposition was there made unto me by men, whose lying libels and carnal contradictions forced me to spend more time unprofitably, then I had done before since my entry to the ministry. The Lord forgive them, and me also, where in the manner of my answering, I have been sharper than became Christian meekness. For as to the matter itself, unfeignedly I followed my light, I esteem it a lawful, ancient, and necessary government; I see not, nor have not read of any church that wanted it before our time: Only the abuses of it by pride, tyranny, and idleness, have brought it in misliking. From these evils, I pray

the Lord preserve his servants, that now are, or hereafter shall be called to those places; but there is no reason why a thing good in itself, should be condemned or rejected for the evil of abuse: For so no good thing at all should be retained in the church. And in this calling how I have walked, and what my care was to advance the gospel there, I trust I shall not, nor yet do want witnesses.

"In this estate do I now live; my soul alway in mine hand, ready to be offered to my God; where, or what kind of death, God hath prepared for me I know not: But sure I am, there can be no evil death to him that liveth in Christ, nor sudden death to a Christian pilgrim, who, as Job says, every day waits for his change, yea, many a day have I sought it with tears, not out of impatience, distrust, or perturbation, but being weary of sin, and fearful to fall into it. Concerning those who have been my enemies without cause, and charged me with many wrongful imputations, from which my conscience clears me, excusing me of these things, love of gain and glory, or such like, whereof they accused me; the Lord lay it not to their charge. I go to my Father, and wish his blessing to them, to rectify their judgments, and moderate their affections, with true piety, from faith and love."

Amongst the same papers were found the meditations, with which he comforted himself, whilst he found his death approaching, written also with his own hand, and bearing date the seventh of December, in the year 1618.

"Now, my soul, be glad: At all parts of this prison, the Lord hath set to his pioneers to loose thee, head, feet, milt, and liver are fast failing; yea, the middle strength of the whole body, the stomach is weakened long ago. Arise, make ready, shake off thy fetters, mount up from the body, and go thy way.

"Let me tell you that which I know, yea, foreknow, yet I, after others, have foretasted before you. Death is somewhat dreary, and the streams of that Jordan between us and our Canaan run furiously; but they stand still when the ark cometh. Let your anchor be cast within the veil, and fastened on the rock Jesus: Let the end of the threefold cord be buckled to the heart, so shall ye go through what threads the cord is made of; I cannot now tarry to tell you, who knows? But if ye ask, God will teach you.

"I saw not my children when they were in the womb; there the Lord fed them without my knowledge: I shall not

not see them when I go out of the body; yet shall they not want a father."

We will subjoin an account of this good man's death, written by the editor of his Works, which is the whole that we can gather of him. The bishop appears to have been a man of a calm and a catholic spirit, not at all fitted for the contentious times he lived in, or for the active and turbulent dignity he was called to support. This is the frame of the most excellent spirits, who indeed make least noise in the world, but are those *secret ones* of the Lord, who pass, unobserved by man, from the lowest earthly humiliation to the most exalted state of glory. *The kingdom of God cometh not with observation*: And the greatest saints desire human observation the least of any. Worldly ostentation is no proper object of their pursuit; nor worldly riches, nor worldly views. They are pilgrims and strangers upon earth, passing through it, as an unpleasant wilderness, to a better country and a heavenly kingdom. And the more they possess of this pilgrim spirit, and the more they are abstracted in their affections from the world, and all its *lying vanities*; the more happy they are in their own hearts, and the sweeter enjoyment do they find in every one of GOD's blessings and mercies. To return,

'This faithful servant of God (says his Editor), who from the time of his entry into the ministry had always shewed himself diligent and painful in his calling; notwithstanding his sickness grew daily upon him, was no way deficient in his duties of ordinary preaching. Besides his labour and studies, the grief he received for the backwardness of unruly spirits, in giving obedience to the articles concluded in the assembly, and ratified by authority, to the great disturbance of the peace of the church, which he laboured carefully through all his life to procure, did hasten him not a little to his end. In the beginning of January 1619, his infirmity increasing, he was compelled to keep at home; yet as his weakness permitted, he gave himself to revise his writings, and dispose of his worldly affairs, that he might be ready for his passage, which every day he expected. And some ten days before his departure, having his mind free of all earthly business, to those that visited him, he manifested a great contentment he had in his approaching death. The Wednesday before, which was the tenth of February, the bishops and some other brethren being assembled at Edinburgh for certain affairs of the church, took occasion to meet

meet at his house because of his sickness, which he took most kindly, and continued with them that whole afternoon, giving very wholesome advice in matters propounded, and shewing himself as pleasant in conversation as ever before. Nevertheless, even then he signified to them that his death was drawing near, and declared his mind with great composure, concerning his successor. The days following, he kept with all that came to visit him in most holy and divine conferences, expressing a great willingness of exchanging this life for a better. And upon Monday, the fifteenth day of February, 1619, at one o'clock in the afternoon, feeling his strength and spirits to decay, after he had uttered a most heavenly prayer, in the company of those that were by him, he desired to be laid in bed (for the days before he arose always, and either walked or sat in his chamber,) which being done, after he had again commended himself most devoutly to Almighty God, he took some quiet rest: After which he spake not many words, but those that he uttered, shew his memory and other senses to have been perfect, his tongue only failing him; and in this manner about seven o'clock at night, he rendered his soul to God in a most quiet and peaceable manner. On the seventeenth of February his body was interred, according to his own direction, in the church-yard, called the Black-fryars, at Edinburgh, on the south side of the new church, and was conveyed to the place by the earl of Dunfermline, chancellor, and the rest of the honourable lords of council, with the magistrates of the city, and many others. The funeral sermon being preached by the archbishop of St Andrews.'

The following is a list of his WRITINGS, published together in one folio volume: "1. Heaven Opened, in three Parts, from the whole of the eighth chapter to the Romans. 2. The Triumph of a Christian, or Jacob's wrestling with GOD, Gen. xxxii. 24. 3. A Conduit of Comfort, Rom. viii. 28. 4. A Preparative to the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. xi. 28. 5. The Anatomy of a Christian, 2 Cor. v. 19. 6. A holy Alphabet for Zion's Scholars, or, a Commentary on the hundred and nineteenth Psalm. 7. A Mirror of Mercy, or the Prodigal's Conversion, Luke xv. 11, &c. 8. A Defiance to Death, 2 Cor. v. 1. 9. The Genealogy of Christ, Matt. i. 23. 10. The Baptism of Christ, Luke iii. 2. 11. The Combat of Christ with Satan, Mat. iv. 1, &c. 12. Meditations for Instruction and Consolation. 13. Seven Days Conference between a Catholic-Christian, and Catholic-Roman,

man. 14. A Treatise of the heavenly Mansions, John xiv. 1, 2, 3. 15. The Praise of Patience, Luke xxi. 19. 16. Good News from Canaan, or, an Exposition of the fifty-first Psalm. 17. A Comfortable and Christian Dialogue between the Lord and the Soul. 18. Two Sermons preached before the King, in Scotland. One from Psalm cxxi. 8. and the other from Psalm lxxx. 17. 19. A Sermon preached the sixth of August, in the year 1615, at the Translation of the Archbishop of St Andrews to that see, from Titus ii. 7, 8. 20. PATHMOS: Or, a Commentary on the Revelation of St John, divided into three Prophecies."

ANDREW WILLET, D. D.

DR ANDREW WILLET, a laborious and learned divine, was born at Ely, in Cambridgeshire, of pious parents, who to a religious education added their own good example. His father, Thomas Willet, was in the younger part of his life sub-almoner to K. Edward VI. and when Q. Elizabeth came to the throne was made rector of Barley in Hertfordshire. His mother was rich in good works, abounding in acts of charity; who, when her children were gone from her, and settled in life, used to feed her poor neighbours in her own house, and say, 'Now 'again have I my children about me.' Andrew had his instructions in the rudiments of grammar in the collegiate school of Ely; where, says our Biographer, I have heard his school-master say, that he was the most industrious of all his scholars; his eye and countenance had the characters of ingenuity, and in quickness of apprehension, strength of memory, and solid judgment, he outstript his fellows, and so became the delight of his teacher. His parents were under a necessity of inventing different kinds of recreation in order to draw him from too close an application to his books, which endangered his health.

At about fourteen years of age, his father sent him to the university, under the care of Dr Andrew Perne, then master of Peter-house, Cambridge, and his god-father. He afterward removed to Christ-college, where meeting with Downham, Perkins, and others of his own standing, a laudable

laudable emulation took place amongst them, and young Willet's extraordinary application and proficiency in his studies soon appeared in a performance, published at the age of twenty-two, entitled, *De animâ naturâ & viribus.* Among other anecdotes related of him while at Cambridge, tending to shew the promising greatness of his abilities, is the following: The proctor of the college, being prevented, by some unforeseen accident, executing his office at the commencement just at hand, none could be found to stand in his place but Willet, who acquitted himself so well, that his orations gained the approbation and applause both of the university and strangers, and the entire admiration of all those, who knew how short a time he had to prepare for it.

After he had spent thirteen years in the university, his father, now grown old, resigned his prebend in the church of Ely, and his rectory of Barley, which by favour of Q. Elizabeth (*sede vacante*) were conferred upon the son: Upon which he married a wife, a relation of Dr Goad, provost of King's-college, by whom he had a numerous issue. He never sought after other preferments, which he rather studied to deserve than to obtain, observing that commonly some enjoy promotions, while others merit them, and that a work of the divine should be reckoned as a part of his wages, it being no small honour to be employed for GOD.

He engaged himself most sedulously in digesting the fathers, councils, ecclesiastical histories, the civil and canon law, and other authors. In short, he read so much, and understood what he had read so well, that he (as well as his contemporary Rainolds,) was called very justly ψυχὴ βιβλιοθήκη, *a living library*; for his learning was, like ready cash, always at hand.

Our Author was not only diligent in his study, but very laborious in his proper work of the ministry. He constantly preached three times in the week in his church at Barley, and paid great attention to catechizing the children——an excellent practice, now, like many other excellent things, too much disused. But how it became thus disused, and how those, who have great or double cures attend only to the profits of them, may hereafter be demanded of some by that GREAT BISHOP *of Souls*, (1 Peter ii. 25.) who never yet granted a dispensation to any Pastor for ceasing to *feed his flock*.

His manner of teaching was plain and simple, accommodated to the capacities of his people. Those he esteemed for

for the best sermons, which were most owned of GOD, not those, which were most admired by men. If souls were edified, he rejoiced: And he knew that edification was not effected by laboured discourses or curious questions, which suit those hearers best, who enjoy the least experience of the gospel.

As he possessed a very amiable and engaging countenance, so his mind was of a pleasant and gentle turn, rather drawing by persuasion, than driving by fear, and rendering religion a delightful business instead of a sour or gloomy kind of drudgery. His excellence lay in binding up the broken-hearted, and administering those rich consolations of the gospel, which he had so abundantly tasted himself.

His conduct at home, was such as became his preaching and his profession abroad. He *lived*, as well as preached, the gospel. 'His house was a little model of a church 'and house of God. Here morning and evening sacri-'fices were offered unto God daily. His children after 'supper read some part of the holy scripture; and he 'required of every one present, that they should remem-'ber some one sentence or other; and afterwards he him-'self, as he judged convenient, would rehearse the same 'again, adding an exposition, or an application of the 'matter.'

He was not only benevolent himself, but excited others to the performance of charitable exercises. His success in this respect was very remarkable. Mr Sutton made his most munificent foundation principally by Dr Willet's motion: And he himself stated, that the pious donations of the Protestants, from the Reformation under K. Edward VI. to his time, amounted, in one shape or other, to the sum of a million sterling. From whence, he made a challenge, in his excellent *Synopsis Papismi*, for the Papists to shew any thing like such charitable works, for the same space of time, at any period under the papal authority; and concluded by confuting that common calumny of the Romish persuasion, that the doctrine of justification by faith only, is an enemy to good works.—Well would it have been, if none but Papists had maintained this outcry, which, if the doctrine of faith had been truly understood, could not have been made.

In his Epistle dedicatory, prefixed to his *Hexapla* upon Exodus, he uses this remarkable expression; "It is most "honourable for a soldier to die fighting, and for a bishop "or pastor praying; and if my merciful God shall vouch-

"safe

" safe to grant me my request, my earnest desire is, that " in writing and commenting upon some part of the scrip- " ture, I may finish my days." This request was granted him; for he was called hence as he was composing a commentary upon Leviticus. He did not ask (like good archbishop Leighton) to die in an inn, but it was the appointment of Providence that he should. The apparent occasion of his death was a fall from his horse, as he was riding home from London, by which he broke his right leg, and was detained at Hodsdon, in Hertfordshire, of course incapable of being moved. While he was in this situation, he dictated most heavenly contemplations to his son, upon the song of Hezekiah, Isaiah xxxviii. And he frequently called together the people of the house to give them his exhortations, which he did with such a spirit, as though he felt no pain, 'which (says Dr Smith, his 'son-in-law, who wrote his life) puts me in mind of that 'saying of Tertullian; 'The leg feels nothing in the 'nerves, when the mind is (as it were) rapt into heaven.'

Upon the tenth day after his hurt, having supped chearfully in the preceding evening, and reposed himself to rest, early in the morning, being wakened by the tolling of a bell, he discoursed with his wife, who lay in the same chamber with him, about the joys of heaven, and the knowledge which departed saints would have of each other there. After this conversation, they sang an hymn, of his own composition, with which they usually praised GOD for their preservation and rest during the past night, and prayed for his blessing upon the ensuing day. After this, being in a happy frame of soul, they continued their melody, and sang the hundred and forty-sixth Psalm, upon which he commented, and made applications from it to his own condition. Soon afterwards, upon turning himself, he suddenly gave a deep groan, and fell into a swoon. His wife, alarmed, presently called in assistance, and upon means being used, he seemed to raise himself a little; but immediately said, " Let me alone: I shall be " well. Lord Jesus"——and with this last word rendered up his spirit to GOD. This was on the fourth of December, 1621, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His body was buried in the chancel of his church at Barley, and is covered with a marble. But his more excellent and durable monument are,

His WORKS; whose titles are as follow: Printed in Latin: " 1. *De Animæ naturâ & viribus.* 2. *Sacra Emblemata.* 3. *De universali vocatione Judæorum.* 4. *De Conciliis,*

Conciliis. 5. *De universali gratiâ.* 6. *De Antichristo.* 7. *Epithalamium.* 8. *Funebres Conciones.* 9. *Apologia serenissimi regis* JACOBI *defensio.*

In English: 10. SYNOPSIS PAPISMI, in five books. 11. *Hexapla* on Genesis, in two books. 12. *Hexapla* on Exodus, in two books. 13. An Harmony on the first and second books of Samuel. 14. *Hexapla* on Daniel. 15. *Hexapla* on the Epistle to the Romans. 16. On the twenty-second Psalm. 17. On the seventeenth of John. 18. On the Epistle of Jude. 19. *Tetrastylon Papismi.* 20. A Catalogue of good Works. 21. *Limbomastix.* 22. *Lædoremastix.* 23. *Epithalamium* in English. 24. Funeral Sermons. 25. A Catechism. 26. A Retection. 27. An Antilogy. 28. *Hexapla* on Leviticus.

In Latin, not printed: 29. *Defensio Aristotelis contra Tempellum.* 30. *Catechismus Latinus.* 31. *Gemitus Columbæ, ceu Comment. in Jonam.* 32. *Sacri Paralleli.* 33. *Heptaphonon.* 34. *Scala Cœli.* 35. *Antithesis Pontificiæ & Evangelicæ Doctrinæ.* 36. *Variæ lectiones in Pentateuchion.*

In English; 37. An Exposition on Genesis. 38. Marginal Annotations on the Pentateuch. 39. The Doctrine of the Christian Sabbath."

His *Synopsis Papismi* is his most celebrated work, and hath passed through many editions.

MELCHIOR ADAM.

SO faithful and eminent a Biographer of divines has a just title to be placed, in a work of biography, among them. With gratitude we speak of Melchior Adam, to whom we are exceedingly obliged for many informations and collections, which, but for him, had undoubtedly been lost.

This pious and learned man was born in the territory of Grotkaw in Silesia, and educated in the college of Brieg, where the dukes of that name, to the utmost of their power, encouraged learning and the Reformed Religion as professed by Calvin. Here he became a firm Protestant, and was enabled to pursue his studies by the liberality of a person

a person of quality, who had left several exhibitions for young students.

He was appointed rector of a college at Heidelberg, where he published his first volume of illustrious men in the year 1615. This volume, which consisted of philosophers, poets, writers on polite literature, and historians, &c. was followed by three others; that which treated of divines was printed in 1619; that of the lawyers came next; and, finally, that of physicians: The two last were published in 1620. All the learned men, whose lives are contained in these four volumes, lived in the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century, and are either Germans or Flemings; but he published in 1618 the lives of twenty divines of other countries in a separate volume; which volume is now generally bound up with his lives of German divines, and serves by way of appendix to it. All his divines are Protestants.

He has given but a few lives, yet the work cost him a great deal of time, having been obliged to abridge the pieces from whence he had materials, whether they were lives, funeral sermons, eulogiums, prefaces, or memoirs of families.

He omitted several persons who deserved a place in his work as well as those he has taken notice of. "Reader, "says he, (*Præfat. Theolog. Germanorum*,) I must acquaint "you with, or request some things of you. First, that "you would not think the many persons, who are not "mentioned in this work, as unworthy a place in it. "The fault, Reader, is not mine, but is owing to the "scarcity of materials, which I could by no means pro-"cure. I chose therefore to be wholly silent about many "excellent persons, rather than to say but a very little "(after the manner of the man speaking of Carthage) or "to use these trite expressions; *He was born; he died.* "Yet this deficiency may be supplied, if good men and "lovers of their country will contribute their assistance "to the second volume of this work. The same I desire "may be understood concerning the lives of the lawyers, "statesmen, physicians, and philosophers."——We may be permitted to use the same apology in this our work. It would be impossible, in the compass of it, to give even a concise account of all the worthies, who deserve to be remembered. We have endeavoured to select such, as ought never to be forgotten.

The Lutherans were not pleased with our Author, for they thought him partial; nor will they allow his work

to

to be a proper standard, whereby to judge of the learning of Germany. The reason is, they are partial themselves; and he was not of their party. He wrote also other works besides his Lives, and died in the year 1622.

His WORKS. "1. *Apographum monumentorum Heidelbergensium.* 2. *Notæ in Orationem Julii Cæsaris Scaligeri pro M. T. Cicerone contra Ciceronianum Erasmi.* 3. *Parodiæ & Metaphrases Horatianæ Diarium Biograph. Henningi Witte.*"

In the catalogue of the Bodleian library, he is said to have been the author of *Historia Ecclesiastica Hamburgensis & Bremensis*: But this work, according to Mr Bayle, was written by one Adam, a canon of Bremen, who lived in the eleventh century.

DAVID PARÆUS, D. D.

DAVID PARÆUS, or Paré, without the Latin termination, a celebrated divine of the Reformed religion, was born on the thirtieth of December, 1548, at Francolstein in Silesia, and put to the grammar school there, apparently with a design to breed him to learning; but his father marrying a second wife, this step-mother prevailed with him to put his son apprentice to an apothecary at Breslau; and not content with that, he was taken thence, and, at her instigation, bound to a shoemaker. However, he was not long abandoned to the shameful ill usage of a step-mother; Providence had ordained better things for him, and many years had not passed when the good old man his father resumed his first design; and David was not above sixteen years of age when he was sent to the college school of Hermsberg, in the neighbourhood of Francolstein, to prosecute his studies under Christopher Schilling, a man of considerable learning, who was rector of the college.

It was customary in those times for young students, who devoted themselves to literature, to assume some Greek or Latin name, itstead of that of their family. Schilling was a great admirer of this custom, and easily persuaded his scholar to change his German name of *Wongler* for the Greek one of *Paré*, both denoting the same thing in the

different languages. *Wange* in the German tongue signifies a cheek, as παρὶα does also in the Greek; so that his name in English was *David Cheek*, or *Cheke*, no uncommon name in that country. He was christened David because he was born on St David's day, which is the thirtieth of December, so that this must be a different saint from the Welch saint of that name, whose feast is kept on March the first. His father was sheriff or alderman of Francolstein, his native place, and was the son of a rich peasant, who lived above an hundred years, and saw himself a father of twenty children all living.

Young Paré, for so we must now call him, soon became a great boy with his master, by his excellent parts and industrious application; and his step-mother's ill humour was presently appeased by his success. He had not lived above three months at his father's expence, when he provided for his own support, partly by means of a tutorship in the family of an honest citizen, whose name was James Schilder, and partly by the bounty of Albertus Kindler, one of the principal men of the place, and lord of Zackenstein. Paré lodged in this gentleman's house, and wrote an Epicedium upon the death of his eldest son, which so highly pleased the father, that he not only gave him a gratuity for it, but encouraged him to cultivate his genius, setting him proper subjects, and rewarding him handsomely for every poem which he presented to him.

In the mean time, his school-master, not content with making him change his sirname, made him also change his religious creed, with regard to the doctrine of the real presence; turning him from a Lutheran to a Sacramentarian, as he also did the rest of his scholars. This affair brought both master and scholar into a great deal of trouble. The first was driven from his school at the instance of the minister of the place, and the latter was near being disinherited by his father; and it was not without the greatest difficulty that he obtained his consent to go into the Palatinate, notwithstanding he made use of an argument which is generally very prevailing, that he would finish his studies there without any expence to his family. As soon at he was at liberty he followed his master, who had been invited by the elector Frederic III. to be principal of his new college at Amberg. The allowance which Paré's father gave him for his journey was so short, that he was obliged to beg on the road. He arrived at Amberg in 1566, and was sent shortly after with ten of his school-fellows to Heidelberg, where Zachary Ursin was professor

professor of divinity, and rector of the college of Wisdom, who, upon perusing the recommendation of their master, admitted him into his college. The university was at that time in a most flourishing condition, with regard to every one of the faculties; so that Paré had here all the advantages that could be desired, for making the most considerable proficiency both in the learned languages, and in philosophy and divinity.

He was received a minister in 1571, and in May that year sent to exercise his function in a village called Schlettenbach. This was a difficult cure, on account of the contests between the Protestants and Papists at that time. The elector Palatine his patron had asserted his claim by main force against the bishop of Spire, who maintained that the right of nomination to the livings in the corporation of Alfested was vested in his chapter. The elector allowed it, but with this reserve, that since he had the right of patronage, the nominators were obliged by the peace of Passaw to present such pastors to him whose religion he approved. By virtue of this right he established the Reformed religion in that corporation, and sent Paré into the parish of Schlettenbach. The Papists shut the doors against him; but they were broke open, and the images and altars pulled down; yet, after all, he could get nobody to clear away the rubbish.

However, he was going to be married there before winter, when he was called back to teach the third form at Hedelberg. He acquitted himself so well in that charge, that in two years time he was promoted to the second class; but he did not hold this above six months, being made first pastor of Hemsbach in the diocese of Worms. Here he met with a much more tractable congregation than that of Schlettenbach. For when the elector Palatine, as patron of the parish, resolved to reform it *, and caused the church doors to be broke open,

* The incident which brought on this reformation is remarkable. The curate, or popish priest, who had been drinking all the night before Easter, was sleeping himself sober at the time of divine service. Being waked at last by the sexton, he goes to church, and after singing gets into his pulpit, delivers his preamble, and according to custom, kneels down to say the Ave-Mary, and falls asleep. The people imagine, that his being so long upon his knees was owing to an extraordinary zeal; but as it continued too long, the sexton pulls his gown. He gets up half asleep, and cries out, *Ich ken begm sacrament night predigen*, 'by the sacrament (a common oath in Germany,) I cannot preach.' The bishop of Worms being informed of this scandalous conduct, sends the cure to prison, but puts another in his stead who had seven bastards.

Paré took care to have all the images taken down, and had them burnt with the people's consent. Thus happily situated, he soon resolved to be a lodger in a public house no longer; and in order to obtain a more agreeable home, he engaged in the matrimonial state four months after his arrival, with the sister of John Stibelius, minister of Heppenheim, and the nuptials were solemnized on the fifth of January, 1574, publicly in the church of Hemsbach, a sight which had never before been beheld in that parish: As for concubines and bastards of the priest, more than enough. It was not a sight, which, like the other, had something wonderful in it. However, the people were easily reconciled to the new practice, when they came to know what St Paul teaches concerning the marriage of a bishop, 1 Tim. iii. 2. and Titus i. 17.

Yet such was the unhappy state of this country, rent by the continual contests about religion, that no sooner was popery, the common enemy rooted out, than new disturbances arose, through the contests and animosities between the Lutherans and Calvinists, who ought to have been friends. After the death of the elector Frederic III. his son Lewis, who was a very zealous Lutheran, established every where in his dominions those ministers, in the room of the Sacramentarians. By this means, Paré lost his living at Hemsbach in the year 1577. On this occasion he retired into the territories of prince John Casimir, the elector's brother, and was minister at Ogersheim, near Frankentale, three years, and then removed to Witrengen, near Neustadt; at which last place prince Casimir in 1578, had founded a school, and settled there all the professors that had been drove from Heidelberg. This rendered Witzingen so much the more agreeable, as well as more advantageous; and upon the death of the elector Lewis in 1583, the guardianship of his son, together with the administration of the Palatinate, devolved upon prince Casimir, who restored the Calvinist ministers, and Paré obtained the second chair in the college of Wisdom at Heidelberg in Sept. 1584.

He commenced author two years afterwards, by printing his Method of the Ubiquitarian Controversy. He also printed the German bible with notes, at Neustadt, in 1589.

In January, 1591, he was made first professor in his college, and counsellor to the ecclesiastical senate in November the following year, and in 1593 was admitted doctor of divinity in the most solemn manner. He had already held several disputes against the writers of the

Augsburg

Augsburg Confession, but that of 1596 was the most considerable. Among other things, he produced a Defence of Calvin against the imputation of his favouring Judaism, in his commentaries upon several parts of scripture. Two years after this he was promoted to the chair of divinity professor for the Old Testament in his university, by which he was eased of the great fatigue which he had undergone for fourteen years, in governing the youth who were educated at the college of Wisdom; an employment so toilsome, that Zachary Ursinus declared he was happy in being banished by the Lutherans, as it delivered him from the dreadful charge of ruling these untractable and headstrong youth. Daniel Tossanus, professor of divinity for the New Testament, dying in 1602, Dr Paré succeeded to that chair, and a few years after he bought a house in the suburbs of Heidelberg. Herein, in 1607, he built in the garden an apartment for his library, which he called his *Parœanum*. He took great delight in it, and the whole house went afterwards by that name. The elector honoured it with several privileges and immunities, and the doctor had two inscriptions, one in German, and the other in Latin, put upon the frontispiece. At the same time his reputation, spreading itself every where, brought young students to him from the remotest parts of Hungary and Poland.

In 1617, there was kept an evangelical jubilee, in memory of the church's deliverance from popery an hundred years before. The solemnity held three days, during which there were continual orations, disputations, poems, and sermons, on the occasion. Our doctor also published some pieces upon the subject, which drew upon him the resentment of the jesuits of Mentz, who wrote a sharp censure of his work, and the doctor published a suitable answer to it. The following year, 1618, at the instance of the States General, he was pressed to go to the synod of Dort; but he excused himself, on account of his age and infirmities, which he said would not permit him to undertake so long a journey, nor bear the inconveniences of such an alteration of diet as must unavoidably attend it. Otherwise he was a proper person for that assembly, being a great enemy to all innovations in points of doctrine. He would not suffer any man to deviate a tittle from the catechism of his master Ursinus, as had been done by some divines, who added no less than three sorts of imputation to those which that professor had laid down concerning justification, namely, the imputation of Christ's

death, that of his righteousness, and of habitual holiness. In the same spirit, when there arose some controversies in 1604, about the seventy-sixth question of the same catechism of Heidelberg, which treats of the efficacy of the eucharist, Paré, like a brave champion for the established doctrine, would not suffer the least alteration to be made therein. These innovations he alleged were a removal of the boundaries of truth, which ought to be sacred and immoveable. He even maintained that the humour of innovating foreboded an approaching ruin to the church. In the year 1614 he wrote, it is true, to the Lutherans, exhorting them to peace, and to acknowledge that they agreed with the Calvinists, or Sacramentarians, in the fundamental and essential points of the Christian faith; and as to the rest, there ought to be a mutual toleration on each side: Yet four years after, at the time of the synod of Dort, he absolutely condemned the Remonstrants, or Arminians, and said their doctrine ought to be banished both from the churches and schools. He wrote to the synod, and recommended his letter with a memoir, in which he gave an account of his own sentiments upon the subject of the articles of the Remonstrants, which was read in that synod.

After this time he enjoyed but little tranquillity. The apprehensions which he had of the ruin, which his patron the elector palatine would bring upon himself, by accepting the crown of Bohemia, put him upon changing his habitation. When he saw the workmen employed in improving the fortifications of Heidelberg he said it was so much labour lost; and considering the books which he had wrote against the pope and Bellarmine, he looked upon it as the most dreadful calamity that could happen to him, to fall into the hands of the monks, and for that reason gladly complied with the advice that was given him, to provide in time for his own safety. Accordingly he chose for his sanctuary the town of Anweil, in the duchy of Deux Ponts, near Landau, and arrived there in October, 1621. However, he left that place some months after, and went to Neustadt; nor did he stay long here, for he determined to return to Heidelberg, in the resolution to fetch his last breath at his beloved Pareanum, and so to be buried near the professors of the university. Accordingly his wish was fulfilled. He died at Pareanum in June, 1622, and was interred with all the funeral honours, which the universities in Germany are used to bestow on their members.

To

To conclude, it cannot be denied, that in regard to religion, our Author was none of those untractable divines, who will not yield the least thing for the sake of peace *. The *Irenicum* he published proves the contrary; yet his extreme watchfulness against the most trifling innovations, will not allow us to say that he had any great stock of toleration †.

His WORKS. Our Author's exegetical works have been published by his son at Frankfort in 1647, in three volumes, folio. Among these are his "Commentary on St Paul's Epistles to the Romans, in 1617," which gave such offence to King James I. of England, as containing some anti-monarchical principles, that he caused it to be burnt by the common hangman; and the university of Oxford condemned it in the most disgraceful manner ‡.

* He used to say with Luther of such turbulent Reformers, *A doctore glorioso, & pastore contentioso, & inutilibus quæstionibus, liberet ecclesiam suam Dominus!* "From a vain-glorious doctor, a litigious pastor, and useless ques-"tions, deliver thy church, good Lord!

† He extended his spirit against innovations to all the new ways of speaking and teaching, and could not bear Peter Ramus, because he had dared to remove the boundaries of our ancestors; upon which occasion he wrote an epigram against him as follows:

Quæ mutas perdis, dixit Democritus,
Et quæ servas in physicis sunt, Epicure, mea.
Nonne idem Aristotelis in Ramum mastiga dicat;
Quæ mutas perdis; quæ retines mea sunt.

i. e. "What you alter in natural philosophy, said Democritus to Epicurus, "you spoil; and what you keep is mine. Might not Aristotle say the "same to that rogue Ramus, What you alter you spoil, and what you re-"tain is mine?

‡ It was refuted by David Owen, a Welshman, who was D.D. and chaplain to John Ramsey viscount Hadington and earl of Holderness, in a piece entitled, *Anti-Paræus, sive determinatio de jure regio habita Cantabrigiæ in scholis theologicis, 19. April, 1619. contra Davidem Paræum, cæteroſque reformatæ religionis antimonarchos, Cantab.* 1632, 8vo. He had before published the Concord of a Papist Puritan, for the coercion, disposition, and killing of kings. Camb. 1610, 4to.

JOHN WELCH.

JOHN WELCH was born, about the dawn of the Reformation in Scotland, A. D. 1570, at Colliestoun, in the shire of Nithsdale, where his father possessed a competent estate, and called in that country, Laird of Colliestoun.

He was a monument of free and sovereign grace: But the night preceded the day; for he was a most hopeless, extravagant youth. He frequently played truant; and at last, when very young, he left his studies and his father's house, and went and joined himself to the thieves on the Borders of the then two kingdoms, who lived by robbery and plunder. After he had suffered many hardships among them, and, like the prodigal in the gospel, began to be in great misery, *and no man gave unto him*; he took the prodigal's resolution, to return home to his father's house. He made Dumfries in his way homewards, where lived a Mrs Forsyth, his father's cousin; her he earnestly entreated to bring about a reconciliation for him with his father.

He had not been long with this lady before his father came providentially to visit her; to whom, after conversing a while, she said, 'Cousin, have you heard any 'thing of your son John?' 'O! cruel woman, (said 'the father, with great grief) how can you mention his 'name to me? The first news I expect to hear of him 'is, that he is hanged for a thief.' She answered, 'Many 'a profligate boy has become a virtuous man:' And endeavoured to comfort him, but in vain. At length, he asked her, if she knew whether his lost son was yet living? She answered 'Yes, he was alive;' and hoped he would make a better man than he was a boy: At the same time she introduced him to his father. The youth came in weeping, and threw himself at his father's feet, beseeching him, for Christ's sake, to pardon his misbehaviour; earnestly, and with much apparent sincerity, promising future amendment. His father reproached and threatened him; but, upon the importunities of Mrs Forsyth, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. He then besought his father

father to send him to the college; saying, "That, if ever "he misbehaved again, he would be content his father "should disclaim him for ever." His father granted him this request, and after a little time spent there, not only a thorough reformation, but a saving conversion took place in him; and he became so diligent a student, that, in much less time than could be expected, he went through all his necessary studies, and entered early into the ministry.

Our young divine first entered upon his ministerial labours at Selkirk, a rude and dark country. His ministry was admired by some, but (like his Master's) received only by few; for he was, according to a proverb in use in those times, attended with the prophet's shadow, *the hatred* of the *wicked*. The ministers also were more ready to find fault with him than to follow his doctrine, as may be seen to this day in their synodal records, where we find he had many to censure, and only some to defend him. However, it is said, that though he laboured for the Lord but a short time in this place, yet he laboured not in vain. Mr Welch, being a single man, boarded in the house of one Mr Mitchel, whose son, then but a child, received such impressions from his conversation and under his prayers, as not only terminated in his conversion, but remained on his mind with comfort to his dying day, though he lived to a great age.

Mr Welch was reported, in this place, when very young, to have been a strict copyer of his great Exemplar, JESUS CHRIST. His custom was to preach publicly once every day; and to spend his whole time in spiritual exercises; and, from his entry into the ministry to his death, he reckoned the day ill spent, if he spent not seven or eight hours of it in prayer. The great opposition, that he met with in this place, caused him to listen to a call he had from Kirkcudbright. And what determined his acceptance of their call, was the following circumstance. Among other persecutors, was a profane gentleman, a Mr Scot of Hawickshaw, (whose family soon after became extinct) who sought by all means to injure Mr Welch; because, as it is supposed, Mr Welch had reproved him for his sinful practices: At length, when he could do no more, Mr Welch always keeping two good horses for his use, he, either with his own hands, or by his servants, cut off the horses' tails close by the rump, upon which they both bled to death. His enemies carried their resentment to every extremity; for, when he wanted his books, and what

what little furniture he had, to be removed to Kirkcudbright; through dislike in some, and others being deterred by the great, he could not get any one to carry them, till at last a young man, named Ewart, who had two horses, conveyed every thing safe for him to Kirkcudbright. When the young man took his leave, in order to return home, Mr Welch put a piece of gold in his hand, exhorting him to fear GOD; and promised him, he should *never* want: Which promise GOD in his providence made good, through the whole course of the man's life, which was observed by many of his neighbours.

Mr Welch did not stay long at Kirkcudbright; notwithstanding he had a plentiful harvest of converts to GOD, which subsisted long after his departure, and made a part of Mr Samuel Rutherford's flock, though not his parish, while he was minister at Anwith. Before he left this place, he met with a gay young gentleman, Mr R. Glendoning, just come home from his travels, dressed in scarlet and silver, whom he greatly surprised by the following address: "Sir, it behoves you to change your "garb and way of life, and betake yourself to the study "of the scriptures; for you shall be my successor in the "ministry at Kirkcudbright;" which accordingly came to pass soon after.

He accepted of the call to Air, A. D. 1590, where he continued till he was banished the kingdom. Here he had a hard beginning, but a very blessed end. Such was the wickedness of the country, and their hatred of religion, that no one would let him a house, till Mr John Stewart, an eminent Christian, and some time provost of Air, accommodated him with an apartment in his house, and was to him a very able friend. Mr Welch first addressed himself to the arduous task of healing their divisions, uniting their factious parties, and putting an end to their daily battles; which were so desperate, that no one could walk in the street at day-time, without the most imminent danger of being wounded. His method was this; after he had put an helmet on his head, he would go between the two parties of fighting men, already covered with blood, but he never took a sword, which convinced them that he came not to fight, but to make peace. When he had brought them by little and little to hear him speak, and to listen to his arguments against such brutish proceedings; he would order a table to be spread in the street, and beginning with prayer, persuade them to profess themselves friends, and to sit down, and

eat

eat and drink together; which, when done, he would finish this labour of love with singing a psalm. Thus, by degrees, labouring among them in word and doctrine, (for he preached every day) and setting them a good example, he brought them to be a peaceable, happy people; and he grew at length in such esteem among them, that they made him their counsellor, to settle all their differences and misunderstandings; and would take no step of importance in civil affairs without his advice.

There was also in Air, before Mr Welch came to it, an aged minister, who was of so easy a disposition, that he used many times to be drawn aside by his neighbours, to unbecoming practices; among the rest, he used to go to the bow-buts and archery on the Lord's day in the afternoon, which gave Mr Welch great uneasiness. As he was an elderly man, Mr Welch used policy rather than severity, in order to reclaim him, and therefore sent him an invitation to spend the Lord's day afternoons with himself, and a few select friends, in religious conference and prayer; which, as a minister, he thought he could not well refuse. By this means, he was not only diverted from every thing scandalous, but was also brought to a more watchful and edifying behaviour in the remainder of his life. Mr Welch's great diligence rendered it doubtful whether his painful laborious sowing, or his abundant harvest of success, was the greater; for it is said, that, 'if either his spiritual experience in seeking the Lord, 'or his fruitfulness in converting souls, be considered, 'they will be found unparalleled in Scotland.' And many years after Mr Welch's death, Mr David Dickson, at that time a flourishing minister at Irvine was frequently heard to say, when people mentioned to him the success of his ministry, 'that the grape gleanings in Air, in Mr 'Welch's time, were far greater than the vintage of Ir-'vine in his own.' Mr Welch's preachings were truly evangelical, animated and searching; his deliverance tender and affecting; and, laying aside, as much as possible, all scholastic phrases, he accommodated himself to the capacities of the most unlearned of his hearers. One of his congregation (who was afterwards minister of Moorkirk, in Kyle,) was heard to say, 'that it was almost im-'possible for any one to hear him and to forbear weep-'ing; he was so fervent in spirit, so persuasive, and so 'moving in his manner.' Luther used to say, 'Three 'things made a preacher, prayer, meditation, and temp-'tation;' according to which, Mr Welch was well qua-

lified;

lified; for he spent one-third of his time in prayer and meditation.

And such were his temptations, that frequently, before he went out to preach, he would send for his elders and tell them, that he was so grievously tempted, and seemingly so entirely deserted, that he was afraid to go up into the pulpit; nor could he be prevailed upon till one or more of them had prayed for him: Then venturing into the pulpit, it was observed; these humbling severe exercises were generally attended with an extraordinary degree of the presence and power of GOD; so near neighbours many times are contrary dispositions and frames, sore temptations and great manifestations of the divine presence. He used often to retire to the church of Air, which was at some distance from the town, and there to spend the whole night in prayer; because, probably, it afforded him an opportunity to give his affections full scope, and to cry unto the Lord with a loud voice. It is presumed, that his being at some such time overheard, was what gave rise to the ignorant and malicious slander of his being a wizard.

Mr Welch married Elizabeth Knox, daughter to the famous Mr John Knox, minister of Edinburgh, commonly called the *Apostle of Scotland*, who lived with him from his youth till his death; and by whom he had three sons. The first was a doctor of physic, unhappily killed, through an innocent mistake, in the Low Countries. Another was lost at sea, who, when the ship sunk, swam to a rock, but perished for want of food; he was found sometime after in a praying posture, upon his knees, with his hands lifted up to heaven. The third, was Mr Josias Welch, minister at Temple-patrick, in the north of Ireland; a man highly favoured of GOD, both as to grace and gifts; and commonly called the COCK OF THE CONSCIENCE, because of his extraordinary talent in awakening and rousing the consciences of sinners. He was one of that blessed society of ministers, instrumental in that extraordinary work of GOD in the north of Ireland, about the year 1639; but was himself exceedingly troubled with doubts and fears about his own salvation, and would often say, 'That 'minister was much to be pitied, who was called to 'comfort weak saints, and had no comfort himself.' He died a young man, and left for his successor Mr John Welch, minister at Iron-gray, in Galloway, the place of his grandfather's nativity: Where he [Mr John Welch,] in some of the most dreadful times of persecution, that Scotland ever knew, maintained his dangerous post of preaching

preaching the gospel upon the mountains of Scotland, notwithstanding the threatenings against him, and the price set upon his head, with all the fierce industry of his enemies. It is well known, that one Claverhouse, a bitter persecutor, upon secret information from his spies, that Mr Welch was to be found in some lurking place, though at forty miles distant, made that long journey in a winter's night, that he might take him; but, through the interposition of divine Providence, he always missed his prey. There was scarce ever a man that endured more toil, went through greater dangers, and escaped more snares than Mr John Welch. When his friends used to advise him to be more cautious, and not to endanger himself so much; he would answer, "That he firmly believed dan-"gerous undertakings would be his security; and that, "whenever he should give over that course, and retire "himself, his ministry would come to an end:" Which accordingly came to pass; for when, after the great slaughter made at Bothwell Bridge, he retired to London, the Lord called him by death, and he was honourably buried, in Westminster.

Notwithstanding, he walked with GOD, like Enoch of old, he forgot not to conduct himself with propriety towards man; for he frequently dined abroad with such friends as he thought might maintain the communion of saints: And, once a year, invited a great number of his friends in the town to dine with him, whom he treated as became a minister and a Christian.

Mr Welch continued in his ministry with great success, till the troubles arose in Scotland, about the year 1602, upon the attempt to establish episcopacy by K. James I. We will not trouble our Readers with the disgusting recital of those broils which then were kindled upon outward church government, and which, in almost all ages, have miserably rent and distracted the Christian world. Nor will we presume to justify many of the public measures then taken, nor yet the bitterness and bigotry of spirit with which they were often opposed. Suffice it for us to relate, according to truth, that Mr Welch was one of those, who thought himself bound in conscience to oppose the episcopal system, and that he did it with all his might. He was therefore taken up and tried for disseminating sedition, and afterwards condemned to be banished. This was in the year 1605.

While he was under confinement at Blackness, he wrote his letter to the countess of Wigton, which, as it hath been

been much celebrated and admired by the religious people in Scotland, we presume will not be unacceptable to our Readers.

" *The consolation of the Holy Ghost be multiplied unto you by Jesus Christ.*"

" OFTEN and many times, Christian and elect lady, I " have desired the opportunity to be comforted with " that consolation wherewith it hath pleased God, of his " free grace and mercy, to fill and furnish you. Your " remembrance is very sweet and comfortable to my very " soul: Since the time I knew you in Christ Jesus, I have " ever been mindful of you unto the Lord; and now, not " being able to refrain any longer, I could not omit this " occasion; not knowing how long it may please the Lord " to continue my being in this tabernacle, or give me fur- " ther occasion of writing to any.

" Although I have not great matter at this time, yet, in " remembrance of your labour of love, hope, and patience, " I must needs salute your ladyship, knowing assuredly, " you are the chosen of God, set apart before ever the " world was, to that glorious and eternal inheritance. Be- " ing thus comforted in your faith and hope, I am fully " assured, though we never have the occasion of meeting " here, yet we shall reign together in the world to come.

" My desire to remain here is not great, knowing, that " so long as I am in this house of clay, I am absent from " God; and if it were dissolved, I look for a building, " not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. In this " I groan, desiring to be clothed upon, with my house " which is in heaven: If so that being clothed, I shall " not be found naked. For I that am within this taber- " nacle do often groan and sigh within myself; being " oftentimes burdened: Not that I would be unclothed, " but clothed upon; that mortality might be swallowed " up of life. I long to eat of that tree which is planted " in the midst of the paradise of God, and to drink of the " pure river, clear as crystal that runs through the " streets of the New Jerusalem. *I know that my Redeemer* " *liveth, and that he shall stand at the last day upon the* " *earth. And though after my skin worms destroy my body,* " *yet in my flesh shall I see God: Whom I shall see for myself,* " *and not another for me; and mine eyes shall behold him,*

" *though*

" *though my reins be consumed within me.* I long to be re-
" freshed with the souls of them that are under the altar,
" who were slain for the word of God, and the testimony
" they held, and to have these long white robes given
" me, that I may walk in white raiment, with those glo-
" rious saints who have washed their garments, and have
" made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Why
" should I think it a strange thing to be removed from
" this place to that, wherein my hope, my joy, my
" crown, my elder brother, my head, my Father, my
" Comforter, and all the glorious saints are; and where
" the song of Moses and the Lamb, are sung joyfully;
" where we shall not be compelled to sit by the rivers of
" Babylon, and to hang our harps upon the willow-trees;
" but shall take them up and sing the hallelujah, blessing,
" honour, glory, and power, to him that sits upon the
" throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever? What is
" there under the old vault of the heavens, and in this
" old worn earth, which is under the bondage of cor-
" ruption, groaning and travelling in pain, and shoot-
" ing out the head, looking, waiting, and longing, for
" the redemption of the sons of God? What is there, I
" say, that should make me desire to remain here? I ex-
" pect that new heavens, and that new earth, wherein
" righteousness dwelleth, wherein I shall rest for ever-
" more, I look to get entry into the New Jerusalem, at
" one of those twelve gates, whereupon are written the
" names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.
" I know that Christ Jesus hath prepared them for me.
" Why may I not then, with boldness in his blood, step
" into that glory, where my Head and Lord hath gone
" before me? Jesus Christ is the door, and the porter;
" who then shall hold me out? will he let them perish
" for whom he died? will he let them, poor sheep, be
" plucked out of his hand for whom he hath laid down
" his life? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of the
" man for whom Christ hath died, or rather risen again?
" I know I have grievously transgressed, but where sin
" abounded, grace will superabound. I know my sins
" are red as scarlet and crimson, yet the red blood of
" Christ my Lord can make them as white as snow or
" wool: *Whom have I in heaven but him, or whom desire*
" *I in the earth besides him?* Psalm lxxiii. 25. *O thou the*
" *fairest among the children of men*, Psalm. xlv. 2. The
" light of the Gentiles, the glory of the Jews, the life
" of the dead, the joy of angels and saints, my soul pant-
" eth

" eth to be with thee; I will put my spirit into thy hands,
" and thou wilt not put me out of thy presence; I will
" come unto thee, for thou castest none away that come
" unto thee, O thou the delight of mankind! Thou
" comest to seek and to save that which was lost; thou
" seeking me hast found me, and now being found by
" thee, I hope, O Lord, thou wilt not let me perish; I
" desire to be with thee, and do long for the fruition of
" thy blessed presence, and joy of thy countenance:
" Thou, the only good shepherd, art full of grace and
" truth; therefore I trust thou wilt not thrust me out of
" the door of grace: The law was given by Moses, but
" grace and truth came by *Thee*: Who shall separate me
" from thy love? Shall tribulation, or distress, or per-
" secution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?
" Nay, in all these things I am more than conqueror,
" through thy majesty who hast loved me: For I am per-
" suaded, that neither death nor life, nor principalities,
" nor powers, nor any other creature, is able to separate
" me from the love of the majesty which is in Christ Jesus
" my Lord. I refuse not to die with thee, that I may
" live with thee. I refuse not to suffer with thee, that I
" may rejoice with thee. Shall not all things be plea-
" sant to me, which may be the last step, by which, and
" upon which, I may come unto thee? When shall I be
" satisfied with thy face? When shall I be drunk with
" thy pleasures? Come, Lord Jesus, and tarry not.
" The Spirit says, come; the bride says, come; even so,
" Lord Jesus, come quickly, and tarry not.

" Why should the multitude of my iniquities, or great-
" ness of them affright me? Why should I faint in this
" my desire to be with thee? The greater sinner I have
" been, the greater glory will thy grace be to thee unto
" all eternity. O unspeakable joy, endless, infinite, and
" bottomless compassion! O sea of never failing pleasures!
" O love of loves! O the breadth, and height, and depth,
" and length of that love of thine, that passeth all know-
" ledge! The love of Jonathan was great indeed to Da-
" vid, it passed the love of women; but thy love, O Lord,
" passeth all created love! O uncreated love! beginning
" without beginning, and ending without end. O thou
" art my glory, my joy, and my gain, and my crown;
" thou hast set me under thy shadow with great delight,
" and thy fruit is sweet unto my taste: Thou hast brought
" me into thy banqueting-house, and placed me in thy
" orchard: Stay me with flaggons, and comfort me with
" apples,

" apples, for I am sick, and my soul is wounded with
" love. Behold thou art fair, my love; behold thou art
" fair, thou hast doves eyes: Behold thou art fair, my
" beloved; yea pleasant: Also our bed is green; the
" beams of our house are cedars, and our rafters are of
" fir: How fair and how pleasant art thou, O full of all
" delights! my heart is ravished with thee! O when
" shall I see thy face! how long wilt thou delay to be
" with me as a roe, or a young hart, leaping upon the
" mountains, and skipping upon the hills: As a bundle of
" myrrh be thou to me, and lye all night betwixt my
" breasts: Because of the favour of thy good ointments:
" Thy name is as ointment poured forth: Therefore desire
" I to go out of this desart, and to come to the place
" where thou sittest at thy repast, and where thou makest
" thy flocks to rest at noon. When shall I be filled with
" his love? Surely, if a man knew how precious it were,
" he would count all things dross and dung to gain it:
" Truly I would long for that scaffold, or that ax, or
" that cord, that might be to me that last step of this my
" wearisome journey, to go to thee, my Lord. Thou
" who knowest the meaning of the spirit, give answer to
" the speaking, sighing, and groaning of the spirit: Thou
" who hast enflamed my heart to speak unto thee in this
" silent yet lovely language of ardent and fervent desires;
" speak again unto my heart, and answer my desires
" which thou hast made me speak to thee, 1 Cor. xv. 55.
" *O death, where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?*
" *the sting of death is sin; the strengh of sin is the law: But*
" *thanks be to God, who giveth to me the victory through Jesus*
" *Christ.*

" What can be troublesome unto me, since my Lord
" looks upon me with so loving and amiable a coun-
" tenance? And how greatly do I long for these em-
" bracements of my Lord? *O that he would kiss me*
" *with the kisses of his mouth*, Cant. i. 2. *for his love*
" *is better than wine!* O that my soul were the throne
" wherein he might dwell eternally! O that my heart
" were the temple wherein he might be magnified, and
" dwell for ever? All glory be unto my God; angels
" and saints, praise ye him; O thou earth, yea hills
" and mountains, be glad; you shall not be wearied any
" more with the burden of corruption, whereunto you
" have been subject through the wickedness of mankind.
" Lift up your heads and be glad, for a fire shall make
" you clean from all your corruption and vanity, where-
" with for many years you have been infected. Let the

" bride rejoice, let all the saints rejoice, for the day of " the marriage with the bridegroom (even the Lamb of " God) is at hand, and his fair white robes shall be gi- " ven her; she shall be arrayed with the golden vestry " and needle-work of his manifold graces, that shall be " put upon her: He, who is her life, shall quickly ap- " pear, and she shall quickly appear with him in the " glory and happiness of a consummate marriage. But " I must remember myself; I know I have been greatly " strengthened and sustained by your prayers, (honour- " able lady, and dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus) con- " tinue, I pray you, as you have begun, in wrestling " with the Lord for me, that Christ may be magnified in " my mortal body, whether living or dead, that my soul " may be lifted up to the third heavens, that I may taste " of these joys that are at the right-hand of my heavenly " Father, and that with gladness I may let my spirit go " thither where my body shall shortly follow. Who am " I, that he should first have called me, and then consti- " tute me a minister of the glad tidings of the gospel of " salvation these years already, and now last of all, to be " a sufferer for his cause and kingdom? Now let it be so, " that I have fought my fight and run my race, and now " from henceforth is laid up for me that crown of righte- " ousness, which the Lord, that righteous God, will " give; and not to me only, but to all that love his ap- " pearance; and chuse to witness this, that Jesus Christ is " the king of saints, and that his church is a most free " kingdom, yea, as free as any kingdom under heaven, " not only to convocate, hold, and keep her meetings, and " conventions, and assemblies, but also to judge of all her " affairs, in all her meetings and conventions amongst " her members and subjects.

" These two points, first, That Christ is the head " of his church; secondly, That she is free in her " government from all other jurisdiction except Christ's: " These two points, I say, are special causes of our " imprisonment, being now convicted as traitors for " maintaining thereof: We have been ever waiting " with joyfulness to give the last testimony of our " blood in confirmation thereof, if it should please our " God to be so favourable as to honour us with this dig- " nity: Yea, I do affirm, that these two points above " written, and all other things which belong to Christ's " crown, sceptre, and kingdom, are not subject, nor " cannot be, to any other authority, but to his own al- " together. So that I would be most glad to be offered

" up

" up a sacrifice for so glorious a truth: But, alas! I fear " that my sins, and the abuse of so glorious things as I " have found, deprive me of so fair a crown; yet my " Lord doth know, if he would call me to it, and " strengthen me in it, it would be to me the most glori- " ous day and gladdest hour, I ever saw in this life; but " I am in his hand, to do with me whatsoever shall please " his majesty. It may suffice me, I have had so long a " time in the knowledge of the gospel; and that I have " seen the things that I have seen, and heard the things " that I have heard, and through the grace of God I have " been so long a witness of these glorious and good news " in my weak ministry, and that my witnessing hath not " been altogether without fruit and blessing; so that I " hope at that day, I shall have him to be my crown, my " glory, my joy, and reward, and therefore, boldly, I say " with Simeon, *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in* " *peace*, (not in a peaceable dying in my body) but by " rendering up to him my spirit, and the sealing and " stamping this truth with my blood. I desire not to " have it remedied; but let my Lord's will be done.

" Now that prophecy is at hand, which these two wor- " thy servants of the Lord Mr George Wishart, and Mr " John Knox, my father-in-law, spake; which was, " *That Christ should be crucified in this kingdom, but glori-* " *ous should be his resurrection*, as Mr Knox with his own " hand upon the margin of Calvin's Harmony upon the " Passion did write, which is yet extant: But alas! for " this kingdom. My testimony now doth not differ from " that of many before this time, who said, that the king- " dom of Scotland should be blood, the kingdom shall be " drenched in blood, a fourbished and glittering sword is " already drawn out of the scabbard, which shall not re- " turn until it be made drunk with the blood of the men " of this land; first the heavy intestine sword, and then " the sword of the stranger. O doleful Scotland! well " were he that were removed from thee, that his eyes " might not see, nor his ears hear all the evils that are to " come upon thee; neither the strong man by his strength, " nor the rich man by his riches, nor the nobleman by " blood, shall be delivered from the judgments. There " is a great sacrifice to be made in Bozrah, in thee, O " Scotland, of the blood of all sorts in the land; Ephraim " shall consume Manasseh, and Manasseh Ephraim: Bro- " ther against brother, and every man in the judgment " of the Lord shall be armed, to thrust his sword in the " side

" side of his neighbour, and all for the contempt of the
" glorious gospel: And that blood which was offered to
" thee, O Scotland, in so plenteous a manner, that the
" like thereof hath not been offered to any nation; there-
" fore thy judgment shall be greater: But the sanctuary
" must be begun at, and the measure is not fulfilled, till
" the blood of the saints be shed; then the cries will be
" great, and will not stay, till they bring the Lord down
" from heaven his throne, to see if the sins of Scotland be
" according to the cry thereof; neither shall there be any
" subject in the land from the greatest to the meanest
" guiltless. The guilt of our blood shall not only lye
" upon our prince, but also upon our own brethren, bi-
" shops, councellors, and commissioners; it is they,
" even they that have stirred up our prince against us:
" We must therefore lay the blame, and burden of our
" blood upon them especially, however the rest above-
" written be partakers of their sins with them: And as to
" the rest of our brethren, who either by silence approve,
" or by crying, Peace, peace, strengthen the arm of the
" wicked, that they cannot return; in the mean time
" make the hearts of the righteous sad; they shall all in
" like manner be guilty of high treason against the King
" of kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, his crown and king-
" dom.

" Next unto them, all our commissioners, chancellor,
" president, comptroller, advocate; and next unto them,
" all that first or last sat in the council, and did not bear
" plain testimony for Jesus Christ and his kingdom, for
" which we do suffer: And next unto them, all those
" who should have at present, and who should at such
" times have come, and made open testimony of Christ
" faithfully, although it had been contrary to plain law,
" and with the hazard of their lives. When the poor
" Jews were in such danger, that nothing was expected
" but utter destruction, Q. Esther, after three days fast-
" ing, concluded thus with herself, *I will*, said she, *go*
" *in to the king, though it be not according to law; and if I*
" *perish, I perish*, Esther iv. 16. With this resolution
" such as are born councellors should have said, Christ's
" kingdom is now at hand, and I am bound also, and
" sworn, by a special covenant, to maintain the doctrine
" and discipline thereof, according to my vocation and
" power, all the days of my life; under all the pains
" contained in the book of God, and danger of body and
" soul, in the day of God's fearful judgment: And there-
" fore,

" fore, though I should perish in the cause, yet will I " speak for it, and to my power defend it, according to " my vocation. Finally, All those that council, com- " mand, consent, and allow, are guilty in the sight of our " God: But the mourners for these evils, and the faithful " of the land, and those who are unfeignedly grieved in " heart for all these abominations, those shall be marked " as not guilty, Ezek. ix.

" I know not, whether I shall have occasion to write " again; and therefore, by this letter, as my latter will " and testament, I give testimony, warning, and know- " ledge of these things to all men, according to the Lord's " direction to the prophet, *Son of man, I have made thee* " *a watchman*, Ezek. xxxiii. 7, &c. Therefore I give " warning to all men hereby, that no man's blood be re- " quired at my hands. Thus desiring the help of your " prayers, with my humble commendations, and service " in Christ, to my lord, your husband, and all the saints " there: The messenger of peace be with you all for ever- " more. *Amen.*

" Yours, to my full power, for
Blackness, " the time Christ's prisoner,
January 6, 1606. " JOHN WELCH."

Several very extraordinary circumstances are related of Mr Welch by his biographer, which, because they are extraordinary and must depend upon the veracity of the relater, we will transcribe and leave to the judgment of our Readers.

Mr Welch was sometime prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh before his banishment, where, one night, sitting at supper with Lord Ochiltree, Mrs Welch's uncle, he entertained the company with his usual religious and edifying conversation, which was well received by all the company except one debauched, popish, young gentleman, who sometimes laughed, and sometimes mocked and made faces: Upon which Mr Welch demanded silence of the company, and that they would observe the work of the Lord upon that profane mocker, which they should presently behold: Immediately the poor wicked wretch fell down under the table, and died, to the great astonishment of all present.

About the same time another remarkable circumstance happened. Lord Ochiltree, the captain of the castle, and son to the above-mentioned good lord Ochiltree, was very civil to Mr Welch; but had not been able for some time, through

through a multitude of affairs, to visit Mr Welch in his chambers; yet walking in the court one day, he saw him look out of his window, and asked him kindly, 'How he 'did, and if in any thing he could serve him?' Mr Welch answered, and said, "My lord, as you are soon to go to "court, I earnestly entreat you to petition the king, "[K. James] in my name, that I may have liberty to "preach the gospel:" This his lordship promised to do. Mr Welch added, "my lord, both because you are my "kinsman, and for other reasons, I would earnestly en-"treat and desire you not to promise, except you faith-"fully perform." His lordship replied, 'He would 'faithfully perform his promise:' And soon set out for London. At his first arrival, he fully purposed to present the petition; but finding the king in a rage at the godly ministers, he durst not then present it; thinking he should meet with a fairer opportunity bye and bye; but at length, he forgot it entirely. The first time Mr Welch saw him after his return home, he asked him, "What he had done "with his petition?" His lordship answered, 'He had 'presented it to the king; but that he was in so great a 'rage against the ministers at that time, he believed it 'had been forgot; for he had received no answer.'— "Nay, (said Mr Welch), My lord, you should not lie to "God and to me; for I know you never delivered it, "though I warned you to take heed, and not to undertake "it, except you would perform it; but because you have "dealt so unfaithfully, remember God shall take from "you both estate and honours, and give them to your "neighbour in your own time:" Which truly came to pass; for in his own time, both his estate and honours were translated upon James Stuart.

While he was still a prisoner in Edinburgh, his wife who lived with him, had a great desire to see her family in Air, to which, with some difficulty he consented; but when she entered upon her journey, he strictly charged her, when she came to Air not to take the ordinary way to her house, nor to pass by the bridge through the town; but to cross the river above the bridge, in her way home, and not to come into the town at all: For (said he), "Before you come thither, you shall find the "plague has broken out in Air." Which was indeed the case, as she found when she came there.

The plague being among his people grieved him much, being separated from them. But when some of them came to him from Air, to bemoan themselves; he answered them,

them, "Hugh Kennedy (a godly man in Air), should pray "for them; and God would hear him." This counsel they accepted; and that gentleman, convening several proper people of the place, prayed fervently for the town (for he was a second Welch in wrestling mightily with GOD in prayer) and accordingly after that, the plague decreased.

The time now being come that Mr Welch should leave Scotland, never to see it again; he, with many more, under the same condemnation, went on board a ship at Leith, on the seventh day of November, in the year 1606; and although as early as two o'clock in the morning, there were great numbers of people, waiting with their afflicted families, to bid them farewell. After prayer, they sang the twenty-third Psalm; and then, to the great grief of a multitude of spectators, they set sail for the south of France, and landed in the river of Bourdeaux.

In about the space of fourteen weeks after his arrival, the Lord so succeeded his diligence and application, that he was able to preach in French; and was in a short time called to the ministry, first in one village, then in another; one of which was Nerac. Afterward he was settled in St Jean d'Angely, a considerable walled town, where he abode during his stay in France; which was about sixteen years. When he began first to preach, it was observed, by some of his hearers, that while he continued in the doctrinal part of his sermon, he spoke French very accurately; but when he came to his application, and began to grow warm in his affections, his fervour made him sometimes neglect the accuracy of the French construction: But being admonished of this by some pious young men, which he took in good part, he proposed the following remedy in future; that two of them should sit opposite the pulpit, and when they perceived him beginning to decline, they should stand up, as a watch-word to him. By which means he acquired a wonderful exactness throughout his whole sermon. So desirous was he to deliver good matter in a graceful manner.

There were many times persons of great quality in his auditory, before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in a Scots village; which moved Mr Boyd of Trochrig, once to ask him (after he had preached before the university of Saumur, with such boldness and authority as if he had been before the meanest congregation) how he could be so confident among strangers, and persons of such quality? To which he answered, that he was so

filled

filled with the dread of GOD, he had no apprehension from men at all: And 'this answer (said Mr Boyd), did 'not remove my admiration, but rather increased it.'

He had several young gentlemen boarded in the house with him, for the sake of his edifying company and conversation, among whom was the heir of Lord Ochiltree, captain of the castle of Edinburgh. This young nobleman, after he had gained much upon Mr Welch's affections, fell sick, and after wasting away for a long time, closed his eyes, and to the apprehension of all present, expired: Accordingly, he was taken out of his bed and laid upon a pallet, agreeable to the custom of the place. This was matter of great grief to Mr Welch, who staid full three hours in the room, lamenting over him with great tenderness. After twelve hours, according to custom, they brought a coffin to put him in; but Mr Welch desired, that for the satisfaction of his affections, they would forbear for a time; with which they complied, and returned not again till twelve hours after, when, indeed, they earnestly importuned him, that the corpse might be buried, because of the extreme heat of the weather; But he again requested they would indulge him once more; which they did, first till the corpse had laid thirty-six hours on the pallet; and again, till they supposed he had been dead forty-eight hours. They then perceived, that Mr Welch did not believe the young man really dead, but in some kind of fit; and advised to send for physicians and surgeons, and satisfy himself by some experiment. He agreed to what they proposed; and the gentlemen of the faculty first pinched the fleshy parts of his body with pincers, but without success; then they twisted a string about his head with great force, but no signs of life appearing they pronounced him *entirely* dead. Mr Welch begged of them once more, that they would but step into the next room for an hour or two, and leave him with the dead youth; and this they granted. Then Mr Welch fell down before the pallet, and cried unto the Lord with all his might for the last time, and sometimes looking upon the dead body, continuing in wrestling with the Lord, till at length the dead youth opened his eyes, and cried out to Mr Welch, whom he distinctly knew, 'O sir, I am all whole but my head and 'legs:' And these were the places they had sore hurt with their pinching.

When Mr Welch perceived this, he called upon his friends, and shewed the dead young man restored to life again,

again, to their great astonishment. And this young nobleman, though his father lost the estate of Ochiltree, lived to acquire a great estate in Ireland, and was lord Castlesteuart, and a man of such excellent parts, that he was courted by the earl of Strafford, to be a counsellor in Ireland, which he refused to be, until the godly silenced Scottish ministers, who suffered under the bishops in the north of Ireland, were restored to the exercise of their ministry; and then he engaged, and so continued for all his life, not only in honour and power, but in the profession and practice of godliness, to the great comfort of the country where he lived. "This story the nobleman "communicated to his friends in Ireland, and from them "I had it."

While Mr Welch was minister in one of these French villages; one evening a popish friar, travelling through the country, because he could find no lodging in the whole village, addressed himself to Mr Welch's house, begging the favour of a lodging for that night. The servants informed Mr Welch, who readily consented; but as he had supped, and family-worship was over, he did not see the friar, but retired to his room. After the friar had supped, the servant shewed him to his chamber, between which and Mr Welch's there was but a thin deal partition. After the friar's first sleep, he was surprised with hearing a constant whispering kind of noise, at which he was exceedingly frightened.

The next morning, as he walked in the fields, a countryman met him; and, because of his habit, saluted him, asked him, 'where he had lodged that night?' The friar answered, with the *Hugonot* minister. The countryman asked him what entertainment he met with? The friar answered, 'Very bad; for (said he), I always imagined 'there were devils hunting these ministers' houses, and 'I am persuaded there was one with me this night; for 'I heard a continual whisper all the night, which I be-'lieve was nothing else but the minister and the devil 'conversing together.' The countryman told him, he was much mistaken, and that it was only the minister at his night-prayers. 'Oh, said the friar, does the minister 'pray any?' 'Yes, said the countryman, more than any 'man in France; and if you will stay another night with 'him, you may be satisfied.' The friar returned to Mr Welch's house, and feigning indisposition, begged another night's lodging, which was granted him.

After a while Mr Welch came down, and assembled the family, and, according to custom, first sang a psalm, then read a portion of scripture, which he briefly expounded, and then prayed in his usual fervent manner: To all which the friar was an astonished witness. At dinner the friar was very civilly entertained: Mr Welch thinking it best to forbear all questions and disputes for the present. In the evening, Mr Welch had family-worship, as in the morning, which occasioned still more wonder in the friar. After supper, they all retired; the friar longing to know what the night-whisper was. He laid awake till Mr Welch's usual time of night for rising to pray; when, hearing the same whispering noise, he creeped softly to Mr Welch's door, and there heard not only the sound, but the words distinctly, and such communications between GOD and man as he knew not had been in the world. Upon this the friar waited for Mr Welch to come out of his chamber; when he told him, he had lived in darkness and ignorance till this time, but was now resolved to give himself up entirely to Mr Welch's teaching; and declared himself a Protestant. Mr Welch congratulated him upon his better understanding, and exceedingly encouraged him: And it is said, he lived and died a true Protestant. 'This account I had (says his biographer), from a very 'pious minister, who was bred in Mr Welch's house in 'France.'

Lewis XIII. of France made war with the Protestants, on the score of religion, and at the head of his army besieged the city of St Jean d'Angely; which, after a considerable siege, capitulated upon very advantageous terms. While the king remained in this town, after the capitulation, Mr Welch continued to preach as usual; but the king hearing of it was much offended, and one day sent the duke d'Espernon to order him out of the pulpit, and to bring him before him. The duke went with his guard, and as soon as he entered the church where Mr Welch was preaching, Mr Welch desired the people to make way, and to set a seat, that the duke might hear the word of the Lord. The duke, instead of interrupting him, sat down, and heard him with great attention till he had finished his discourse; and then told him, he must go with him to the king; which Mr Welch readily did. When the duke came to the king, the king asked him, 'Why 'he brought not the minister, and why he did not inter-'rupt him?' The duke answered, 'Never man spake like 'this man; but that he had brought him with him.'

Whereupon

Whereupon Mr Welch was called into the king's presence; and upon his admission silently prayed to GOD for wisdom and assistance. The king asked him, 'How 'he durst preach where he was, since it was against the 'law of France, for any man to preach within the verge 'of his court?' Mr Welch answered, "Sir, if you did "right, you would come and hear me preach, and make "all France hear me likewise; for (said he), I preach "not as those men whom you hear; my preaching differs "from their's in these two points: First, I preach that "you must be saved by the merits and death of Jesus "Christ, and not by any merits or works of your own. "Next, I preach, that as you are king of France, you "are under the authority and command of no man on "earth: Those men (added he), whom you hear, sub-"ject you to the pope of Rome, which I will never do." The king replied no more, but *Et bien vous etiez mon ministre:* 'Well, well, you shall be my minister.' Accordingly, he was favourably dismissed, and the king left the town in peace.

In a short time after, the war was renewed; and Mr Welch then told the inhabitants of the city, that now their cup was full, and they should no more escape; which accordingly came to pass. The king ordered Vitry, captain of his guard, to preserve his minister from all danger; and to provide him with horses, and waggons, and all other conveniences necessary to convey him and his family to Rochelle. This story lord Kenmure, who was bred at Mr Welch's house, told Mr Livingstoun, minister of Ancrum, and from him (says the biographer) I had it.

Soon after this, Mr Welch obtained liberty to come to England; and his friends petitioned the king, that he might be permitted to return to Scotland; the physicians giving it as their opinion, that nothing could preserve his life but his native air. But the king gave them an absolute denial; so he languished in London a considerable time. His disease was thought by some to be of the leprousy kind; but the physicians said, he had been poisoned. When, in the time of his weakness, he was desired to remit somewhat of his excessive labour and study; his answer was, "He had his life of God, and that it should "be spent for him." It is said, that by frequent and long praying, the flesh of his knees was hard and callous like horn.

His friends again importuned the king, that if he was not permitted to go to Scotland, he might at least have liberty

liberty to preach in London; but neither would the king grant this request, till he heard all hopes of life were past; then, not fearing his activity, he allowed him. Mr Welch no sooner heard that he had liberty to preach, than he readily embraced it; and having access to a lecturer's pulpit, he preached both long and fervently. This was the last performance of his life; for, after he had ended his sermon, he returned to his chamber, and within two hours, quietly and without pain, he resigned his spirit into his maker's hands; and was buried near Mr Deering, the famous English divine, in the year 1623, in the fifty-third year of his age.

He was of a strong, robust constitution, and underwent a deal of fatigue. Among his PAPERS were found Saurez's Metaphysics abridged; and a great number of Sermons, some of which were printed in Glasgow some years ago. He printed his Dispute with Abbot Brown the papist, in which his learning appears to be nothing behind his other excellencies. Another Piece, called Dr Welch's ARMAGEDDON, he printed in France, in which are given his Meditations on the enemies of the Church: But this performance is very rarely to be met with.

We will conclude this article with the extract of a letter, sent by Mr Welch to the lady Mar while he was an exile in France, which has been preserved by the excellent Mr Fleming.

"I thank my God, (says he) in Christ, for all the "gracious consolation it pleaseth him to vouchsafe on me "in the days of my affliction, whereby I perceive the "good pleasure of his will to minister unto me comfort, "that, not only with patience, but with joy, I might bear "his cross; and I dare not but give testimony, that the "Lord has been faithful in his promises, and has remembered his mercy and covenant towards me, has made "*his yoke easy, and his burden light*, and has caused his "consolations to abound, far beyond all that ever I yet "suffered. 'Tis true, it cannot but be sometimes grievous to remember the glory that I have seen both in public and private in the communion of saints, from which "I am now exiled; yet it pleaseth my Lord to minister "such tranquillity of mind unto me, that I cannot but "wonder at it, and at those exceeding and incredible joys, "wherewith I now see by experience it pleases him to "accompany his own cross. O how sweet a thing is it "to suffer for Christ! How glorious and rich treasures "are there, that lye hid under that vile and ignominious

"veil

" veil of the cross! The world, yea, the princes and " wise of this world know not the glorious and unspeak- " able joys that are joined with the cross: Yea, who " knows it, but he that hath experience of it?—Surely " affliction is a testimony and seal of the love of God!"

JOHN PISCATOR.

JOHN PISCATOR, a learned and laborious divine, was born at Strasburg in the year 1546. He was from a youth a lover of study, and made an early proficiency in learning; and, in his study of logic, reconciled and united Aristotle and his commentator Peter Ramus. Having made great progress in divinity, he was invited to Herborn to accept of the professor's chair, which he filled with such general satisfaction, and so very agreeably to the students, that many flocked thither from Germany, France, Poland, and other northern countries. He was very diligent and laborious; scarce allowing himself sufficent time for sleep.

He wrote many things; and translated the whole bible with great industry and faithfulness into the German language; besides his analysis logical and theological of the greatest part of it. He died at Herborn in 1625, and in the eightieth year of his age. Our Dr Twisse says of him, that he was an excellent scripture divine, but no school divine, and that therefore it is not to be wondered at, if he did not use the accuracy of scholastic expressions. But if what Luther says be right (as we are inclined to believe), *Bonus textuarius est theologus bonus*; i. e. 'A 'good textuary is a good divine;' it is possible to pardon him, especially as no man living can find out, what benefit ever occurred to the world from the scholastic divinity; unless the filling the pope's coffers can be thought to have been an advantage to it.

LANCELOT

LANCELOT ANDREWS, D. D.

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

LANCELOT ANDREWS, an eminent divine, and bishop of Winchester in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. was born at London, in 1565, in the parish of All-Hallows Barking, being descended from the ancient family of the Andrews's in Suffolk. He had his education in grammar-learning, first in the Cooper's free-school at Ratcliff under Mr Ward; and afterwards in Merchant-Taylor's school at London, under Mr Mulcaster. Here he made such a proficiency in the learned languages, that Dr Watts, residentiary of St Paul's and archdeacon of Middlesex, who had lately founded some scholarships at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, sent him to that college, and bestowed on him the first of those exhibitions. After he had been three years in the university, his custom was to come up to London once a year, about Easter, to visit his father and mother, with whom he usually stayed a month; during which time, with the assistance of a master, he applied himself to the attaining some language, or art, to which he was before a stranger: And by this means, in a few years, he had laid the foundations of all the arts and sciences, and acquired a competent skill in most of the modern languages.

Having taken the degree of bachelor of arts, he was, upon a vacancy, chosen fellow of his college. In the mean time Hugh Price, having built Jesus-college in Oxford, and hearing much of the fame of young Mr Andrews, appointed him one of his first fellows on that foundation. Having taken the degree of master of arts, he applied himself to the study of divinity, in the knowledge of which he greatly excelled; insomuch that, being chosen catechist in the college, and having undertaken to read a lecture on the ten commandments every Saturday and Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon, great numbers out of the other colleges of the university, and even out of the country, duly resorted to Pembroke-chapel, as to a divinity lecture. At the same time, he was esteemed

so

so profound a casuist, that he was often consulted in the nicest and most difficult cases of conscience. And now his reputation being spread far and near, Henry earl of Huntingdon prevailed upon him to accompany him into the North, of which he was president; where, by his diligent preaching, and private conferences, in which he used a due mixture of zeal and moderation, he converted several recusants, priests as well as others, to the Protestant religion. From that time he began to be taken notice of by Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to Q. Elizabeth. That minister, who was unwilling so fine a genius should be buried in the obscurity of a country benefice, his intent being to make him reader of controversies in the university of Cambridge, assigned him for his maintenance the lease of the parsonage of Alton in Hampshire, and afterwards procured for him the vicarage of St Giles's, Cripplegate, in London.

Afterwards he was chosen a prebendary and residentiary of St Paul's, as also prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell. Being thus preferred to his own contentment, he distinguished himself as a diligent and excellent preacher, and read divinity lectures three times a week at St Paul's, in term time. Upon the death of Dr Fulke, he was chosen master of Pembroke-hall, of which he had been scholar and fellow: A place of more honour than profit, since he spent more upon it than he received from it, and was a considerable benefactor to that college. He was appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to Q. Elizabeth, who took such delight in his preaching, that she first made him a prebendary of Westminster, in the room of Dr Richard Bancroft promoted to the see of London; and afterwards dean of that church, in the room of Dr Gabriel Goodman deceased. Dr Andrews soon grew into far greater esteem with her successor K. James I. who not only gave him the preference to all other divines as a Preacher, but likewise made choice of him to vindicate his sovereignty against the virulent pens of his enemies.

That king promoted him to the bishopric of Chichester, to which he was consecrated November 3, 1605. At the same time he made him his lord almoner; in which place of great trust he behaved with singular fidelity, disposing of the royal benevolence in the properest manner, and not making those advantages to himself that he might legally and fairly have done. Upon the vacancy of the bishopric of Ely, he was advanced to that see, and consecrated

secrated September 22, 1609. He was nominated one of his majesty's privy councellors of England, and afterwards of Scotland, when he attended the king in his journey to that kingdom. After he had sat nine years in that see, he was advanced to the bishopric of Winchester, and deanery of the king's chapel, February 18, 1618; which two last preferments he held till his death.

There is a pleasant story related of him, while he was bishop of Winchester, in the life of Mr Waller the poet. That gentleman going to see the king at dinner, overheard a very extraordinary conversation between his majesty and two prelates, our Bishop of Winchester, and Dr Neale, bishop of Durham, who were standing behind the king's chair. His majesty asked the bishops, 'My lords, 'cannot I take my subjects money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?' The bishop of Durham readily answered, 'God forbid, sir, but you 'should; you are the breath of our nostrils.' Whereupon the king turned, and said to the bishop of Winchester, 'Well, my lord, what say you?' "Sir, (replied "the Bishop) I have no skill to judge of parliamentary "cases." The king answered, 'No put-offs, my lord; 'answer me presently.' "Then, sir, (said he) I think "it lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, for "he offers it."

This great prelate was in no less reputation and esteem with K. Charles I. than he had been with his predecessors. At length he departed this life, at Winchester-house in Southwark, September 25, 1626, in the seventy-first year of his age; and was buried in the parish-church of St Saviour's Southwark; where his executors erected to him a very fair monument of marble and alabaster, on which is an elegant Latin inscription, written by one of his chaplains. His bones, not many years since, were displaced, and upon taking them away (as it seems) to make room for other occupants, the hair of his beard, and his silken cap, were found undecayed in the remains of his coffin.

His WORKS. Besides the *Tortura Torti*, bishop Andrews wrote A Manual of private Devotions and Meditations for every Day in the Week*, and A Manual of Direc-

* This excellent Piece was written in Greek and Latin. The words are generally taken from the scriptures, or made as nearly as possible to them in a precative form. They are, of course, full of pathos and fervent affection. A very proper book for serious young persons, who are acquiring the learned languages.

Directions for the visitation of the sick; besides Sermons, and several tracts in English and Latin published after his death. He had a share in the translation of the pentateuch, and the historical books from Joshua, to the first book of Chronicles exclusively.

The character of bishop Andrews, both public and private, was in every respect great and singular. The author of his life, so often referred to, celebrates in particular his great zeal and piety, his charity and compassion, his fidelity and integrity, his gratitude and thankfulness, his munificence and bounty, his hospitality, his humanity and affability, his modesty, his diligent application to study, and his talents as a preacher and a writer. He generally hated all sorts of vices, but more especially three, which were, usury, simony, and sacrilege. K. James had so great an awe and veneration for him, that, in his presence he refrained from that mirth and levity, in which he indulged himself at other times. What opinion my lord Clarendon had of him, appears from hence, that, in mentioning the death of Dr Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, he remarks, that 'if he had been succeeded by 'bishop Andrews, or any man who understood and lov-'ed the church, that infection would easily have been kept 'out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled.' Our great poet Milton thought him worthy of his pen, and wrote a Latin Elegy on his death. His stile and manner of writing, however admired in that age, are very exceptionable in the opinion of the best critics of the present.

We will sum up the character of this truly reverend man, in the words of the bishop of Ely, which he delivered in his sermon upon the occasion of his death. 'His admirable knowledge in the learned tongues, La-'tin, Greek, Hebrew Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, besides 'other modern tongues to the number of fifteen (as I am 'informed), was such and so rare, that he may well be 'ranked in the first place, to be one of the rarest linguists 'in Christendom; in which he was so perfect and ab-'solute, both for grammar and profound knowledge 'therein, that he was so perfect in the grammar and cri-'ticisms of them, as if he had utterly neglected the matter 'itself; and yet was so exquisite and sound in the matter 'and learning of these tongues, as if he had never re-'garded the grammar.——Of this Reverend prelate, I 'may say, his life was a life of prayer: A great part of 'five hours every day, he spent in prayer and devotion to

'God. After the death of his brother Thomas Andrews, 'whom he loved dearly, he began to reckon of his own, 'which he said would be in the end of summer or the be-'ginning of winter. And when his brother Nicholas 'Andrews died, he took that as a certain warning of his 'own death; and from that time till the hour of his dis-'solution, he spent all his time in prayer. And in his 'last sickness continued, when awake, to pray audibly, 'till his strength failed, and then by lifting up his eyes 'and hands, shewed that he still prayed; and then when 'both voice, and eyes, and hands, failed in their office, 'his countenance shewed that he still prayed and praised 'God in his heart, till it pleased God to receive his 'blessed soul to himself, which was about four o'clock in 'the morning of Monday the twenty-fifth of September, '1626.'

His WORKS, besides those above mentioned. "1. *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra Præfationem Monitoriam serenissimi ac potentissimi principis Jacobi*, &c. *omnibus Christianis Monarchis, Principibus, atque Ordinibus inscriptam*, i. e. An Answer to the Apology of Cardinal Bellarmin, which he lately published against the Monitory Preface of the most serene and potent Prince King James, &c. addressed to all Christian Monarchs, Princes, and States. 2. *Tortura Torti*. 3. *Concio ad Clerum pro Gradu Doctoris*. i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy for the Degree of Doctor in Divinity. 4. *Concio ad Clerum in Synodo Provinciali Cantuariensis Provinciæ ad Divi Pauli*. i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy in the Provincial Synod of the Province of Canterbury, at St Paul's. 5. *Concio Latine habita coram regia Majestate quinto Augusti* M DC VI, *in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore venerat in Angliam, Regem nostrum invisurus, serenissimus potentissimusque princeps Christianus Quartus Daniæ & Norvegiæ Rex*. i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, August 5, 1606, at the time when the most serene and powerful Prince Christiern IV. King of Denmark and Norway, was come into England to visit our King. 6. *Concio Latine habita coram regia Majestate decimo tertio Aprilis* M DC XIII, *in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore, cum lectissima sua conjuge, discessurus erat Gener Regis, serenissimus potentissimusque princeps Fridericus Comes Palatinus ad Rhenum*. i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, April 13, 1613, when the King's Son-in-law, the most serene and potent prince Frederic Count palatine of the Rhine, was about to depart with

with his dearest Consort. 7. *Questionis nunquid per jus divinum magistratui liceat à reo jusjurandum exigere? & id quatenus & quousque liceat? Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ mense Julii, Anno* 1591. i. e. A Theological Determination of the question, Whether the Civil magistrate has a right by the Law of GOD, to require an oath of an accused person, and how far it may be lawful; held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge, in the month of July, 1591. 8. *De Usuris Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ.* i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Usury, held in the public Divinity School of *Cambridge.* 9. *De Decimis Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ.* i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Tythes, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge 10. *Responsiones ad Petri Molinæi Epistolas.* i. e. Answers to three of Du Moulin's Letters, with Du Moulin's Letters. 11. *Strictura:* Or, A Brief Answer to the Eighteenth Chapter of the first Book of Cardinal Perron's Reply, written in French, to K. James his answer written by Mr Casaubon in Latin. 12. An Answer to the twentieth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's Reply, *&c.* 13. A Speech delivered in the Star-Chamber, concerning Vows, in the Countess of Shrewsbury's Case. These pieces were printed at London, after the Author's death, by Felix Kyngston, in 4to, 1629, and dedicated to K. Charles I. by the Bishops of London and Ely. There are extant, besides, 15. The Moral Law expounded: Or, Lectures on the Ten Commandments; whereunto is annexed nineteen Sermons upon Prayer in general, and upon the Lord's Prayer in particular; published by John Jackson, and dedicated to the Parliament, London, 1642, fol. 16. *Αποσπασματια Sacra:* Or, A Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures, delivered at St Paul's and St Giles's Cripplegate church, London. 1657, fol.

PHILIP DE MORNAY,

LORD OF PLESSIS MARLY.

PHILIP DE MORNAY, lord of Plessis Marly, an illustrious French Protestant, privy counsellor of Henry IV. and governor of Saumur, was born at Buhi in Vexin, upon the 5th of November, 1549. He was descended from a very ancient and noble family, which had in course of time divided itself into several branches, and produced many great and eminent men. His father, James de Mornay, had done great services to the royal family in the wars; but in the time of peace led a very retired life, and was greatly attached to the religion of his country. He designed Philip for the church, as he was a younger son, with a view of succeeding his uncle Bertin de Mornay, who was dean of Beauvais, and abbé of Saumur, and who had promised to resign those preferments to him; but these views were broken by the death of the uncle. In the mean time, his mother, who was the daughter of Charles du Bec Crespin, vice-admiral of France, and chamberlain to Francis II. was secretly an Hugonot; and had taken care to inspire her son insensibly with her own principles. His father died about two years after his uncle, when Philip was not more than ten years of age; and two years after, *viz.* in 1561, in reading the New Testament, it pleased the Lord so to enlighten him by that means, as to enable him to discover and abandon the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome: And, in the same year, his mother, making open profession of the Protestant religion, set up a lecture in her own house, which perfectly confirmed Philip in it. His literary education was all the while carrying on, with the utmost care and circumspection: He had masters provided in all languages and sciences; and the progress he made in all, was what might be expected from his very uncommon parts and application.

In

In the year 1567, Mornay was obliged to retire from Paris, where he was pursuing his studies, on account of the commotions which were breaking out again; and soon after he took up arms, and served a campaign or two. But having the misfortune to break one of his arms, he quitted the profession of a soldier, and began to entertain thoughts of travelling into foreign countries, not only to be out of the way, till the civil wars should be at an end, but for the sake of some baths, which he hoped would restore to him the free use of his arm. He arrived at Geneva in the latter end of August, 1568, not without the greatest danger and peril to himself; for all places were so full of soldiers, and the passages so guarded, that it was difficult for one of his religion to pass with safety. He made but a short stay at Geneva, on account of the plague, which was there; but, taking his way through Switzerland, he went to Heidelberg in Germany. Here he became acquainted with Emmanuel Tremellius, and other learned men, and entered upon the study of the civil law. In September 1569, he went to Frankfort, where he was affectionately received by the celebrated Languet, who gave him instructions for his future travels, and recommendatory letters to several great men. He staid some time afterwards at Padua, for the sake of perfecting himself farther in the knowledge of the civil law, and then proceeded to Venice.

He had a great desire to make the tour of the East; but as the Venetians and Turks were then at war about the isle of Cyprus, it was impossible for him to pass the coasts of Istria and Dalmatia with any degree of safety. From Venice, in the year 1571, he went to Rome, where he came into perils about his religion. He had experienced something of this sort at Venice, where an officer of the inquisition had been very busy about him; but he had the happiness to escape in both places, and from Rome he returned to Venice, from Venice to Vienna, and from thence, after taking a round through Hungary, Bohemia, Misnia, Saxony, Hesse, Franconia, to Frankfort, where he arrived in September, 1571. Though he was very young when he set out upon his travels, yet he ever conducted himself like a Christian and a philosopher; and made that profitable use of them, which a wise man will always make. He examined every thing that was curious in every place; and that nothing might escape him, he attentively perused not only the general history of the countries, but also the histories of each particular town and

province, through which he passed. Nor was he only attentive to their antiquities; but remarked also whatever was worth notice in the manners, customs, policy, and constitution of each.

In the spring of the year 1572, he went into Flanders to survey the situation, the strength, the fortifications, and garrisons of that country, and afterwards passed over to England, where he was graciously received by Q. Elizabeth; for his parts, his knowledge, his uncommon capacity for the management of great affairs, had spread his name far and wide, and made him courted, especially by the great.

In 1575, he married, and published the same year a Treatise concerning Life and Death; for though Mornay was often employed in civil affairs, and oftener solicited to engage in them; yet as he was ever a lover of books and retirement, he spent a great deal of his time in reading and writing. In the year 1576, he was wounded and made a prisoner; but gaining his liberty, he went to the court of the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France, who received him very graciously, gave him one of the first places in his council, and upon all occasions paid great deference to his judgment. Mornay, on his part, did the king great services. He went into England to solicit the assistance of Q. Elizabeth for him in 1577, into Flanders in 1578, and to the diet of Augsburg in 1579.

He was sent twice by the king of Navarre, as his ambassador to Q. Elizabeth; to whom he was so acceptable, that she writ a letter to him, upon his return, with her own hand; in which, among other things, she told him, 'that never any gentleman had treated with her, in whom 'she took so much pleasure as in himself.'

In 1578, he published a Treatise concerning the Church, in which he explained his motives for leaving the Popish, and embracing the Protestant religion; and in 1579, he began his justly celebrated book "Upon the Truth of the Christian Religion." But before he had made any progress in this, he was seized with an illness, which was thought to be the effects of some poison that had been given him at Anvers the year before, with a view of destroying him. He recovered, though dangerously ill, and continued to do service to the king of Navarre and the Protestant religion. From the year 1585, when the league commenced, he was more intimately connected with the affairs of the king; and, in 1590, was made his counsellor

lor of state, after having been invested with the government of Saumur the year before.

In the year 1592, the king pitched upon him to confer with Monsieur de Villeroy upon the subject of the king's religion; but the extravagant demands of de Villeroy rendered their conference of no effect. Mornay, however, opposed the king's perversion to popery, as long as he could; and when he could prevent it no longer, withdrew himself gradually from court, and gave himself up to reading and writing.

In the year 1596, he published a piece entitled, the Just Procedures of those of the Reformed Religion; in which he removes the imputation of the present troubles and dissentions from the protestants, and throws the blame on those who injuriously denied them that liberty, which their great services had deserved. In the year 1598, he published his Treatise upon the Eucharist, which occasioned the conference at Fontainbleau, in the year 1600, between Mr du Perron, then bishop of Evereux, afterwards cardinal, and our author; and he raised his reputation and credit among the Protestants to so prodigious an height, that he was called by many 'the Protestants' 'pope.'

In the year 1607, he published a work entitled, The Mystery of Iniquity, or the History of the Papacy, which was written, as most of his other works were, first in French, and then, like them, translated into Latin. Here he shews, by what gradual progressions the popes have risen to that ecclesiastical tyranny, which was foretold by the apostles; and what oppositions, from time to time, all nations have given them. This seems to have been a work of prodigious labour; yet it is said, that he was not above nine months in composing it.

The author of the history of Lewis XIII. says, concerning The Mystery of Iniquity, or History of the Papacy, That 'the design of the author was to shew, against the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, by what degrees the monarchy of the pope was formed, and the several oppositions, which honest men made to the establishing a power so contrary to the spirit of the gospel. The cut, or print, in the front of the book, gave greater offence to the Papists than all the rest. Paul the Vth was represented in it, with the flattery and impious inscriptions made for him by some good folks in Italy, who applied to him, what the Holy Ghost says of Jesus Christ himself, gave him the title of *the most* INVINCIBLE MONARCH *of the Christian*

Christian commonwealth, the most ardent defender of the PAPAL OMNIPOTENCE; in short, VICE-GOD *. This was a word newly invented to his honour.—Mornay du Plessis made him ridiculous by a pleasant remark. By adding the value of the numerical letters of the Latin words which signify *Paul V. Vice-God*, he found the number 666, which is the mysterious number of the beast in St John's Revelation.' Hist. of Lewis XIII. book 2. This book was condemned by the faculty of Paris in a very poor way, which only promoted its dispersion and credit.

About this time also he published, an exhortation to the Jews concerning the Messiah, in which he applies a great deal of Hebrew learning very judiciously; and for this he was complimented by the elder Buxtorf.

There are several other little things of his writing; but his capital work, and for which he has been most distinguished, is his book "Upon the Truth of the Chris-"tian Religion," in which he employs the weapons of reason and learning, with great force and skill, against Atheists, Epicureans, Heathens, Jews, Mahometans, and other infidels, as he tells us in his title. This book was dedicated to Henry IV. while he was king of Navarre only, in the year 1582, and the year after translated by himself

* The writer of a late ironical *New defence of the church of Rome*, states this high sounding affair in the following *ludicrous* way, though founding the *facts* upon approved writings of the church of Rome. 'The Jesuits 'say to their disciples (Reg. 1. and 13.) that every one of them must wholly deny his own judgment, and resolve, that if this judge (the pope) shall 'say, that any thing is black, which appears to your eyes white, you must 'say it is black too—because he is infinite, omnipotent, and incomprehensible;' and 'hath (says the bull of pope Pius V.) all power in heaven and 'earth, as having been constituted prince over all nations and all kingdoms, 'with a plenitude of power to root up, and to plant; to destroy, and to 'save; to raise up, and to pull down at his pleasure.' Hence the pope is frequently styled by the council of Lateran and by the canonists, *DOMINUS NOSTER DEUS Papa*, i. e. 'Our Lord God, the Pope.' Hence also, it hath been urged by Massonus, in the life of Pope John IX. *Episcopos Romanos ne peccata quidem sine laude committere*, 'That the bishops of Rome 'cannot commit sin without praise.' The Dedication, therefore, of father Caraffa to Pope Paul V. prefixed to his Theological Theses, was much too modest, when he inscribed, *PAULO V. VICE-DEO, Christianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ* INVICTISSIMO *et Ponticiæ* OMNIPOTENTIÆ *conservatori acerrimo*: i. e. 'To Paul V. the Vice-God, the most invincible Monarch of the Christian Commonwealth, and most zealous Assertor of the Papal Omnipotency.' This diffident title was afterwards nearly copied, by Benedictus à Benedictis, a Venetian, with a little addition, *SUPREMO VICE-DEO*, 'To the supreme Vice-God.' See *New Defence of the Church of Rome*. p. 37. Matthews.

himself into Latin. "As a Frenchman," says he in his preface to the Reader, "I have endeavoured to serve my "own country first; and, as a Christian, the universal "kingdom of Christ next." Both the dedication and Preface are fine pieces, in which one hardly knows which to admire more—the scholar, or the Christian. Monsieur Baillet has observed with justness, that 'the Protestants 'of France had great reason to be proud of having such a 'man as Mornay du Plessis of their party: A gentleman 'who, besides the nobleness of his birth, is distinguished 'by many fine qualities, both natural and acquired.' His outside indeed was excellent, but his greatest honour (which Baillet did not observe) was within.

In the year 1621, when Lewis XIII. made war upon the Protestants, he took away the government of Saumur from Mornay, who thereupon retired to his barony of la Forest in Poictou. Here he seems to have passed the remainder of his days. A little before his death, he discoursed much upon the vanity and transitoriness of all worldly things; and, as St Paul speaks, that *the fashion of this world passeth away*; nor did he forget to quote Pindar, who says, that 'the life of man is but the dream of a shadow.'

He was sent twice by the king of Navarre as his ambassador to Q. Elizabeth; to whom he was so acceptable, that she writ a letter to him, upon his return, with her own hand; in which, among other things, she told him, 'That 'never any gentleman had treated with her, in whom she 'took so much pleasure, as in himself.'

When he had made his will, for the peace of his family after him, he said, "Now I am discharged from one of "my chiefest cares; and, for the time to come, have "nothing else to look to but death."

The minister of the gospel whom he retained, having told him that he had happily employed his talents for the profit of the church, and the advancement of the kingdom of Christ: "Alas! (said he) what was there of *mine* in "the work? Say not that it was I, but GOD by me." Which he repeated again and again; and then added, in the words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 10. *I have laboured; yet not I, but the grace of God which is in me.*

Soon after, being laid upon his bed, he said, "There "is nothing more just and reasonable, than that the "creature should obey his Creator." Then, lifting up his hands above his head, he cried, "Mercy, mercy, mer-"cy;" and said, "He did so, in order to shew, that it "was the sole mercy of GOD he had recourse to.

"I call

" I call for nothing (said he) but mercy, free mercy. " But who is it that shall bring an accusation against the " elect of GOD? It is GOD that justifieth: So that " *neither life, nor death, nor things present, nor things to come,* " *shall ever be able to separate him from the love of his Sa-* " *viour.*"

In the morning of the day he died, he prayed in Latin, saying, " *Lord open thou my lips, and I will shew forth* " *thy praise.* Lord, make me to know my sins, to weep " for them, to detest them, and to have them in execra- " tion." And this prayer he uttered twice. He then said after the apostle, and with great emphasis, " *We know* " *that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we* " *have a building of God, a house not made with hands.*" After which being asked, If he were not assured of sharing in that eternal weight of glory spoken of by the apostle? he answered, " He was perfectly persuaded of it, and was " so by the demonstration of the Holy Spirit, more pow- " erful, more clear, and certain than any demonstration " of Euclid." And on this occasion he repeated the words in Greek, 1 Cor. ii. 4.—Ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως.

In the afternoon he was heard to say to himself, in a broken manner, " I fly, I fly to heaven: The angels " carry me into the bosom of my Saviour. *I know that* " *my Redeemer liveth,* I shall see him with these eyes, " these very eyes, *hisce oculis ;*" and he repeated the Latin words, again and again.

As he became weaker and weaker, he was asked from time to time, if he felt not in his soul the power of the Holy Spirit, sealing to him the promises of GOD, and filling him with consolation? One of his answers to this question was, " Yes, indeed." Another was, " I am " assured of it." And a third was, " The love of GOD " is in my heart." And thus, in the lively exercise of faith, this great man rendered up his soul to GOD; in November, 1623, and in almost the seventy-fourth year of his age.

His great and noble WORK of " The Truth of the Christian Religion," was translated into English, partly by Sir Philip Sidney, and partly by Mr Arthur Golding. His " Mystery of Iniquity," hath also been translated into our language, and, according to Maunsel, some other of his Writings. Thuanus speaks of our Author with high commendation; and the author of the History of Lewis XIII. above-mentioned, never mentions him without the epithets *wise* and *good.*

RALPH

RALPH HOSPINIAN.

RALPH HOSPINIAN, a learned Swiss writer, who has done eminent service to the Protestant cause, was born at Altorf, near Zurich, where his father was minister, on the seventh of November, 1547.

He was sent at seven years of age to begin his studies at Zurich, under the direction of John Wolphius, his uncle by his mother's side; and made a vast progress. Losing his father in 1563, he found an affectionate patron, in his godfather Rodolphus Gualterus.

He left Zurich in March, 1565, in order to visit the other universities; and he spent some time in Marpurg and Heidelberg. He was afterwards recalled and received into the ministry in 1568, and the year after married a wife, by whom he had fourteen children: Nevertheless, when she died in 1612, he married a second. He had more success in this respect than falls to the share of most men; for they were both good women, and made him very happy.

The same year also, 1569, he obtained the freedom of the city; and was made provisor of the Abbey-school in 1571. Though his school and his cure engrossed so much of his time, he had yet the courage to undertake a noble work of vast extent: And that was an "History of the "ERRORS of Popery." He considered, that the Papists, when defeated by the holy scriptures, had recourse to tradition; were for ever boasting of their antiquity, and despised the Protestants for being modern. To deprive them of this plea, Hospinian was determined to search into the rise and progress of the popish rites and ceremonies; and to examine by what gradations the truth, which had been taught by Christ and his apostles, had given way to innovations. The circumstance, which first suggested this thought was, his falling accidentally into conversation in a country ale-house with a landlord, who was so silly as to imagine, that the monastic life came immediately from paradise.

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He could not complete his work, agreeably to the plan he had drawn out; but he published some considerable parts of it, as, 1. *De Templis: Hoc est, de origine, progressu, usu, et abusu Templorum, ac omnino rerum omnium ad Templa pertinentium*, 1587 in folio. 2. *De Monachis: Seu de origine, & progressu monachatus et ordinum monasticorum*, 1588, in folio. 3. *De Festis Judæorum et Ethnicorum: Hoc est, de origine, progressu, ceremoniis, et ritibus festorum dierum Judæorum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Turcarum, et Indianorum*, 1592 in folio. 4. *Festa Christianorum, &c.* 1593, in folio. 5. *Historia Sacramentaria: Hoc est, libri quinque de Cœnæ Dominicæ prima institutione ejusque vero usu et abusu in primæva ecclesia, necnon de origine, progressu, ceremoniis, et ritibus Missæ, Transubstantiationis, et aliorum pene infinitorum errorum, quibus Cœnæ prima institutio horribiliter in papatu polluta & profanata est*, 1598, in folio. 6. *Pars altera: De origine et progressu controversiæ sacramentariæ de Cœna Domini inter Lutheranos, Ubiquistas, et Orthodoxos, quos Zuinglianos seu Calvinistas vocant, exortæ ab anno* 1517 *usque ad* 1602 *deducta*; 1602, in folio.

These are all of them parts of his great work, which he enlarged in succeeding editions, and added confutations of the arguments of Bellarmin, Baronius, and Gretser. What he published on the Eucharist, and another work, entitled *Concordia Discors*, &c. printed in 1607, exasperated the Lutherans in a high degree; and they wrote against him very abusively. He did not publish any answer, though he had almost finished one, but turned his arms against the jesuits; and published *Historia Jesuitica: Hoc est, de origine, regulis, constitutionibus, privilegiis, incrementis, progressu, & propagatione ordinis Jesuitarum. Item, de eorum dolis, fraudibus, imposturis, nefariis, facinoribus, cruentis consiliis, falsa quoque, seditiosa, et sanguinolenta doctrina*, 1619, in folio.

These are his Works; and they justly gained him high reputation, as they did also good preferment. He was appointed archdeacon of Caroline-church in 1588; and in 1594, minister of the Abbey-church. He was deprived of his sight for near a year by a cataract, yet continued to preach as usual, and was happily couched in September, 1613. In 1623, being seventy-six years of age, he grew childish; and so continued till his death, which happened on the eleventh of March, in the year 1626. The public entertained so high an opinion of his learning from his writings, that he was exhorted from all quarters

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to refute Baronius's Annals; and no one was thought to have greater abilities for the task. A new edition of his works was published at Geneva in 1681, in seven thin volumes in folio.

RICHARD STOCK, M. A.

THIS laborious and successful divine was born at York, where he received his school education till about eighteen years of age, when he was admitted of St John's-college, in Cambridge, and in a little time after chosen scholar of that college. His ingenuity, industry, and proficiency in his studies, soon recommended him to the notice of Dr William Whitaker, then master of St John's college, who gave him every proper encouragement.

He studied with great applause, and took his bachelor and master of arts degree; when, refusing the proposal of a fellowship in Sidney-college, he left the university; but not before he had given evident signs of great ability, in being a master-builder in GOD's work, and of much wisdom in winning souls to GOD. After some little time spent at Sir Edmund Cope's in Northamptonshire, and at lady Lane's, at Burton on the Water in Gloucestershire, being chaplain to the latter, he came to London, where he was chosen lecturer of St Austin's in Watling-street; He was also employed to preach twice every Lord's day at St Mildred's, Bread-street, during the life of an elderly clergyman who had the charge of it. He then removed a little higher to All-hallows, as an assistant to Mr Edmund's, who was aged and infirm, and continued to preach there with such acceptance and success, that, at Mr Edmund's decease, the benefice was conferred on him, which he held to the end of his days. Being settled, he married and had three daughters.

Mr Gataker, speaking of Mr Stock, says, 'he was a 'grave and reverend father in the English church, a faith-'ful minister and servant of Jesus Christ, and a vigilant 'pastor over his congregation. His life and conversa-'tion, and constant labour in the work of the Lord, 'were well known through the whole city of London; 'where

'where he constantly continued the work of his ministry 'by the space of about thirty years. His constant custom was to preach twice every Lord's day; and he took great pains in catechising the younger people on the week day, and was indeed most indefatigable in the discharge of every part of his pastoral office both public and private. And, in point of success, as the apostle Paul said of the Corinthians, *You are the seal of my apostleship, and my letters testimonial*; so might Mr Stock, with the utmost truth and propriety, say of many of the people in London; more people professing themselves to have been effectually called and converted under him, than almost any other minister of his day; and great numbers acknowledging themselves to have been edified, built up, and made better by him; who are all the seals of his calling, and of Christ's speaking in him and by him, not merely with a verbal or external call, but with letters of divine efficacy, and with the power of divine grace to their souls.

One saith, 'That the apostles were like fishermen, the succeeding ministers like huntsmen. The apostles like fishermen that caught many at one draught: The succeeding ministers like huntsmen, that with much toil and clamour, running up and down all day, scarce take one deer or hare ere night. And such is the hard condition of many of GOD's servants, that notwithstanding the faithful and painful discharge of their duty, yet are enforced to complain with the prophet, *Who hath believed our report!* and, *I have laboured in vain*. Scarce able to produce, or instance in any one, of whom they can with some good ground of assurance presume, that they have gained at least him unto GOD. But well might this happy Servant of Christ, through GOD's blessing upon his labours, stand out and say, not of one or two, but of troops, in the words of the same prophet, *Behold I, and the children that God hath given me*. And with the apostle, *These have I begotten unto God by the gospel of Jesus Christ*.'

Yea more than that, (continues Mr Clarke) many famous lights in GOD's church, and faithful ministers of his word do profess to have lighted their candles at his lamp; yea some of them to have received their first beginnings, not of light only, but of spiritual life and grace (without which all light, be it never so great, is no light, but mere darkness) from his ministry. It is no small honour for a man to win, if it were but any one soul; for to win a soul, is to win more than the whole world besides is worth: But, what an honour then is it to be, not a winner of a soul, but

but a winner of such as prove winners of souls; and so by winning of some one immediately, to be a mediate winner of many others by him? They shall shine (saith he) as the heavens, that instruct; and they that convert others as the stars. And how gloriously then (suppose we) doth this blessed Man of GOD shine now in the kingdom of GOD, that was an instructor of those that are instructors of others, that was a converter of those that are converters of others themselves!

'Many then did this worthy man (as the Holy Ghost saith of John the Baptist) win unto GOD.' Many he won, though all he could not, that was more than the apostle Paul was able to do. The Jews opposed themselves against his ministry, and blasphemed, Acts xviii. 6. and 2 Thess. iii. 2. *All men* (saith he) *have not faith*; but yet many he won, and his desire and endeavour (with the same apostle) was to win all, his own flock especially, of whom he used to protest, "that it was more comfort to "him to win one of them than twenty others." But some refractory spirits he met withal, (as what minister doth not?) that would not be reclaimed; that by their cross-grained carriage and behaviour, were as thorns in his eyes, and as goads in his sides, and proved a vexation of heart to him continually. But against such persons, not only the dust of the minister's feet, but the sweat of his brow, and the tears of his eyes, and his strength wasted amongst them, and his spirits spent upon them, shall one day rise up in judgment against them, if it be not prevented by divine mercy.

Though it is seldom seen, that much good is done by a minister whose heart and tongue do not correspond, and whose lip and life do not agree; yet as a man may be the means to save the souls of others, but not his own; or, 'may be (as St Austin says) like a stone gutter or a leaden 'pipe, that conveyeth water into a garden, yet receiveth 'no benefit thereby itself;' may preach to others, and not to himself; may convert others, but himself prove a cast-away; so we can affirm, from the utmost degree of human certainty, that this was not the case of this truly pious labourer in GOD's vineyard. He was not one of those that say and do not; but as he taught, so he performed; his doctrine and practice went hand in hand. His actions, though silent, were nevertheless the counterpart of the sermons he preached from the pulpit. This sweet harmony of heart and life had a surprising influence for good

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on many, who, at least (as the world at large ever aims to do) could find little to find fault with or condemn.

Two things (says a certain person) are necessary to make a complete man, *integrity* and *judgment*; and though they meet but in few, yet there was a happy conjunction of them both in this great man. This appears from the frequent application that many made to him, to be an overseer of their last wills, and to advise them in the disposal of their estates: And also, that his brethren the clergy, as well as others, from all parts of the realm, had recourse to him by letter or otherwise; as one more than ordinarily able to give them satisfaction in the solution of their doubts and difficulties. These two, then, made him a complete man; but there is something more required to make a complete minister, *viz.* That he be able to speak his mind fitly, (for what use can there be of a mute messenger?) and that he dare do it freely, (for of whom is courage and freedom of speech more required than of GOD's messengers?) Nor was Mr Stock defective in either.

As for the former, he was well able, not only to express, but to urge and press it also; not to confirm alone, but to commend also what he had delivered with clear method, sound proof, fit phrases, and variety of good literature; that both the most learned might receive satisfaction from him, and the very ignorant and dull might also reap benefit by him, leaving such a deep impression in their hearts and minds, that they could not remain ignorant, who heard him for any space of time. In a word, in this kind, he was such a person, as many strove to imitate, but few attained to equal him.

His prudence also appeared in his order of catechising the young persons of his parish, by examining them apart; the young men on one day, and the maids on another. Those that made the greatest progress first in the presence of the more ignorant and dull; and the latter apart by themselves, when the former were departed; that so they might reap what fruit they could by hearing the others, and yet might receive no discouragement by being heard of them.

Neither was his pious diligence and care less seen in the religious instruction and education of those that were under his private charge, as children and servants, for whom his care was greater to provide for their souls than their bodies, for their spiritual than for their temporal estate (though he neglected not the latter) by bringing them

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up *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.* In a word, it would require a volume, to write of all the gifts, graces, and praise-worthy qualities of this eminent servant of Christ.

In his public ministry, his usual manner was, occasionally to quote the sayings of many of the fathers; which some taking exceptions at, he thus apologized for himself, "If any (said he,) take exceptions at my "alledging of fathers, (as some have taken offence at "my using of reasons to confirm the doctrine, but with "very little reason, as I suppose), I must pray them to "give me leave to use them, till I can see that unlawful-"ness which they affirm to be in the practice, and to cen-"sure me in charity for the use of them, as I do them for "not using them. I will look as well to my heart in the "use of them, as God shall enable me; and when I shall "see the hurt of them, I will endeavour as much to "avoid them. In the mean time, I will make as much "use as I can of them, to edify the church of God."

In his younger days, being called to preach at St Paul's Cross, he dealt pretty plainly and freely in taxing some abuses in the city in unequal ratings, by which the meaner sort were overburdened, whilst the rich and great ones escaped with more ease. This gave great offence to many of them, who checked him as over-rash for dealing in such matters, calling him a *green-head*: But in his latter days being called to preach at the lord-mayor's election, he fell again upon the same subject, and told them, a *gray-head* spake now what a *green-head* had done before.

In these, and such like employments, public and private, he spent his time: He spent his strength like a torch or taper, wasting and consuming himself for the profit and benefit of others; having his work with GOD then, and his reward for it from God afterwards. And it was for the sake of these employments principally, that he desired recovery of health and strength: In the performance of which, through great earnestness, he often strained himself, even in the midst of his infirmity and weakness, to the evident increase of both. *What is the sign* (saith Hezekiah, when he was promised recovery) *that I shall go up to the house of the Lord?* as desiring continuance of life, and recovery of health, for no one end more than that. And it was from the same motive, that this good man was desirous of recovery, that he likewise might again repair to the house of GOD, and that he might return to GOD's work again.

To which purpose, the very last Lord's day before his decease, having, after many relapses recovered a little strength, he made shift to get out to a neighbouring congregation, there to join with GOD's people in public performance of such solemn service of GOD, as that day is usually spent and employed in. And having held out with them to the end, in both parts of the day, he rejoiced exceedingly, that he was able so to do; the rather, because he thereby conceived some good hope, that he should be strong enough, ere long, to return to his wonted work and employment again. But the Lord saw it better (for his *will* appears by his *work*) to put an end to his incessant labours here, and to translate him to the place of his endless rest, upon the twentieth day of April, 1626, having been preacher at Allhallows, Breadstreet, during the space of thirty-two years; where he was an example to his people in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. But, as one saith, 'An exact face is seldom drawn but with much disadvantage; so neither is his character; therefore we may well conclude, as one doth of Basil, There wanted but his own tongue to speak of his worth.'

RICHARD ROTHWEL.

RICHARD ROTHWEL was born in Lancashire, at or near Bolton in the Moors, about the year 1562. His education was in the schools, and afterwards in Cambridge; in the one he attained to an exact knowledge of the tongues (especially Greek, and Hebrew, wherein he was a critic) and in the other of the arts; so that he became a skilful linguist, subtile disputant, copious orator, and of a deep insight into all kinds of knowledge, human or divine.

'In this first course of his studies (says Mr Clark, or rather Gower, after his manner, from whom we take most of this article) appeared presently to his observers the buds and blossoms of that fame which after he attained, for he had a prompt wit, a quick apprehension, a clear understanding, a sound judgment, a ready speech, and a strong memory; all these seldom meet in one man, but

but did in him very eminently, and were improved by diligent study, which (out of desire of learning and knowledge) he continued to the last without ceasing.

His constitution of body, and moral endowments of mind, were great props and supporters to his intellectual habits. Virtue becomes more acceptable from a handsome person; This is not the ordinary lot of scholars; he was tall, well set, of great strength of body and activity, of a stern countenance, of invincible courage, of approved valour, and of a very goodly and majestic presence: Grief nor any misery could ever break him, but joy would presently melt him into tears. He was of a generous spirit and deportment, yet withal very humble and courteous; his language was sententious and proverbial. I have heard many others say, what I must needs say myself, I never came to him, but I went the more learned from him. He had a great dexterity in communicating his mind to another, and speaking to his understanding. GOD gave him a great inlet into the hearts of men.

He spent many years in the university before he entered into the ministry; he was ordained presbyter by Dr Whitgift, then archbishop of Canterbury, who forbade him meddling with the interpretation of Moses's types, the books of Canticles, Daniel, and the Revelation; which as he then thought himself, as the bishop did, were not so useful for him to study as some other scriptures.

But, alas! all these natural dispositions, intellectual habits, personal deportments, were but as so many weapons in the hands of a madman: Judge how able by these he was to resist the truth; for he remained some years without any change of heart, or sensible work of grace upon his soul, but preached learnedly, as they called it, and lived vainly; abhorring debauchery, and debauched companions, through the height of his spirit, but gave himself to hunting, bowling, shooting, more than became a minister of the gospel; and sometimes he would swear faith and troth, and in his passion, greater blasphemies.

I have heard him tell, that there were two knights in Lancashire falling out, and great feud betwixt them; that the one had a very good park with store of deer; that the other had excellent good fish-ponds and store of fish: He robbed the park of the one, and presented what he got to the other; And the fish-ponds of the other, and presented the fish to his adversary. Thus he pleased himself in the days of his vanity, with such kind of follies; in doing this one night, the keeper met with him, his dog having

killed a buck: At the fall of the buck the keeper came in with his faulchion and staff, and met Mr Rothwel, who had a staff also; they fell from words to blows; he got the keeper down, bound him by the thumbs, and drew him up to his full height, that he could but touch the ground with his toes, and so left him tied to a tree till next morning, when others found him and loosed him.

At length it pleased GOD, who separated him from his mother's womb, as he did St Paul, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son in him. Which because it was famous, and he himself afterwards proved the conversion of so many, I shall set it down as I remember I have heard him speak it. He was playing at bowls amongst some Papists and vain gentlemen upon Saturday, somewhere about Rochdale in Lancashire; there comes into the green to him one Mr Midgley, a grave and godly minister of Rochdale, whose praise is great in the gospel, though far inferior to Mr Rothwel in parts and learning; he took him aside and fell into a large commendation of him, at length told him, what pity it was that such a man as he should be a companion for Papists, and that upon a Saturday, when he should be preparing for the Lord's day. Mr Rothwel slighted his words, and checked him for his meddling. This good old man left him, went home, and prayed privately for him; Mr Rothwel, when he was retired from that company, could not rest, Mr Midgley's words had struck so deep in his thoughts.

The next day he went to Rochdale church to hear Mr Midgley, where it pleased GOD so to bless that ordinance, that Mr Rothwel was by the sermon brought home to Christ. He came after sermon to Mr Midgley, thanked him for his reproof, and besought his direction and prayers, for he was in a miserable condition of nature; and under the spirit of bondage he lay for a time, till afterwards, and by Mr Midgley's hands also, he received the spirit of adoption, wherewith he was so sealed, that he never lost his assurance to his dying day.

Though he was a man subject to many temptations, the devil assaulting him very much, yet GOD was mightily with him, that out of his own experience he was able to comfort many. He esteemed and counted Mr Midgley ever afterwards for his spiritual father. This makes me think upon Augustine's speech to GOD when he came to hear Ambrose preach, 'I did not come hither as a doctor, 'or teacher, but upon another account, I was brought by 'thee as an ignorant person to him, that I might be led by 'him

'him to thee as one endued with knowledge.' So did the Lord, by Mr Midgley's plain kind of teaching, put forth the evidence of his Spirit, upon this mighty and learned Rabbi. Consequent upon this change, he disposed of his temporal estate amongst his friends, and lived of the gospel, 1 Cor. ix. 11, 14.

He was made chaplain to a regiment under the earl of Essex in Ireland, in which capacity he was exceedingly useful. His preaching run evidently in another manner than formerly, opening the depths of Satan, and deceitfulness of the heart, so that he was called the *rough-hewer*. He had the power of God went with his ministry, when he preached the law to make men tremble, yea sometimes to cry out in the church: And when he preached the gospel, he was another Barnabas, and had great skill in comforting afflicted consciences.

He studied now the controversies between the conformists and the non-conformists; and had such an apprehension of persecution, that he would neither marry nor receive a benefice, though he had the offer of several; but contented himself with being lecturer at a chapel in Lancashire, and domestic chaplain to the earl of Devonshire. A very common expression of his was, "Persecution is a "pledge of future happiness."

At length he came to spend most part of his time in the bishopric of Durham, by means of an honourable lady, the lady Bowes, afterwards the lady Darcy in the North. She gave about one hundred pounds per annum to maintain preachers where there were none, nor any means for them. She would lay out all her interest to get them, and then she would dispose of them where there needed, in the North, or in the Peak in Derbyshire, or in other places, and allow them pensions. Sir William Bowes her husband dying, his funerals were kept at Barnard's-castle, where he had some estate: Mr Dike (father of the writers of that name) was then her household chaplain, and went into the North to that funeral; at his return he represented the state of the people destitute of a minister to this lady, who would have sent him thither; but he told her he durst not venture on so surly a people, but commended Mr Rothwel to her. She sent to him then at the earl of Devonshire's house, and proffered him this employment; his answer was, "He would go thither, and if the people "called him, he would then accept of her motion."

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At his first day's labour they all desired him. He returned to the lady, and told her, he would go; she replied, though for their sakes she was glad, yet she was afraid to send him. Understanding that they were of a fierce disposition, and having never heard the gospel, they might deal unkindly with him; he answered, "Madam, if I "thought I should never meet the devil there, I would "never go: He and I have been at odds in other places; "and I hope we shall not agree there." The lady allowed him forty pounds per annum; and such as GOD wrought upon by his ministry, contributed to him; but he would not have a penny from any other.

There was once collected in his absence, thirty pounds by Sir Talbot Bowes, who lived there, from the people; but when he returned and knew it, he caused it to be restored to the parties that gave it, and told them, "he sought "them, not theirs."

At his first entrance he had great oppositions, and sometimes was way-laid to take away his life, but he overcame all with such patience and courage, that his greatest enemies were afraid of him; and he preached few sermons, but it was believed he gained some souls.

His manner was to spend the forenoon at his studies, and the afternoon in going through his parish, and conferring with his people; in which he excelled, and thereby gained much upon them; and within four years he had so many judicious and experimental Christians, the people came from London, York, Richmond, Newcastle, and many other places, to see the order of his congregation. He afterwards went to Mansfield in Nottinghamshire, where he continued to his death.

About a day or two before his death, he had some lightening of his disorder, and he sat up in his chair, and discoursed freely, chearfully and heavenly, all that and the next day. Some sent to inquire how he did; he answered, "I am "well, and shall be well shortly;" and whispering to a friend, he said, "Do you know my meaning—I shall be "with Christ ere long; but do not tell them so." He caused that friend to repeat a sermon just preached in his parish church; after which, with tears in his eyes, he laid his hands on that person's head, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with a short prayer blessed him. The next day, the pangs of death came on. Many of his friends were assembled; and one was praying for him. After prayer (says Mr Stanley Gower) I spoke to him: "He

'He turned about his head, took me by the hand, and 'bade me pray, pray. I desired a reverend minister to 'go to prayer again.' Mr Rothwel said, "Pray you, "pray you." 'I did so. After that he smiled:' "Now "(says he), I am well: Happy is he that hath not bowed "a knee to Baal." 'He bade us sing Psalm cxx. He sung 'a while, but, in the singing of the Psalm, his soul took 'its flight above, to sing the Redeemer's praise more per-'fectly in the mansions of bliss, which happened in the 'year 1627, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age.'

Thus departed this honest Puritan: We know of no WRITINGS left behind him; and indeed he seems to have confined himself entirely to the office of preaching, and to the service of his own day and generation.

GEORGE CARLETON, D. D.

BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

THIS very learned bishop, son of Guy, second son of Thomas Carleton, of Carleton-hall in Cumberland, was born at Norham in Northumberland, in the year 1559; his father being then governor of that important castle. By the care of Bernard Gilpin, styled 'the Northern Apos-'tle,' he was educated in grammar learning; and, when fit for the university, sent by the same excellent patron to Edmund-hall, in Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1576, and by his liberal hand encouraged and chiefly maintained in his studies. On the twelfth of February, 1580, he took his degree of bachelor of arts; upon which occasion, he exceeded all that performed their exercises, at that time. The same year, namely 1580, he was elected probationer fellow of Merton-college, and remained in that society about five years before he proceeded in his faculty, not taking the degree of master of arts, till June 14, 1585. While he remained in that college, he was esteemed a great orator and poet; and, in process of time, became a better disputant in divinity, than he had before been in philoso-

phy. What preferments he had is not mentioned any where; nor doth it appear, that he was possessed of any dignity in the church, till he became a bishop.

After having continued many years in the university, and taken the degree of bachelor in divinity, May 16, 1594, and that of doctor, December 1. 1613. he was advanced to the bishopric of Landaff; to which he was elected, December 23, 1617. confirmed, July 11. 1618. and consecrated at Lambeth the next day. The same year he was sent by K. James I. with three other English divines, (viz. J. Hall, afterwards bishop of Exeter, and then of Norwich; J. Davenant, afterwards bishop of Sarum; and S. Ward, master of Sidney-college, Cambridge,) and from Scotland to the synod of Dort,* ; where he stood up in favour of episcopacy: For it was asserted in that synod, 'That the ministers of the word of God, in what place 'soever settled, have the same advantage of character, the 'same jurisdiction and authority, in regard they are all 'equally ministers of Christ, the only universal bishop, 'and head of the church;' in opposition to this, bishop Carleton made the following protestation: "That where-"as in the Confession [i. e. the Belgic Confession at "Dort] there was inserted a strange conceit of the parity "of ministers to be instituted by Christ, I declare our "dissent utterly in that point. I shewed that by Christ "a parity was never instituted in the church: That he "ordained twelve apostles, as also seventy disciples: That "the authority of the twelve was above the other: That "the church preserved this order left by our Savi-"our: And therefore, when the extraordinary power of "the apostles ceased, yet this ordinary authority con-"tinued in bishops, who succeeded them, who were by "apostles left in the government of the church, to or-"dain ministers, and to see that they, who were so or-"dained, should preach no other doctrine: That in an "inferior

* The members of this SYNOD (says a late writer) formed a constellation of the best and most learned theologians, that had ever met in council since the dispersion of the apostles; unless we except the imperial convocation at Nice, in the fourth century. Read but the names of Heinsius, Lydius, Hommius, Voëtius, Bisterfield, Triglandius, Bojermannus, Sibelius, Gomarus, Polyander, Thysius, Walæus, Scultetus, Altingius, Deodatus, Carleton, Davenant, Hall; exclusively of the many first-rate worthies, who constituted and adorned this commemorable assembly; and doubt, if you can, whether the sun could shine on a living collection of more exalted piety and stupendous erudition.

"inferior degree the ministers who were governed by bi-
"shops, succeeded the seventy disciples: That this order
"hath been maintained in the church from the times of
"the apostles. And herein I appealed to the judgment
"of antiquity, and to the judgment of any learned men
"now living; and craved him herein to be satisfied, if
"any man of learning could speak to the contrary. (My
"Lord of Salisbury [Davenant] is my witness; and so
"are all the rest of our company, who spake also in the
"same cause. To this there was no answer made by
"ANY. Whereupon we conceived that they yielded to
"the truth of the protestation.—And somewhat I can say
"of my own knowledge; for I had conference with di-
"vers of the best learned in that synod. I told them,
"that the cause of all their troubles [viz. of all the dis-
"sentions occasioned and fomented at that time in the
"Dutch church by the Arminians] was this, that they had
"not bishops among them; who, by their authority,
"might repress turbulent spirits that broached novelties.
"—Their answer was, That they did much honour and
"reverence the good order and discipline of the church
"of England; and, with all their hearts, would be glad
"to have it established among them; but that could not
"be hoped for, in their state, [i. e. being republican, it
"could not admit of episcopacy.] Their hope was, that,
"seeing they could not do what they desired, God would
"be merciful to them, if they did what they could. This
"was their answer *."

At this learned bishop's return to England, the States sent a letter to K. James, wherein they highly extolled him, and the rest of the divines, for their virtue, learning, piety, and ardent desire of peace. *In Theologis porro utriusque Regni vestri omnibus, & singulis, quorum agmen ducit vere Reverendissimus Dominus Georgius Landavensis Episcopus, imago, atque expressa virtutis effigies; eam eruditionem, pietatem, pacis studium, cumque zelum deprehendimus, ut, cum ipsius beneficii causâ Majestati Tuæ multum debeamus, magna pars ipsius beneficii nobis videatur,* [*q. debeatur*] *quod ipsi ad nos missi sint.*

He likewise behaved so well in every respect, so much to the credit of our nation; that after he came home, he was, upon the translation of Dr Harsnet to Norwich, elected

* We would refer our learned readers, for the opinions of the moſt reſpectable foreign divines upon this ſubject, to Spanheim's *Miſcell. Sacr. Antiq.* Lib. viii. Animadv. 18.

elected to succeed him in the see of Chichester, September 8, 1619, and confirmed the twentieth of the same month. Having at length arrived to the age of sixty-nine, he departed this life in May, 1628, and was buried the twenty-seventh of that month, in the choir of his cathedral church at Chichester, near the communion table.

He was a person of solid judgment, and of various reading; well versed in the fathers and schoolmen; wanting nothing that could render him a complete divine. But withal, he was a strenuous opponent to the Papists, a steady, consistent, Calvinist. 'I loved him (says Mr 'Camden), for his excellent proficiency in divinity, and 'other polite parts of learning.' A valuable character, and from a valuable man! *Laudatus à laudato viro.* Dr Fuller observes, 'That his good affections appear in his 'treatise, entitled, A thankful Remembrance of God's 'Mercy; solid judgment in his Examination of Sir Chris-'topher Heydon's book; and clear invention in other Ju-'venile Exercises.'

His WRITINGS are as follow: "I. *Heroici characteres, ad illustriss. equitem Henricum Nevillum;* i. e. Heroic Characters, addressed to Sir Henry Nevil. Oxon. 1603, 4to. Several of his Latin Verses are also in the University-book of Verses made on the Death of Sir Philip Sidney, in *Bodleiomnema*, and in other Books. II. Tithes examined, and proved to be due to the Clergy by a Divine Right, Lond. 1606, and 1611, 4to. III. Jurisdiction Regal, Episcopal, Papal: Therein is declared how the Pope hath intruded upon the Jurisdiction of temporal Princes, and of the Church, &c. Lond. 1610, 4to. IV. *Consensus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ contra Tridentinos, de Scripturis, Ecclesia, Fide, & Gratia, &c.* i. e. The Consent of the Universal Church against the council of Trent, on the Scriptures, the Church, Faith, Grace, &c. Lond. 1613, 8vo. dedicated to the Members of Merton-college. V. A thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy: In an historical Collection of the great and merciful Deliverances of the Church and State of England, since the Gospel began here to flourish, from the beginning of Q. Elizabeth. Lond. 1614. The third Edition came out in 1627; and the fourth, in 1630. It contains, a thankful Enumeration of the several Deliverances of this Church and State, from the cruel Plots of the Papists; from the beginning of Q. Elizabeth's reign to the Powder Treason, in 1605. The historical Part is chiefly extracted from Camden's Annals of Q. Elizabeth: And the Book is adorned, at the beginning

beginning of each Chapter, with Figures engraved in Copper, representing the most material Things contained in the ensuing Description. VI. Short Direction to know the true Church. Lond. 1615, &c. 12mo. VII. Oration made at the Hague before the prince of Orange, and the Assembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the States General. Lond. 1619, in one sheet and a half, 4to. VIII. Astrologimania: The Madness of astrologers, or, An Examination of Sir Christopher Heydon's Book, entitled, A Defence of judiciary Astrology. Written about the year 1604, and published at London, 1624, 4to. by Thomas Vicars, B. D. who had married the Author's daughter. It was reprinted at London, 1651. IX. Examination of those Things, wherein the Author of the late Appeal [Montague] holdeth the Doctrine of Pelagians and Arminians, to be the Doctrines of the church of England. Lond. 1626, and 1636, 4to. X. A joint Attestation avowing that the Discipline of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synod of Dort. Lond. 1626, 4to. XI. *Vita Bernardi Gilpini, viri sanctiss. famaque apud Anglos aquilonares celeberrimi.* Lond. 1628, 4to. inserted in Dr W. Bates's Collection of Lives. Lond. 1681, 4to. It was also published in English, under this title, The Life of Bernard Gilpin, a man most holy and renowned among the Northern English. Lond, 1629, 4to, and 1636, 8vo. XII. Testimony concerning the Presbyterian Discipline in the Low countries and Episcopal Government in England. Printed several times in 4to. and 8vo. and at London in particular, in 1642, in one sheet. XIII. Latin Letter to Mr Camden, containing some Notes and Observations on his Britannia. Printed by Dr T. Smith, amongst *Camdeni Epistolæ.* No. 80. Several Sermons. XIV. He had also a hand in the Dutch Annotations, and the New Translation of the Bible, undertaken by order of the synod of Dort, but not completed and published till 1697."

JOHN

JOHN PRESTON, D. D

THIS learned and excellent divine descended ancient family of the Prestons, of Preston, cashire, was born at Heyford, in Northamptonshir year 1587. He received the first rudiments of hi tion at the free-school in Northampton; but, to be better instructed in Greek, he was afterwar a school in Bedfordshire. At the age of seven was admitted of King's-college, Cambridge; wh cording to the complexion of that college at that learnt music: But he soon removed to Queen's-co der the care of Oliver Bowles, who was a pious ed man, and reputed a very able tutor: Under h he became a hard student in philosophy and po ture. He studied almost every thing, and even strology, and the planetary nature and power of plants, and attained to such a knowledge in si compounding of medicines, that it used to be had failed in divinity, he might have been anot who was an eminent physician of that age. tained great hopes of raising himself in the sta upon the study of divinity, as a kind of hone unmeaning study in itself, and much below th ation of a great mind: But the Lord frust attempts to get into the line of promotion i and at length providentially brought him to mon preached by Mr Cotton, fellow of Em lege. His reflections on this discourse made on him so happy and abiding, as to cure hi court-preferment, and bring him into the mi gospel; a profession which he had before n spised.

In 1609, that is, *five* years after his first a the university, and the twenty-second of his count of his extraordinary learning and part tronized by the bishop of Ely, and admitted own college. He was a good logician and and had a principal part allotted him in the the commencement before K. James I. so well pleased, and particularly with Pres

solved soon to pay Cambridge a second visit, which proved an opening at court for Preston, if he had *now* been willing; and many great people put him in mind of it, and promised him their assistance. Sir Fulke Greville, afterwards lord Brook, was so much pleased with him, that, after other demonstrations of regard, he settled fifty pounds a year upon him, and was his friend while he lived.

Preston's conduct, in not eagerly improving this opportunity of the royal favour, became matter of speculation. He was naturally reserved, so that few knew what a change Mr Cotton's sermon had wrought, respecting his views in life: Some attributed it to his modesty, some to a degree of melancholy, and others to the attention and delight he took in his pupils, who now began to come from all parts; but certain politicians were persuaded, that it was from some inclination to Puritanism, (a name not favourable to the views of court interest); for 'it could 'not be (said they) that he should let so fair an oppor-'tunity slip, if he had not something else in view.' Mr Preston had indeed the King of kings in view, and his glory; and having found *the treasure in the field* of the gospel, he wisely sold all things that stood in competition with its purchase. He preferred spiritual, heavenly, and eternal riches and honour to all that the world calls great and good. This act of crucifixion to the world was interpreted much in his favour by good men; and he was further confirmed in their good opinion, from a circumstance that happened, upon the king's second visit to Cambridge.

It was proposed to entertain his Majesty with a comedy; and one of Mr Preston's pupils was nominated to support a female character, being a fair modest young gentleman; and leave was requested of Mr Preston for that purpose. But he answered, "I do not like the motion; I "cannot believe his friends intended he should be a play-"er, and therefore I beg to be excused." This instance of care and fidelity to his pupil, raised his reputation to such a pitch, that he was thought the fittest tutor in the university; and many great men had an eye to him for their sons and relations.

There is an observation, which was true in Mr Preston, that there is usually no moderation in men of great parts. Mr Preston in his youth would not sleep, but laid the bed-clothes upon him in such a manner that they should fall off, that the cold might wake him; but now, through the many labours public and private, the many hours allotted

lotted for study, and the great attention he paid
youth committed to his care, he could not sleep;
about midnight, he still awoke and slept no more
applied to Dr Butler, of Clarehall, the oracle in
who, after asking him some questions, advised
smoke tobacco. Mr Preston, supposing him in je
no notice of his prescription; till his want of rest
continued, incapacitated him for study and labour;
waited on the doctor again, who still urged the
of tobacco. Mr Preston, perceiving the doct
serious in his advice, immediately began to sm
soon found, that the hot fume of the tobacco dr
those crudities from the mouth of the stomach,
dered concoction of his meat: The removal of
structions occasioned sleep, and so restored hir
and strength.

Mr Preston, having taken orders, and becom
brated preacher, came in course to be dean and
which he resolved to improve by going through
divinity, with the view of being a guide to t
in their study of that science. He was unw
should study as he had done, the schoolmen
then the modern writers; but first, that they
systems in divinity, and settle their opinion
ments, and then read the fathers, schoolmen, a
He had not proceeded far in his lectures, t
townspeople, passing by, stepped in, and r
nature and manner of his lecturing, many of
people attended, and also several scholars fro
leges; so that the outward chapel would b
before the fellows came. There had indeed
deans and catechists before Mr Preston, b
crowding: Therefore some, moved with
plained to the vice-chancellor, that at this
of catechising, not only scholars and townsi
but other colleges also intruded; so that the
not get through the crowd, into the ch
places;—that it was not safe for any ma
adored, unless they had a mind to cry up Pur
would soon pull them down;—and that t
would not support them, if such assemblie
raged. In consequence of this complaint,
agreed on in the consistory, and sent to t
the scholars and townsmen should be confi
preachers, and not be suffered, on any pre
to attend these lectures, that were proper o

bers of the college. The like complaint has been urged at other times, whenever the gospel of the kingdom has been faithfully and experimentally preached, not for hire, or the emoluments resulting from the pockets of the people, but for their spiritual edification and salvation.

About this time the lecture of the Trinity-church, and the sermons at St Andrews were put down, and the scholars confined to St Mary's, which put Mr Preston upon lecturing to his pupils on the Lord's day evening; but the scholars of other colleges, and those townsmen that had heard his other lectures, solicited him to preach in a place where they also could attend. St Botolph's church belongs to Queen's-college, and is usually supplied by one of that house; and as Mr Preston had lately been instrumental in the election of Dr Davenant, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, to the headship of Queen's, Mr Preston was allowed to lecture in that church. But there lived in that parish a Dr Newcomb, a civilian, who had enticed to his house, with a view to marry his daughter, a pupil of Mr Preston, Sir Capel Bedel, a young gentleman of large estate in Huntingdonshire. Sir Capel Bedel's parents were dead, and old Sir Arthur Capel was his guardian, and had placed him, as he had done his own sons before, under the care and tutorage of Mr Preston; who ever watched the conduct of his pupils very narrowly, and no sooner discovered what was going on between Sir Capel and Newcomb's daughter, than he acquainted Sir Arthur with it, and contrived to get Sir Capel to his grandfather's house at Audley-end. Sir Arthur thanked Mr Preston for his fidelity, and told young Sir Capel, that he was now come to a proper age to travel, which was absolutely necessary before he settled.

Dr Newcomb, thus disappointed, was glad to find an opportunity to be revenged on Mr Preston; and this he found not only as a parishioner, but also as being commissary to the chancellor of Ely. He therefore went to church and ordered that prayers only should be read, but no sermon; the minister intreated for that time that Mr Preston might be allowed to preach, as did the earl of Lincoln and several others in the church; but the chancellor was resolute; and, because he would not be further importuned, he went home with his family, and left them to determine at their peril what they should do. Mr Preston was advised to preach, which he did from 2 Pet. iii. 17, 18. But so much time had been spent in sending messages to the commissary, before he left the congregation, that

that Mr Preston was obliged to omit reading prayers before sermon, that the scholars might get home to their college prayers. This Dr Newcomb made matter of further complaint; and as the court was at Newmarket, he went thither the next day, and complained to the bishop of Ely and several of the clergy; assuring them, that Mr Preston was in heart, and would soon be in practice, a Non-conformist, and was so followed and adored in the university, that, unless some speedy course be taken with him, they might cast their caps at all conformity, and see their power trod under foot; and added, that gentleness was not the way, for he was cunning, and would recover all, if he were not seriously and thoroughly dealt with.

There was no advocate for Mr Preston: but the doctor, being first in his own cause, seemed just. The Puritans began to be considerable, and from Newcomb's complaint, they were afraid Mr Preston might become their leader. The king being then at Newmarket, the commissary told his tale to his majesty, who, upon enquiry, finding that the bishop and chancellor's jurisdiction extended to the members of colleges, ordered that Mr Preston should be proceeded against by them. Accordingly, a letter was sent to Dr Scot, the vice-chancellor, to summon Mr Preston before himself and the heads of houses, to answer for his notorious disobedience to the commissary. Mr Preston made his defence with great meekness and modesty, saying, he was not guilty, and wished to refer them to his auditory to prove, that because so much time had been taken up in treating with the commissary he had omitted reading prayers, purposely that he might dismiss the congregation in time for the scholars to be present at their own college prayers, and not out of any disrespect to the service, which he usually attended at other times. They told him, they were engaged to support, by all just means, the bishop's jurisdiction, that the king had honoured him in leaving that affront to be examined by his proper judges, and that except he could take off the court, they must and would proceed to a very round and serious censure.

Mr Preston was not altogether a stranger at the court; however, now there was no remedy. When he came to Newmarket, he found that bishop Andrews, then bishop of Ely, was chief, and that his jurisdiction in the commissary, was it that was pretended to be affronted, and therefore applied himself to him, and told him that he did not purpose to offend, but being engaged to preach at that time,

time, could not with honour disappoint the auditory; if he suspected him for any thing, he desired he would examine him, and satisfy himself. The bishop told him, the king was informed he was an enemy to forms of prayer, and held no prayer lawful but conceived; and therefore being popular, his judgment and opinion might do hurt. Mr Preston answered that it was a slander; for he thought set forms lawful, and refused not on all occasions to be present at the college prayers, and, when it was his turn, to read them. The bishop answered, that he was glad, and would inform the king, and do him all the good he could, and bade him wait awhile, and then repair again to him for satisfaction in it; and so time passed on, and there was nothing done. At length, however, an order was drawn, and sent to the vice-chancellor, that Mr Preston should in Botolph's-church declare his judgment concerning forms of prayer, on such a Sunday, or else they should immediately proceed against him, according to their first instructions.

Mr Preston was glad there was a way out, though sensible of the hard hand that had been carried towards him; but now there was no remedy, and it was in vain to strive against the stream; but before he could come home, the news was all about the town, that Mr Preston was to preach a recantation sermon at Botolph's-church on such a day. This was good sport to some, who came crowding as fast as any, to hear; and it was no sin now for any body to be from prayers; and indeed there was a very great assembly, though he did all he could to have concealed it. So he went on upon his former text, and preached a very profitable sermon, concerning growing in grace, and directed prayer, as a special means to make men grow in grace. Now that, he said, was of two sorts, either that which was sudden, extemporary, and conceived; or set, enjoined, and prescribed before, not only for the sense and scope, but also for words and phrases. And whereas some thought this was to stint the Spirit, he said, there was a liberty to use conceived prayer at other times, wherein the Spirit might expatiate, and enlarge itself; and also the intention of the mind, though not in extension and variety of language *. Those that came to laugh, had no great cause to do it, for this passage was at the

* The excellent archbishop Leighton has some valuable remarks upon this subject in his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, to which we would refer our Readers.

very close; and the sermon all along before, was sharp and searching; both sides were silent and went home, not without some prints of good upon their spirits: *Optimus orator censendus, non qui meruit auditorum judicium, sed qui abstulit:* 'He makes the best speech that binds his hearers, 'rather to think what was said, than who said it.' The good fellows were nothing so merry at the end, as at the beginning of the sermon. Indifferent hearers praised all, and were confirmed in a good opinion of the preacher. Good men were glad he came so well off, and was at liberty to preach again, where they might hear him: Himself was troubled, lest any thing he said, should be mistaken or misinterpreted, as he was apt to be.

Some time after this, he preached before the king, who seemed to approve his sermon, and especially his observation in it upon the Arminians, "That they put God "unto the same extremity, that Darius was put into, "(Dan. vi.) when he would have saved Daniel, but could "not:" And the marquis of Hamilton spoke several handsome things in his favour, which, however, the king did not chuse to understand.

This sermon was received with great eclat; and he was much solicited to give copies of it: But this, he said, he could not do, as he never wrote his sermons *per extensum*, or word for word, and what he did write was in a very bad hand. However, he was appointed chaplain to the prince of Wales, who was then about forming his court.

Preston had a great loss in the removal of Dr Davenant, his close friend, from the university to the see of Salisbury.

He had a very great regard for the famous Mr Dod, and frequently consulted with him. He admired his plain familiar way of preaching, and saw it attended with infinitely more benefit to people's souls than studied harangues, which were mostly calculated to shew the preacher's abilities.

Not being a very ready Latinist, he travelled into foreign countries, on a visit to their universities, very much to make the Latin tongue more familiar to him, through conversation, that he might not appear the less qualified for some offices in the university, which were proposed to him.

After his return, he was appointed preacher at Lincoln's-inn, where his ministry was much attended and blest; but still his great desire was to be useful in the university, where

where he might *generare patres*, be instrumental in converting those, whose profession it would be to convert others. After some time, upon the resignation of Dr Chadderton, he was appointed master of Emmanuel-college, through the unanimous consent of the fellows, and especially by means of the duke of Buckingham. Here he employed himself with uncommon diligence, and was of the most eminent service to that foundation.

Upon an intention of sending Sir Arthur Chichester (the ancestor of the earls of Donegal) ambassador into Germany, it was resolved that Mr Preston should attend him as his chaplain; and, upon this occasion, for the more honour, was admitted doctor in divinity. But this embassy did not take place; and so the doctor remained at home.

Soon after this he was chosen lecturer of Trinity-church in Cambridge, after much opposition, and against the will of the court, excepting the duke of Buckingham, who took all opportunities to oblige the Puritans, 'whose power '(says Clarke) in parliament was now grown very formi-'dable.' This was the last preferment Dr Preston had; and this he held till his death.

Our Author had a remarkable controversy with Dr Mountague, the famous Arminian of that day, with an account of which we will present our Readers in the words of Mr Clarke, (or rather Mr Ball) who hath written both it and his life, though not with the greatest precision and accuracy.

'Dr Preston's friends would not be satisfied, but urged 'a conference, whereunto they were encouraged by some 'orthodox and very learned bishops, and at last it was 'concluded by two religious noblemen, that a conference 'there should be, the bishop of Rochester and Dr White, 'then dean of Carlisle, on the one side, and the bishop of 'Coventry and Litchfield, and Dr Preston on the other. 'A day was set, a Saturday in Hillary term, at four of 'the clock in the afternoon; the place was York-house, 'and Dr Preston sent to in the morning for to attend 'it. The noblemen came unto the bishop's lodgings, 'about two of the clock, and sent for Dr Preston to 'them, who gave many reasons why he could not go, 'but they were resolute, and taking the bishop with them 'went without him; but the doctor considering, and 'fearing his absence might betray the cause, and give en-'couragement unto the other side, went afterward him-'self unto the place, and sat by as an hearer silent until 'all was done; but talking afterwards occasionally of 'falling,

'falling from grace, the bishop shewed that a godly man 'might go far, and yet rerurn, by the instance of the 'prodigal, Luke xv. but Dr White exclaimed against any 'that should think the prodigal in acts of drunkenness 'and whoredom not to be fallen from grace, and urged 'that of the apostle, Rom. i. 32. that those that do such 'things are worthy of death; that is, said he, in a state 'of everlasting death, and therefore fallen from grace; so '1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. shall not inherit the kingdom of God; 'that is, are not sons, for if sons, then heirs, Rom. viii. '17.

'But Dr Preston answered, that these sins made in-'deed a forfeiture of all their interest into the hands of 'God, and he might make the seisure if he pleased, but 'did not unto those which were his children, and in co-'venant with him; as two tenants, by not paying of 'their rent, or keeping covenants, forfeited their leases, 'yet the lord might seize the one, and not the other, as 'he pleased. But the bishop and the dean both cried out, 'this was the way to all licentiousness and looseness. To 'which the doctor answered, that the seed of God, as 'the apostle calls it, 1 John iii. 9. remained in the sin-'ning saint, or son, and would repair him; as in water, 'there remains a principle of cold, even when it boileth 'over, that will undoubtedly reduce it, when the heat 'and fire is removed, as in Peter, David, Samson, and 'others, was apparent; so that they could not run out 'into all licentiousness, for the Spirit lusted against the 'flesh, that they cannot do the things they would, Gal. 'v. 17. and though he did not disinherit them, and blot 'their names out of the book of life, Phil. iv. 3. yet he 'might, and would withdraw his favour, imbitter all 'their comforts, Matt. xxvi. 75. raise trouble to them 'from their dearest interests, 2 Sam. xii. 11. fill them 'with anguish, Psalm xxxviii. 3, 4. which in reason will 'keep them from running out, seeing the evil is com-'mensurable unto that good of pleasure or profit their sin 'afforded; and if need be, he can add unto it eternal 'apprehensions, and make them feel the fierceness of his 'anger, Psalm lxxxviii. 6, 7. without any hope of being 'eased; and after this can restrain and withhold them, as 'he did Abimelech, Gen. xx. 6. For if one cease to be a 'son, because he commits a sin that doth deserve eternal 'death, then every sin a child of God commits, rends his 'relation or sonship off; for every sin deserves eternal 'death, Rom. vi. 23. and because in many things we of-

'fend

'fend all, James iii. 2. we should be always out of son-
'ship, and have neither certainty nor comfort in our
'estate, unless he could give some ground out of the scrip-
'ture, to assure what sins put us out, and what did not.

'When the time came for the second conference, the
'doctor readily appeared, and the first thing he charged
'Mr Mountague withal, was about his doctrine of tradi-
'tions, which he affirmed he had delivered as grossly and
'erroneously as any papist, Gag. p. 38, 39, 40. For he
'justified that place in Basil, where he says, The doc-
'trine retained in the church, was delivered, partly by
'written instructions, partly by unwritten traditions,
'having both a like force unto piety; which was so un-
'like to Basil, and the opinions of those times, that it
'was generally believed to be put in by the Papists of
'later times. Mr Mountague confessed, it was suspected
'by some of the preciser cut; but Dr Preston told him,
'bishop Bilson was none of them, yet he did judge it
'suppositious; and it must be so, or Basil, acknowledged
'to be erroneous. For he instanceth in praying towards
'the east, and use of chrism, or oil in baptism; both
'which being rejected by the church of England, argues
'they held that place of Basil not canonical.

'Mr Mountague answered, that δογμα there used by St
'Basil, might signify a thing that seemed so, and so the
'sense might be, that some things that seemed true, of
'less esteem and consequence, might be delivered by tra-
'dition, as long as matters more substantial were taken
'from the scriptures. But Dr Preston shewed that δογμα
'signified oftentimes doctrine, and was used here by Basil
'for those heads of doctrine that were more principal,
'and less exposed, comparing them unto those places in
'the temple, whereunto the people had not access.

'Mr Mountague answered farther, that his assertion
'was hypothetical, that if a doctrine came from the same
'author, it was no great matter, whether it were by writ-
'ing or word of mouth, for either had the same authority.
'But Dr Preston told him, Basil was positive, and spake
'directly, and him he justified, and therefore could not be
'hypothetical, as he pretended.

'It is a great step unto victory somtimes to divide. Paul
'sets the Pharisees against the Sadducees, Acts xxiii. 6, 7,
'8. that he might save himself. The Jesuits are so good
'at it, that though they have but one to be their adver-
'sary, they will endeavour to divide him from himself, by
'moving passion, or compassion, or some affection of his
'own

'own against him. Dr White had openly in the commencement house, maintained that election is not *ex prævisis operibus*, and therefore Dr Preston resolved to pinch Mr Mountague in that particular, that he might bereave him of his animating champion, Dr White.

'There were four several places that Dr Preston had observed to make good this charge, the first which he produced, was Gag. p. 179. Some Protestants hold, that Peter was saved, because God would have it so, without respect unto his faith and obedience; and Judas damned, because God would have it so, without respect unto his sin. And added, this is not the doctrine of the Protestants, this is not the doctrine of the church, the church of England hath not taught it, doth not believe it, hath opposed it.

'Now Dr White was very fierce and eager to engage, told him it was no doctrine of the church of England, but a private fancy of some, that Judas was condemned without respect unto his sin; *For the wages of sin is death*, Rom. vi. 23. *The soul that sinneth shall die*, Ezek. xviii. 4. But Dr Preston answered, he did not charge that upon Mr Mountague, but the former part of the assertion, that Peter was not saved, without respect unto his believing and obedience, and so election should not be absolute, but grounded upon faith and works, foreseen. Then saith Dr White, I have nothing against that, but leave Mr Mountague to answer for himself.

'Dr Preston was glad that he was eased of Dr White, and yet resolved to make advantage of it, and therefore told Dr White, if he thought election was not *ex fide prævisâ*, he desired to know whether saving grace were an effect, and fruit of election, or no? Dr White acknowledged readily it was; then said Dr Preston, whosoever hath saving grace is elected. Now you know that an elect person can never finally miscarry, or fall away; therefore whoever hath true grace, can never fall away. The old man saw the snare, and would have avoided it, by denying the consequence. But the doctor urged, that wheresoever the effect is, there must be the cause, but saving grace is an effect of election. This Dr White would have denied, but the hearers murmured that the effect could not be without the cause, as the day is not without the presence of the sun. Then Dr White answered, that saving grace was an effect indeed, but a common effect. But Dr Preston urged, that it was not more common than election; for all the

'elect

'elect had saving grace, and none but they; and there-
'fore they could never fall away. But this (said he) is
'by the way, I will now apply myself to Mr Mounta-
'gue.

'But when Mr Mountague perceived that his great Go-
'liah, Dr White, forsook him, he was greatly troubled,
'and cavilled at the words a while, but the book adjudg-
'ing it for Dr Preston, he said the church of England
'had not declared any thing against it. Dr Preston al-
'ledged the seventeenth article, but told master Mounta-
'gue, that he had affirmed the church of England did op-
'pose it, and he desired to know where?

'But after one of the lords had whispered with Mr
'Mountague, he confessed, that for Arminius, he had nev-
'er read him, and that he had written some things negli-
'gently in that book, which he never thought should
'thus be scanned among friends, and therefore promised
'to write another book in butter and honey, and therein
'more exactly to acquit himself.

'Some of the good lords proposed that, instead of this
'book which Mr Mountague had promised to write, the
'synod of Dort might be received and established as the
'doctrine of the church of England, seeing there was no-
'thing there determined but what our delegates approved.
'But Dr White opposed this mainly; for (said he) the
'church of England in her catechism teacheth to believe in
'God the Son, who redeemed me and all mankind, which
'that synod did deny.

'Dr Preston answered, that, by redemption, there was
'only meant the freeing of mankind from that inevitable
'ruin the sin of Adam had involved them in, and making
'of them saveable upon conditions of another covenant,
'John iii. 16, 17. so as now salvation was not impossible,
'as it was before the death of Christ, but might be of-
'fered unto any man, according to the tenor of that com-
'mission, Mark xvi. 15, 16. Which could not be unto
'the devils, for they were left in that forlorn condition,
'whereunto their sin and disobedience put them, Heb. ii.
'16. 2 Peter ii. 4. that the jailor was a boisterous bloody
'fellow, Acts xvi. 24, 27. yet Paul makes no doubt to
'tell him, ver. 31. *That if he believed on the Lord Jesus, he*
'*should be saved with his house.*

'But Dr White in no sort received this but affirmed
'earnestly, that Christ died for all alike in God's inten-
'tion and decree; for Cain as well as Abel, for Saul as
'much as David, for Judas as much as Peter, for the re-
'probate

'probate and damned in hell, as well as for the elect and 'saints in heaven.

'But Dr Preston answered, that there was a special 'salvation afforded to believers, 1 Tim. iv. 10. that 'Christ was indeed a ransom for all, 1 Tim. ii. 6. but the 'saviour only of his body, Eph. v. 23. that he redeemed 'all, but called, and justified, and glorified whom he 'knew before, and had pedestinated to be conformed to 'the image of his Son, Rom. viii. 29, 30. that to whom 'in this sense Christ was given, to them were given also 'all things appertaining unto life and godliness, 2 Peter 'i. 3. as faith, 2 Peter i. 1. Phil. i. 29. Eph. ii. 8. re-'pentance, Acts xi. 18. 2 Tim. ii. 25. a new heart, Ezek. 'xxxvi. 26. his Spirit, Gal. iv. 5, 6. So that nothing can 'be charged on them, but Jesus Christ hath undertaken, 'and is engaged to discharge them, Rom. viii. 31, 32, 33, '34. So that they can never perish, nor be taken out of 'Christ's hand, John x. 28, 29, 30. but as they are begot-'ten again unto a lively hope, 1 Peter i. 3. so they are 'kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, 'ver. 5. whereas Judas was lost, John xvii. 12. and is 'gone to his own place, Acts i. 25. and there are many 'nations and people of the world, that have no outward 'offer made unto them in the gospel, Psalm cxlvii. 19, '20. Acts xvi. 6, 7. and those that have it, have not hearts 'given them to understand it and believe it, Deut. xxix. '2, 3, 4. Isaiah vi. 9, 10. Matt. xiii. 13, 14, 15, and 'therefore they are lost, 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4. and are damned, '2 Thess. ii. 10, 11, 12. For he shewed, that in Adam 'all men were lost, Rom. v. 12. and none recovered but 'by Christ; therefore such as had not Christ's intercession could not recover; but Christ prayed not for some, 'John xvii. 9. and therefore such could not be saved, Heb. 'vii. 25.

'Dr White acknowledged there was a difference; for 'though all had so much as by good improvement might 'serve their turn, yet the elect had more, for God abounded 'towards them, Eph. i. 8, 9. Rom. v. 15, 17, 20. As all 'the troop have horses, but the officers have better. 'Both travellers have staves to leap over the ditch, but 'the one a better and stronger than the other. The worst 'had grace enough to keep corruption, and the penitency 'of their natures down; but the elect, such as would 'do it easily; for Christ had tasted death for every man, 'Heb. ii. 9. and died for those which yet might perish, '1 Cor. viii. 11. and bought those that yet brought

'upon

'upon themselves swift damnation, 2 Peter ii. 1. because 'they did not husband and improve the favour offered to 'them.

'Dr Preston answered, that Christ was in himself sufficient to save all, and might be said to be provided for 'that end and use, as a medicine is to cure infected persons, though it cure none actually, but those that drink 'it, as *Prosper. Habet in se quod omnibus prosit, sed si non bibitur non medetur.* As 1 John v. 11, 12. but many did 'not thus apply Christ, because they had him not so offered and exhibited as others had, Matt. xi. 21. Luke 'x. 13. for God gave some faith and repentance as we 'have shewed; as the serpent Moses was commanded for 'to make, was in itself sufficient to cure those that were 'bitten, Numb. xxi. 8, 9. yet cured none, but only those 'that looked on it. So as Moses lift up the serpent in the 'wilderness, shall the son of man be lift up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have life 'everlasting, John iii. 14, 15.

'But Dr White urged that place Isaiah v. 4. that God 'had done all he could, but they neglected and rejected 'the counsel of God against themselves, Luke vii. 30.

'Dr Preston answered, that God had done all they 'could challenge of him, for he had given them in Adam 'power, Eccl. vii. 29. and proposed another way of mercy 'in a mediator, and therefore he appeals to any one that 'was indifferent, Isaiah v. 3. but this was unto Israel; 'he dealt not so with other nations, Psalm cxlix. 20. Beside, he had done what he could, without reversing and 'rescinding his decree, John xii. 38, 39, 40. for otherwise he could have given them the same spirit of faith, '2 Cor. iv. 13. the like gift that he did unto others 'who believed on the Lord Jesus, Acts xi. 17. could have 'wrought in them both to will and to do according to his 'good pleasure, Phil. ii. 13. could have healed them as 'he promised, Isaiah lvii. 18. and as he did persecuting 'Saul, 1 Tim. i. 6. but God had other ends, Rom. ix. 17. 'and attributes, Rom. ix. 22. which he was willing to 'discover, Prov. xvi. 4.

'But Dr White asked, how then he could require faith 'and repentance, Mark i. 15. Acts xvii. 30. which was 'all one, as if he should require one to give his judgment 'and opinion of a colour that had his eyes shut, and then 'shut his eyes as fast as he could.

'Dr Preston answered, that he might do it to shew 'and discover our impotency, as we bid our little chil-

'dren

'dren rise, that by their own fault fell, that we may let 'them know their inability, and be the more beholding 'unto us to help them up, as Mark ix. 23, 24. and be- 'cause the call and command of Christ is the *vehiculum* 'and conduit-pipe of strength and power, Acts xiv. 10. 'John v. 8, 9. as Lazarus, John xi. 43, 44. Thus God 'by bidding and commanding men to take grace, doth 'thereby fit them and enable them to do it, as that crip- 'ple, Acts iii. 6, 7, 8. was by the command enabled; so 'Saul, Acts xxii. 13. being commanded to receive his 'sight, was enabled the same moment to look upon him; 'and so ver. 16. being commanded to wash away his sins, 'had the blood of Christ provided ready for to do it. So 'these commands are not like those the apostle speaks of, 'James ii. 16. for here is something given; when God 'bids, he doth not, *verba dare, sed rem.*

'But it was further urged by the doctor, that God had 'no pleasure in the death of wicked men, Ezek. xxxiii. 11. 'but that he would rather they should repent and leave 'their sins, Ezek. xviii. 23. and ver. 32. if therefore God 'were not ready to the utmost of his power to give them 'grace, he could not be excused from dissembling and 'double-dealing.

'But Dr Preston answered, that superiors may com- 'mand unable persons for many reasons, but cannot be 'said for to dissemble, unless they refuse to give when the 'required condition is performed. As if I bid one come 'unto me, and I will give him six-pence, if I refuse when 'he is come, I did dissemble; but if he comes not, he 'cannot charge me; for their not coming may be for 'want of will, John v. 40. as well as for want of power, 'John vi. 44. Now if I know a cripple will not come, 'though he could, I may punish him for it. It is true, 'God delights in nothing but himself, his joy and com- 'fort is terminated only in himself, not in the creature, 'but as some way served and represented by it; for God 'made all things for himself, Prov. xvi. 4. yea, for his 'pleasure, Rev. iv. 11. that is, the exercise and illustra- 'tion of some one of his attributes; as his power, Exod. 'ix. 16. Rom. ix. 16. his wrath, Rom. ix. 22. Never 'did man glory of his strength, more than God doth of 'his sovereignty and omnipotency, Job xl. 9, 10, 11, '12, 13. Now if it fall out, that, in the illustration and 'exercise of these his glorious attributes and excellencies, 'some creatures smart, yet he delights not in their smart 'and sufferings, but in the demonstration of his own om-

'nipotency.

'nipotency. Ahasuerus makes a feast to all the states 'and orders of his kingdom, and the honour of his excel- 'lent majesty, Esther i. 3, 4. This was not done without 'the smart and suffering of many of the creatures, yet he 'delights not in their sufferings, but in his own magnifi- 'cence and bounty. When Christ was at the feast, John 'ii. 1, 2. he doth not condole the death of all those inno- 'cents that went to make it up; *Qui fruitur pœna, ferus 'est:* But rejoiced in the good cheer and good will of the 'friend that bade him.

'There were few present of doctor Preston's friends, 'and accordingly this conference was represented and re- 'ported with all the disadvantage that could be to him; 'insomuch that many parliament men, that were his 'friends, were much offended at it; which occasioned 'him, as soon as he came to Cambridge, to write the seve- 'ral passages, and send them to those friends that were 'unsatisfied.

'When a man is forced to be where he would not, as 'St Peter was foretold he should be, John xxi. 18. yet 'he may in despite of them retire into himself. St Paul 'made it his business to have his conscience always void 'of offence, Acts xxiv. 16. and so did Dr Preston; for 'though his actings, being many of them above the com- 'mon size, were not always understood, and very often 'misinterpreted, yet he was innocent and upright always 'in them. An undeniable argument whereof was, that 'he never sued for the least preferment, as we have said, 'but studied, and often consulted how, without break- 'ing, he might avoid them. And though he lived like 'himself, and gave relief to others, yet it was ever of his 'own, as very many yet alive can witness. And indeed 'he was a man of very much communion and sweet so- 'ciety with God; prayed much in private, and by him- 'self; besides as tutor with his pupils, and after, as mas- 'ter in his family. Whatever weakness he was in, or 'business did occur, he kept many private days of fasting 'by himself, especially before the sacraments and sabbath- 'days; and accordingly enjoyed a constant clearness and 'assurance of his justification, and interest in the blood of 'Christ; even then, when frailties and infirmities did 'most of all afflict and wound him. He never (that I 'know) was troubled or perplexed about adoption, 'though very often about the imperfection of his graces, 'and the unconstancy of sanctification; so as he studied 'most exactly that "Treatise of the Saints Infirmities," and

'there

'there is nothing in all his works that may more properly 'be called his.' Thus far Mr Clarke.

Dr Preston's preaching and labours were exceeding great, yet he never could be prevailed upon to spare himself; giving it as his opinion, that our life, like iron, would consume with rust, as much without as by employment; that every one could not be said to have lived long that was old, for that seven years in the life of some men were as much as seventy in others; and therefore the question is not so much, "How *long* I have lived, as *how* I have "lived?" GOD allows a proper time for his servants to do their work in. Moses lived an hundred and twenty years, Deut. xxxiv. 7. David died in a good old age and full of days, 1 Chron. xxix. 28. and the great apostle of the Gentiles is called Paul the *aged*, Phil. xi. 9. But it was no discouragement to good Josiah, that he died young, nor to Dr Preston that he died about his age. Our British Josiah, K. Edward, scarce out-lived his minority; yet he out-stripped most of his longest lived predecessors in doing good. So the Lord, who hath appointed the time for all men upon earth, Job vii. 1, allotted the doctor but a short time; but enabled him to do a great deal of work in it, and, in point of service to his day and generation, to die an *old man* at the age of *forty-one*.

In his last sickness, being worn out with fatigue, or rather (as he would often say) with care and trouble for the church's safety and welfare; he was obliged to abate a little of his great labour. His old complaint returned, the want of rest; and tobacco now failed to help him, as before; he therefore sent for Dr Despotine of Bury, and proposed to him the opening of a vein; but the doctor told him, that though it might allay his heats and procure sleep; yet, if it were within the verge of a consumption, it would prove fatal: However, through the desire of present ease, he was let blood, but never lived to repair that loss.

His disorders increasing upon him, he went to London, to consult the most eminent physicians there, who ordered him to Newington, and then to Hertfordshire, as being a thinner air; for they all agreed that the malady was in his lungs; from thence he went to Preston, within four miles of Heyford, with a desire to give up his breath, where he first drew it. From hence he paid a visit to Oxford; and Dr Ashworth, whom he had formerly consulted, returned with him to Preston; and, supposing his disorder to be the scurvy, gave him great plenty of antiscorbutic

butic medicines, which did him no good, but reduced him to a very weak and low state. Dr Ashworth, finding he had mistaken his case, returned to Oxford; and Dr Preston, laying aside all physical helps, gave himself up to GOD in a patient waiting for his dissolution, when he *should be for ever with the Lord.*

He had a servant, who had long been to him more than a servant, and whom he had often used as a friend; to him he unbosomed himself, not only respecting the vanity and emptiness of all things here below, but his expectation of a speedy change; "Not (said he) of my company; for I "shall still converse with GOD and saints; but of my "place and way of doing it." He revised his will, and settled all his worldly affairs, and then prayed for a proper supply for the places he possessed; for the college, that it might continue a flourishing nursery of religion and learning; for Lincoln's-inn, that GOD would from time to time furnish it with able preachers; and that he would also provide for his lecture at Cambridge, which had cost him so much trouble to obtain.

A few hours before his death, asking what day it was, and being told it was the Lord's day; "A fit day (said "he) to be sacrificed on! I have accompanied saints on "earth; and now I shall accompany angels in heaven: "My dissolution is at hand; let me go to my home, and "to Jesus Christ, who hath bought me with his precious "blood." Soon after, he fell into a cold and clammy sweat, which, he told them, was the messenger of death. Not long after, he said, "I feel death coming to my "heart; my pain shall now be quickly turned into joy." Just before he died, a minister prayed with him: When the prayer was ended, he looked on those who assisted; and then turned away his head, and gave up the ghost, in the forty-first year of his age. He was interred in Fausley-church, in the county of Northampton; and Mr Dod, the minister of that place, preached his funeral sermon: On which occasion a very great number of people flocked together from all the neighbouring parts. This sermon was preached on the twentieth of July, in the year 1628.

Besides the WRITINGS above hinted at, we have seen a posthumous work of Dr Preston's, entitled "Life eternal, or a Treatise of the Knowledge of the Divine Essence and Attributes: Delivered in xviii Sermons. Printed at London, in 4to. 1631. To this is prefixed a Dedication to Lord Viscount Say and Sele, from Dr Thomas Godwin and Mr Thomas Ball, the latter of whom either wrote, or furnished

furnished materials for Clarke to write, the account of his life.—This is a very excellent Publication, and was offered to the world with infinitely more decency, than a late *posthumous collection* of Common Places, &c. compiled by a deceased writer, who was eminent in the religious world. Dr Preston's executor, most likely, had no desire to make any other gain of his memory, than to promote the welfare of souls and GOD's glory: And the Doctor himself, it is probable, had too much regard both for his own credit and the feelings of his friends, to leave manuscripts in the hands of meanness and ignorance, which could only value them, or any thing else, by what they might produce in the market."

TOBIE MATTHEW, D. D.

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

THIS truly good man, an honour to his age, was descended from an ancient family of the Williams's of Flint, in the principality of North Wales, being the fourteenth in a lineal descent from Roger Williams, Esq. of which family John Williams, Esq. receiver of Flintshire 10 E. IV. marrying the daughter and heir of Edmund Matthew, Esq. his son George assumed the name of Matthew, and by —— the daughter of Sir John Ardin, Knt. had issue Richard Matthew, of Flint, the father of John Matthew of Bristol, merchant, where this his son Tobie was born, in the year 1546, upon that part of the bridge which is in Somersetshire.

In his childhood, an extraordinary circumstance befel him. By a fall, he broke his foot, ancle, and small of his leg, almost to pieces; yet he obtained a speedy and effectual cure. From the school at wells, he was sent to Oxford, at thirteen years of age. University-college and Christ-church, do both challenge him; it was as member of the latter he took the degree of bachelor of arts, February 11, 1563; and three years after, (the twenty-fifth of June) that of master, and entered into holy orders; at which time he was much respected for his great learning, eloquence,

eloquence, sweet conversation, friendly disposition, and the sharpness of his wit.

The third year after this, he was unanimously elected the public orator of the university, which office he executed with great applause to himself, and honour to the public, when he was but twenty-three. He took his degrees so ripe in learning, and young in years, as was half a miracle, saith Sir John Harrington, who is seldom too liberal in his commendation of bishops. He was a most celebrated preacher, even when Oxford seems to have been well stocked with such. Afterwards preferments came thick upon him. In 1570, he was made canon of Christ-church, and archdeacon of Bath. In 1572, prebendary of Sarum, and president of St John's-college; when being famous for his admirable preaching he was made the queen's chaplain, and dean of Christ's-church in 1576. Two years after, he was vice-chancellor of Oxford, and afterwards chantor in the church of Salisbury; the one a place of the greatest honour the university could give; the other a preferment of considerable profit.

In August, 1583, he was installed dean of Durham. It may be wondered, why he should leave the university, where he had so many ingenious frends and great admirers; relinquish preferments that seem as considerable as this single deanery, if not more so; and go northward farther from court, the fountain of preferment. 'But 'to me (says Mr Thoresby) it seems evident, there was 'some Christian act of self-denial in the case;' and his diligence in preaching afterwards in places that, for the most part, wanted instruction (whereas Oxford had now some excellent preachers, as Dr Rainolds, and others) and his apostolic travelling from town to town to preach the gospel, shews that he aimed at the glory of GOD and the good of mankind, in going to that northern region. He kept a diary or journal of the several times and places, when, and where he preached; to set down which, would be to transcribe the Villare of the County-Palatine; scarce any town but had him in their pulpit, and some places very often. He frequently mentions the text, and sometimes the occasion, as before the lord-president, at the court, at the assizes, &c. His first sermon was before the council, from these words, *Seek ye first the kingdom of God*; a subject that befits all to begin with.

He held his deanery eleven years and a half, and accounts for seven hundred and twenty-one sermons preached in that time, in some years sixty, in others seventy or eighty;

eighty; we sometimes find him preaching twice a day, especially when he found no preaching minister there; but rarely omitted every Sunday and holiday, except when sickness, or some inevitable cause hindered. Thus when any of the prebendaries took their courses in the cathedral, he rode abroad to carry the message of his great Master to the country towns and villages. At Christmas he usually preached on the Nativity, St Stephen, St John, Innocents, &c. He would often reflect upon his performances, and observe with what fervour and spirit he had discharged his duty, sometimes giving GOD thanks, at other times blaming himself; his words were, "*frigide*, "*eheu!*" or, "*Deo gratias.*"

He was elected bishop of Durham, March 29th, 1595, and not 1594, as Godwin mistakes in his Catalogue of Bishops; for himself notes, that he preached before Q. Elizabeth the fourth Sunday in Lent, 1595, and adds, "the "Saturday before this, I was elected bishop, when I was "forty years of age." He preached at court again, May 11th, which was the first sermon after he was made bishop. As soon as the consecration was over, he hastened to his own cathedral, and, as his custom was, perfumed almost every considerable town in his way, with the sweet odour of the gospel; as, May 14th at Northampton, the fifteenth at Leicester, the sunday after at Doncaster, the nineteenth at Holden, the twenty-first at Allerton, and the Sunday following at his own cathedral at Durham; where he continued so faithful and assiduous a Preacher, that the most severe animadverters upon bishops, had not one word to say against him; not so much as his name occurs in Prynne against Prelates. 'Tis easy to trace his journies, by the churches he preached at, and that not in the neighbourhood only, but in his journey or embassy to Scotland, in 1596, when he preached every Lord's day in Berwick, except one in Holy-Island.

He seldom omitted preaching once a-week, when at London, in times of parliament; one short session from October 19th, to December 19th, we find him nine times at (what he called) HIS BELOVED WORK*; this was in the year 1601. He had then, as at all other times, one turn at the court. He mentions in his diary, a long discourse her majesty, Q. Elizabeth, had with him, which, as

* He seems to have adopted the late bishop Burnet's advice in contending with opposite parties—*Out-preach*; *out-pray*; *out-live them*. This is a sort of contest, which none but good men will engage in, and in which they will always rejoice to be overcome.

as it was the last time he saw her, he calls it "his last "farewell."

In April, 1603, he preached before K. James at Berwick, and again at Newcastle; from whence he waited upon his majesty to his own seat at Durham, where he entertained him; after this Stow adds, 'The king took leave, gave 'him thanks, and highly commended him for humanity, 'learning, and gravity; promising to restore divers things 'taken from the bishopric.' Having preached before the king at Greenwich, he hasted back to meet the queen, prince, princess Elizabeth (afterwards queen of Bohemia, and grandmother to K. George I.) before whom he preached at York on Whitsunday, at Worsop on Trinity-sunday, on Midsummer-day at Leicester, at Althorpe (still attending on the queen into the South) on the first Sunday after Trinity, upon the second at Sherfield, upon the third and fourth at Hampstead, the fifth at Paddington, the sixth at Wilsdon, August the 5th at Hampton-court, the seventh at Ware, in his return home: Where he found an additional work on the fast-days, observed weekly for the pestilence then raging in England. He was not content to hear one sermon; but himself would preach a second, and sometimes, when two preceded, a third; as at Darton, September 28th, Mr Tomlinson, Mr Tanstall, and I;" and so on October 12, "Mr Cradock, Dr Barnes, and my-"self."

About the latter end of this year, he was summoned to the Hampton-court conference, of which he gives an account in a remarkable letter to archbishop Hutton which letter may be seen in Mr Strype's life of archbishop Whitgift. By the king's special appointment, he preached before his majesty at Hampton-court, at the end of the conference, as also at Westminster, at the opening of the parliament; and as he concluded this, so he began the succeeding year with a sermon before the king, and not long after before prince Henry, from the words of the Psalmist, *Wherewithal shall a young man*, &c. and that day-fortnight before the king, queen, prince, the council, bishops, &c. in Whitehall gallery; because, the king's leg being hurt, he could not go to the chapel. Shortly after, he returned to his diocese, where he preached at Bishop-Aukland before prince Charles, then the king's second son.

When his great guest was gone, he visited his diocese, and at Darneton earnestly pressed the renewal of *the Exer-*

cises (of which we have given a relation in the life of archbishop Grindal) which he countenanced with his presence and assistance, setting them up in some places, and restoring them in others. It is surprising, to find what an indifference to hear even so able a Preacher sometimes prevailed; as at Acliffe, where designing to preach, he found not three men, or one woman, though it was the Lord's day, and he had, by his servant, given notice two days before; but when he preached there the Sunday after, he found a full congregation, for which he praised GOD. He was disappointed thus at Acham, when he was archbishop, "where (saith he) to my sorrow I found neither "priest nor people, although they had warning over "night." No wonder, then, that he was so particularly zealous, when he found so much ignorance and remissness.

That this proceeded not from a sudden pang of devotion during the plague, but was his mature judgment, is evident from matter of fact; for when he was some years past his grand climacteric, we find him preaching at the Exercises at Mansfield, Nottingham, and Retford, besides other occasional sermons, eight in less than five weeks. And this was so far from being a disservice to the church of England (as some have intimated) that it did really advance it most effectually; "I appeal (says our Author) to "the original book of the minister's subscriptions in the "register's office at York, that, not to take the advantage "of that noted time, when forty-five were ordained at "one time, there are *communibus annis* as many in one "year at the latter end, as in three at the beginning." So attractive was this grand exemplar of a preaching bishop.

The next time we meet with bishop Matthew at court, is in preaching at Whitehall, before the king, and the commissioners of England and Scotland, upon the designed union of the two kingdoms; a project K. James pursued to the utmost, but the completion of it was reserved to the next century, for the honour of Q. Anne. The Epiphany after, he preached before the king at the creation of prince Charles, duke of York. The next time he preached before the king, was upon a signal occasion, being the Lord's day after the deliverance from the gunpowder treason, which was discovered on the Tuesday before, viz. November 5th, 1605. The year after, he shut up his diary, as bishop of Durham, with this *memorandum*,

them, "That in the space of somewhat less than twelve "years, I have preached five hundred and fifty-sermons;" often excusing himself, that he preached no more, because his house was infected, &c.

On Monday, August 18, 1606, he was translated to the archbishopric of York, and September 11. enthroned by proxy; here he sat with great honour and reputation, to the time of his death, and had the uncommon happiness, though then above sixty years of age, to continue therein twenty-one years and a half; but notwithstanding his age, and the care and government of a whole province, he did not look upon himself as discharged from preaching, but was as diligent as ever; whence that challenge of Alexander Cooke, vicar of Leeds; 'That Tobie Mat-'thew, the archbishop of York, though almost eighty 'years of age, preacheth more sermons in a year, than you '[the popish party] can prove, has been preached by all 'your popes, from Gregory the Great's days.' Cooke's Popish brags abated.

Yet, for all his pains in preaching, he neglected not his proper episcopal acts of visitation, confirmation, ordination, &c. he confirmed sometimes five hundred, sometimes one thousand at a time, yea, so many, that he has been forced to betake himself to his bed for refreshment. At Hartlepool he was forced to confirm in the church-yard. At such times he often preached to instruct them more fully in the doctrines of Christianity, which they were now more solemnly obliged to know and observe. He preached also sometimes at marriages, baptizings, funerals, assizes, and other meetings of the gentlemen of the country about public affairs, as at Ripon, August 16, 1607, at the laying the foundation of that church.

It is much to be lamented, that those sermons, that were so passionately desired by persons of the greatest quality, so acceptable to the judicious, and so crowded after by persons of all ranks, should not have been published; such, especially as were upon extraordinary occasions, and made such impressions upon himself, as to give thanks for divine assistance.

'He died yearly in report, (says Fuller) and I doubt 'not, but that in the apostle's sense, he *died daily* in 'his mortifying meditations:' He died at last, at Cawood-castle, March 29, 1628, and was buried in our lady's chapel at the east end of the cathedral at York, in the eighty-second year of his age; leaving behind him Frances

his wife *, by whom he had several children, but only two (so far as we can learn) that survived him, namely Samuel, his mother's favourite, who died at Peter-house, in Cambridge; and Sir Tobie Matthew, knt. 'Who (says 'Fuller) had all his father's name, and many of his natu-'ral parts, but had few of his moral virtues, and fewer of 'his spiritual graces, as being an inveterate enemy to the 'Protestant religion.'

We will conclude his life, with characters given him by two different authors. 'He was certainly (says our 'first author) one of the most eminent divines of this na-'tion, considered either in the schools, the pulpit, or the 'episcopal chair, even Campian himself, his Romish anta-'gonist, confessing that 'he rules in the assemblies' (to 'which Sir Thomas Widdrington adds) 'who alone was 'wont to preside there.' adding, 'whom we love, for 'knowledge and virtue.' The learned Camden's charac-ter is more comprehensive, 'a most excellent divine, in 'whom piety and learning, art with nature strove.' But most of all, that of the excellent bishop Fell, who says of him, 'that he was a man of infinite reading, insomuch, 'that scarce any book, which either the same of its author, 'or the worth of its subject recommended, had escaped 'him; and withal, so happy a memory, that few things he 'read, but were so in his power, as to be readly quoted, 'when occasion required.'

To this we will subjoin Fuller's Account of him in his Church History. 'He was one of a proper person (such 'people, *cæteris paribus*, and sometimes *cæteris impari-'bus*, were preferred by the queen) and an excellent 'preacher, Campian himself confessing, that he did *domi-nari*

* Frances Matthew was first married to Matthew Parker, son to Mat-thew Parker archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards to our archbishop. She was a woman of exemplary wisdom, gravity, piety, beauty, and indeed, in all other virtues, not only above her sex, but the times. One exemplary act of hers, first devised upon this church, and through it flowing upon the country, deserves to live as long as the church itself. The library of our archbishop deceased, consisting of three thousand books, she gave entirely to the use of this church. A rare example, that so great care to advance learning, should lodge in a woman's breast! But it was the less wonder in her, because herself was related to so much learning. She was the daugh-ter of bishop Barlow; she had four sisters married to four bishops, one to William Wickham, bishop of Winchester, another to Overton, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, a third to Westphaling, bishop of Hereford, and a fourth to Day, that succeeding Wickham in Winchester. So that a bishop was her father, an archbishop her father-in-law, she had four bishops her brethren, and an archbishop her husband.

'*nari Concionibus.* He was of a chearful spirit, yet with-
'out any trespass on episcopal gravity. None could con-
'demn him for his pleasant wit, though often he would
'condemn himself, as so inhabited therein, he could as
'well not be, as not be merry, and not take up an inno-
'cent jest as it lay in the way of his discourse. One
'passage must not be forgotten. After he had arrived
'at his greatness, he made one journey into the West, to
'visit his two mothers; her that bare him at Bristol, and
'her that bred him in learning, the university of Oxford.
'Coming near to the latter, attended with a train suitable
'to his present condition, he was met almost with an
'equal number, who came out of Oxford to give him en-
'tertainment. Thus augmented with another troop, and
'remembering he had passed over a small water a poor
'scholar, when first coming to the university, he kneeled
'down and took up the expression of Jacob, *With my staff*
'*came I over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands.*'

His WORKS. We know of nothing that was published during his own life, but his "*Concio Apologetica contra Campianum*, in Deuteron. xxxii. 7. first printed anno 1581, and again in 1638, at Oxford, 8vo." Dr Fuller has since exhibited a large letter, which was elegantly penned by him in the name of the Convocation, about archbishop Grindal's suspension; and Dr Parr another to Mr Usher, afterwards archbishop of Armagh. Dr Smith has also printed a letter of his to Mr Camden. These are all that are genuine, (for that in 'the Cabala' is of George Abbot archbishop of Canterbury) except one that Mr Strype has published, a remarkable letter of his concerning the memorable Hampton-court Conference, from the original in his library. Dr Fervour mentions his "manuscript Notes upon all the ancient Fathers," which he had not only read with a diligent eye, but noted them with a judicious pen, 'as mine own eyes (adds Dr Fervour) are 'witnesses.' These, it is presumed, are safely lodged in the archives of his cathedral church at York, to which his relict bequeathed his library.

THOMAS

THOMAS JAMES.

THOMAS JAMES, a learned English critic and divine, was born about the year 1571, at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and being put to Winchester School, became a scholar upon the foundation, and thence, in his course, a fellow of New-college in Oxford, in the year 1593.

He commenced master of arts in 1599, and the same year, having collated several manuscripts of the Philobiblion of Richard of Durham, he published it in quarto at Oxford, with an appendix of the Oxford manuscripts; he dedicated this piece to Sir Thomas Bodley, apparently in the view of recommending himself to this librarian's place when he should have completed his design. In the interim, Mr James proceeded in the same spirit to publish a catalogue of all the manuscripts in each college library in both universities, and in the compiling of it having free access to the manuscripts in each college at Oxford, he perused them carefully, and, when he found any society careless of them, he borrowed and took away what he pleased, and put them into the public library. These instances of his taste and turn to books, effectually procured him the designation of the founder to be the first keeper of the public library; in which office he was confirmed by the university, in the year 1602. He filled this post with great applause, and commencing doctor in divinity in 1614, was promoted to the subdeanery of Wells by the bishop of that see. About the same time the archbishop of Canterbury also presented him to the rectory of Mongeham in Kent, together with other spiritual preferments. These favours were undeniably strong evidences of his distinguished merit, being conferred upon him without any application on his part.

In the year 1620, he was made a justice of the peace, and the same year he resigned the library-keeper's place, and betook himself more intensely to his studies, and of what kind these were we learn from himself: "I have "of late, (says he, in a letter dated May 23, 1624, to a "friend) given myself only to the reading of manuscripts, "and in them I find so many and so pregnant testimonies,

"either

" either fully for our religion, or against the papists, that " it is to be wondered at." And in another letter to archbishop Usher, the same year, he assures the primate he had restored three hundred citations and rescued them from corruptions, in thirty quires of paper*. He had before written to his grace upon the same subject, in a letter dated January 28, 1623, where having observed that in *Sixtus senensis*, *Alphonsus de Castro*, and *Antonius's Summæ*, there were about five hundred bastard brevities, and about a thousand places in the true authors which are corrupted; that he had diligently noted, and would shortly vindicate them out of the manuscripts, being yet only conjectures of the learned, he proceeds to acquaint his grace, that he had gotten together the flower of the English divines, who would voluntarily join with him in the search. " Some " fruits of their labours (continues he,) if your lordship " desires, I will send up. And might I be but so happy, " as to have other twelve thus bestowed; four in tran- " scribing orthodox writers, whereof we have plenty, that " for the substantial points have maintained our religion " (forty or fifty pounds would serve;) four to compare " old points with the new; four other to compare the " Greek translations by the papists, as Vedelius hath done " with Ignatius, wherein he hath been somewhat helped " by my pains; I would not doubt but to drive the pa- " pists out of all their starting holes. But alas! my " lord, I have not encouragement from our bishops. " Preferment I seek none at their hands; only forty or " sixty pounds per annum for others is that I seek, which " being gained, the cause is gained, notwithstanding their " (the papists) brags in their late books."

In the convocation held with the parliament at Oxford, in 1625, of which he was a member, he moved to have proper commissioners appointed to collate the manuscripts of the fathers in all the libraries in England, with the popish editions, in order to detect the forgeries in these last. And this project not meeting with the desired encouragement †, he was so thoroughly persuaded of the great advantage

* These two letters are in the collection at the end of Parr's Life of archbishop Usher, numb. 66. and 77.

† We may form a probable conjecture of his plain, from a passage in the just cited letter to archbishop Usher, where he expresses himself thus, " Mr Briggs will satisfy you in this and sundry other projects " of mine, if they miscarry not for want of maintenance: It would de- " serve a prince's purse. If I was in Germany, the state would defray " all charges. Cannot our estates supply what is wanting? If every " churchman

vantage it would be both the Protestant religion and learning, that arduous as the task was, he set about executing it himself, and had made a good progress in it, as appears from his works, a catalogue of which we shall subjoin; and no doubt would have proceeded much farther towards completing his design, had not he been prevented by his death, which happening in August 1629, at his house in a suburb called Holywell in Oxford, he was interred in New-college chapel.

Mr Wood informs us, that he left behind him the character of being the most industrious and indefatigable writer against the papists that had been educated in Oxford since the Reformation; and in reality his designs were so much, and so well known to be for the public benefit of learning and the church of England, that Camden, speaking of him in his life-time, says, 'He is a learned man 'and a true lover of books, wholly dedicated to learning, 'who is now laboriously searching the libraries of Eng-'land, and proposeth that for the public good which will 'be for the great benefit of England.'

A list of his WORKS. "1. *Philobiblion R. Dunelmensis*, 1559, 4to. 2. *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, Lond. 1600, 4to. 3. *Cyprianus Redivivus*, &c. printed with the *Ecloga*. 4. *Spicilegium divi Augustini hoc est libri de fide ad Pet. Diacon*, &c. *collatio & castigatio*, printed also with the *Ecloga*. 5. *Bellum papale seu concordia discors Sext.* V. & *Clementis* VIII. *circa Hieronym. Edition*. Lond. 1600, 4to. and 1678, 8vo. 6. *Catalogus librorum in bibliotheca Bodleianâ*, Oxf. 1605. 4to. reprinted with many additions in 4to. 1620, to which was added an Appendix in 1636: In this catalogue is inserted that of all the manuscripts then in the Bodl. Library. 7. *Concordantiæ S. patrum*, i. e. *vera et pia libri Canticorum per patres universos*, &c. Oxf. 1607, 4to. 8. Apology for John Wickliffe, &c. Oxf. 1608, 4to, to this is added the life of John Wickliffe. 6. A Treatise of the Corruption of Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers, Lond. 1611, 4to. and 1688, 8vo. this is reckoned his principal work. 10. The Jesuits Downfall threatened—for their wicked Lives, accursed Manners, heretical Doctrine,

" churchman that hath a hundred pounds *per annum* and upwards, will lay " down but a shilling for every hundred towards these public works, I " will undertake the reprinting of the fathers, and setting forth of five or " six orthodox writers, comparing of books printed with printed or writ-" ten: collating of popish translations in Greek; and generally whatsoever " shall concern books or the purity of them. I will take upon me to be a " *magister S. Palatii* in England, if I be thereunto lawfully required."

trine, and more than *Machiavilian* Policy, Oxf. 1612, 4to. to this is added the Life of Father Parsons, an English Jesuit. 11. *Filius papæ papalis* ch. 1. Lond. 1621; translated from Latin into English by William Crashaw: Our Author's name is not put to it. 12. *Index generalis sanct. Patrum ad singulos versus cap.* v. *secundum Matthæum, &c.* Lond. 1624, 8vo. 13. *Notæ ad Georg. Wicelium de Methodo Concordiæ Ecclesiasticæ, &c.* 1625, 8vo. 14. *Vindiciæ Gregorianæ seu Restitutis Gregorius Magnus ex manuscrip. &c. Genevæ* 1625. 15. Manuduction, or Introduction unto Divinity, &c. Oxf. 1625. 4to. 16. Humble and earnest request to the Church of England, for and in behalf of Books touching Religion, in one sheet, 8vo. 1625. 17. Explanation or enlarging of the Ten Articles in his Supplication lately exhibited to the Clergy of the Church of England, Oxf. 1625, 4to. 18. *Specimen Coruptelarum Pontificiorum in Cypriano, Ambrosio, Greg. Magno, &c.* Lond. 1626. 19. *Index Librorum prohibitorum a Pontificiis,* Oxf. 1627, 8vo. 20. *Admonitio ad Theologos Protestantes de Libris Pontificiorum caute Legendis, manuscr.* 21. *Enchiridion Theologicum, manuscr.* 22. *Liber de suspicionibus & Conjectaris, manuscr.* These three Mr Wood says he saw in the Lambeth Library, under D. 42, 3; but whether printed, says he, I know not; perhaps the *Enchiridion* is. Dr James likewise translated, from French into English, the moral Philosophy of the Stoics, Lond. 1598, 8vo. and published two short treatises against the order of begging friars, written by Wickliffe; and a book entitled, *Fiscus Papalis: sive Catalogus Indulgentiarum, &c.* Lond. 1617, 4to. but some were of opinion this book was published by William Crashaw, already mentioned. Several letters of our Author are published in the Appendix to Parr's Life of archbishop Usher.

SEBASTIAN

SEBASTIAN BENEFIELD.

SEBASTIAN BENEFIELD, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was born August 12, 1559. at Prestonbury in Gloucestershire. He was educated at Oxford, being admitted, at seventeen years of age, a scholar of Corpus-Christi-college, August 30, 1586; and probationer-fellow of the same house, April 16, 1590. After he had taken the degree of master of arts, he went into holy orders, and distinguished himself as a preacher.

In 1599, he was appointed rhetoric reader of his college, and the year following was admitted to the reading of the sentences. In 1608, he took the degree of doctor in divinity, and five years after was chosen margaret-professor in that university. He filled the divinity chair with great reputation, and after fourteen years resigned it. He had been presented several years before, to the rectory of Meysey-Hampton, near Fairford in Gloucestershire, upon the ejection of his predecessor for Simony; and now he retired to that benefice, and spent there the short remainder of his life (about four years) in a pious and devout retreat from the world.

Dr Benefield was so eminent a scholar, disputant, and divine, and particularly so well versed in the fathers and schoolmen, that he had not his equal in the university. He was strongly attached to the doctrinal opinions of Calvin, especially that of predestination; insomuch that Humphrey Leach calls him *a downright and doctrinal Calvinist.* He has been branded likewise with the character of a schismatic: But Dr Ravis, bishop of London, acquitted him of this imputation, and declared him to be *free from schism, and much abounding in science.* He was remarkable for strictness of life and sincerity; of a retired and sedentary disposition, and consequently less easy and affable in conversation.

This worthy divine died in the parsonage house of Meysey-Hampton, August 24, 1630, and was buried in the chancel of his parish church, the twenty-ninth of the same month.

His

His WORKS are: " 1. *Doctrinæ Christianæ sex Capita totidem Prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniensi pro forma habitis discussa et disceptata;* i. e. Six points of Christian Doctrine discussed and examined in as many lectures, read in the divinity school of Oxford. Oxon. 1610. 4to. 2. *Appendix ad Caput secundum de Consiliis Evangelicis, &c. adversus Humphredum Leach;* i. e. An Appendix to the second point concerning the Counsels of the Gospel, &c. in answer to Humphrey Leach. This is printed with the foregoing treatise. 3. Eight Sermons, publicly preached in the university of Oxford, the second at St Peter's in the East, the rest at St Mary's church. Began Dec. 14. 1595. Oxf. 1614. 4to. 4. The Sin against the Holy Ghost discovered, and other Christian doctrines delivered in twelve sermons upon part of the tenth Charter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Oxf. 1615, 4to. 5. A Commentary, or exposition upon the first chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons in the parish church of Mesey-Hampton in the diocese of Gloucester. Oxf. 1613. 4to. This work was translated into Latin by Henry Jackson of Corpus-Christi-college, and printed at Oppenheim, in 1615, 8vo. 6. Several Sermons, as the Christian Liberty, &c. on the 1 Cor. ix. 19. Ox. 1613, 8vo. This sermon was preached at Wooton Underedge, before the clergy at an episcopal visitation, and was printed with his Commentary on Amos. A Sermon at St Mary's in Oxford, on Psal. xxi. 6. preached March 24, 1610, being King James's inauguration-day, Oxf. 1611. 4to. The Haven of the afflicted, preached at the cathedral church of Gloucester, August 10, 1613, on Amos iii. 6. Lond. 1620, 4to. 7. A Commentary, or Exposition upon the second chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons, in the parish church of Meysey-Hampton, &c. Lond. 1620, 4to. 8. *Prælectiones de perseverantia Sanctorum;* i. e. Lectures on the perseverance of the Saints. Francfort, 1618. 8vo. 9. A Commentary, or Exposition on the third chapter of Amos, &c. Lond. 1629. 4to. 10. There is extant likewise a Latin Sermon of Dr Bedefield's on Rev. v. 10. Printed in 1616. 4to.

JOHN

JOHN DONNE, D. D.

DEAN OF ST PAUL'S.

DR JOHN DONNE, was born in London, of and virtuous parents, in the year 1573; his fathe lineally descended from a very ancient family in V where many of his name now live, of great reputat that country. By his mother he was descended fro family of the famous Sir Thomas More, lord chance England; and also from the worthy and laborious Rastall, who abridged the statutes of this kingdom.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, v private tutor had the care of him, till he was eleve of age; he was then sent to the university of C having at that time a command of the French an tongues, when others can scarce speak their own. he remained in Hart-hall, (having for the advar of his studies, tutors in several sciences to instru till time and his learning declared him fit to rec first degree in the schools; which however he for advice from his friends, who being of the Romish sion, were extremely averse to some parts of the ways tendered and taken at those times. Here it served of him, as it had formerly been of the fam cus Mirandula, that 'he was rather born wise th 'so by study!' so early did he discover his acute capacity!

About the fourteenth year of his age, he w planted from Oxford to Cambridge, where he st seventeenth year. All which time he was a nic ous student, often changing his studies, but end to take no degree for the reasons before mentio bout his seventeenth year he was removed to Lo entered into Lincoln's-inn, with an intent to stud where he gave great testimonies of wit, learning provement in that profession, which never serve any use, but only for ornament. His father d his admission into that society, and (being a left him his portion in money, which was three

pounds. His mother, and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him there also tutors in several sciences, as in the mathematics and others, to attend and instruct him. But with these arts they were advised to instil the particular principles of the Romish church, of which those tutors (though secretly) professed themselves to be members. They had almost won him to their faith, having for their advantage, besides their opportunity, the example of his most dear parents, which was a powerful persuasion, and did work much upon him, as he professed in the preface to his "Pseudo-Martyr."

He now entered into the nineteenth year of his age, and being unresolved in his religion, he thought it necessary to settle all scruples which concerned that important point: And therefore waving the law, and attaching himself to no art or profession, he began to survey the body of divinity, controverted between the Reformed and Roman churches. And as GOD's blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him (these are his own words), so he calls the same Spirit to witness to his protestation, that in that search and disquisition he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself, by the safest way of frequent prayers, and indifferent affection to both parties. And indeed, the truth had too much light about her, to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had seen her. "I had a larger work (says he) "to do in this inquiry, than many other men; for I was "to blot out certain impressions of the Roman religion, "and to wrestle both against the examples and against "the reasons by which some hold was taken, and some "anticipations early laid upon my conscience, both by "persons who by nature had a power and superiority over "my will, and others who, by their learning and good "life, seemed to me justly to claim an interest for the "guiding and rectifying of mine understanding in these "matters."

Being to undertake this search, he believed the learned cardinal Bellarmine to be the best defender of the Roman cause; and therefore undertook the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty, and wilful delays had been inexcuseable towards GOD and his own conscience; he therefore proceeded with all moderate haste: And before he entered into the twentieth year of his age, shewed the dean of Gloucester all the cardinal's works marked with many

many weighty observations under his own hand, which works were bequeathed by him at his death as a legacy to a most dear friend. The result of his inquiry was a thorough conversion to Protestantism; to which, says he, "I "was not transported by any sudden and violent deter- "mination, till I had, to the measure of my poor wit "and judgment, surveyed and digested the whole body "of divinity, controverted between our's and the Romish "church.

About the twenty-first year of his age, he resolved to travel; and, in the years 1596 and 1597, accompanied the earl of Essex in his expedition against Cadiz and the Azors Islands. But he returned not into England till he had staid a convenient time, first in Italy and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws, and government, and returned into England perfect in their languages. He also intended to go to the Holy Land, but was prevented by the disappointment of company and a safe convoy.

Not long after his return, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the lord Elsmore, lord keeper of the great seal, and afterwards chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting both his person and condition, received him to be his chief secretary, supposing it might be an introduction to some more weighty employment in the state, for which his lordship often protested he thought him very well qualified. Nor did his lordship account him so much to be his servant, as to forget he had been his friend; and to testify it, he used him always with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he esteemed his company and discourse a great ornament. He continued that employment with much love and approbation, being daily useful (and not mercenary) to his friends, for the space of five years; in which time, he fell in love with a young lady who lived in that family, niece to the lady Elsmore, and daughter to Sir George More, chancellor of the garter, and lieutenant of the tower.

Sir George had some intimation of their love, and, the better to prevent it, removed his daughter to his own house, but too late, by reason of some promises interchangeably past, and inviolably to be kept between them. Their love (a passion, which of all other mankind is least able to command, and in which most errors are committed) was in them so powerful, that they resolved, and, in the year 1602, did marry without the approbation of those friends,

friends, who might justly claim an interest in the advising and disposing of them. Being married, the news was (in favour to Mr Donne, and with his allowance) by the right honourable Henry, then earl of Northumberland, secretly and certainly intimated to Sir George More, to whom it was so immeasurably unwelcome, that (as though his passion of anger and inconsideration should exceed theirs of love and error) he engaged his sister, the lady Elsmore, to join with him to procure her lord to discharge Mr Donne from the place he held under his lordship. And although Sir George was reminded that errors might be over-punished, and therefore was desired to forbear, till second considerations had cleared some scruples; yet he was restless till his suit was granted, and the punishment executed; the lord chancellor, at Mr Donne's dismission, protesting, he thought him a secretary fitter for a king than a subject. But this physic of Mr Donne's was not strong enough to purge out all Sir George's choler, who was not satisfied till Mr Donne and his com-pupil in Cambridge that married him, Mr Samuel Brooke, who was after D. D. and master of Trinity College in that university, and his brother, Mr Christopher Brooke of Lincoln's-inn, who gave Mr Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to several prisons.

Mr Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body, his brain, nor any friend, in whom he might hope to have any interest, till he had procured the enlargement of his two imprisoned friends. He was now at liberty, but his wife, to her extreme sorrow, was detained from him. And though with Jacob, he endured not a hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to get possession of her by a long suit in law, which proved very chargeable and more troublesome.

It was not long ere time, and Mr Donne's behaviour, which, when it would entice, had a strange kind of irresistible art, had so dispassioned his father-in-law, that, as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not choose but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son, which melted him into so much remorse, that he secretly laboured his son's restoration into his place, using his own and his sister's power, but with no success; the lord chancellor replying, that, although he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it stood not with his credit to discharge and re-admit servants, at the request of passionate petitioners. In a short time, Sir George appeared to be so far reconciled as to wish their happiness,

(or

(or say so;) and being asked for his paternal blessing, did not deny it; but refused to contribute any means, that might conduce to their support.

Mr Donne's portion was, for the most part, spent in many and chargeable travels, and the rest disbursed in some few books, and dear bought experience; he out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been genteelly educated; his nature generous, and he accustomed to confer, not to receive favours. These and other considerations, but chiefly that his dear wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many and sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want. But his sorrow was lessened, and his wants prevented, by the seasonable friendship of their noble kinsman, Sir Francis Wolley, of Pitford in Surrey, who intreated them to a co-habitation with him; where they remained with very much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him, for many years: And as their charge increased (for she had yearly a child) so did his love and bounty.

With him they continued till his death; a little before which time, Sir Frances was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George More and his forsaken son and daughter; Sir George then giving bond to pay Mr Donne eight hundred pounds at a certain day as a portion with his wife, and to pay him for their maintenance twenty pound quarterly, as the interest of it, until the said portion were paid. Most of those years that he lived with Sir Frances, he studied the civil and canon laws; in which he acquired such a perfection as was judged to hold some proportion with many, who had made that study the employment of their whole life. About this time, he was solicited by Dr Morton, afterwards bishop of Durham, to go into orders, and to accept of a benefice, which the doctor would have resigned to him. But he declined this offer for many reasons, but chiefly "because some former "irregularities of his life had been too notorious, not to "expose him to the censure of the world, and perhaps "bring dishonour to the sacred function. Besides, being "determined by the best casuists, that God's glory should "be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive, "to embrace that calling, his present condition was such, "that he feared he could not reconcile his conscience to "that rule."

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr Donne took a house at Mitcham, near Croydon in Surrey,

rey, where his wife and family remained; and for himself, having occasion to be often in London, he took lodgings near White-hall, where he was frequently visited by men of the greatest learning in this kingdom; his company being loved, and much desired by many of the nobility of this nation, who used him in their counsels of greatest considerations. Nor did our own nobility only favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was usually sought for by most ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers, whose learning or employment occasioned their stay in this kingdom.

He was much importuned by friends to make his residence in London, which he could not do, having settled his dear wife and children at Mitcham, whither he often retired himself, and then studied incessantly some points of controversy. But at last the persuasion of friends was so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London; where Sir Robert Drury assigned him a very convenient house rent-free, next his own in Drury-lane, and was also a daily cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his in their joy and sorrow.

Several of the nobility were watchful and solicitous to the king for some preferment for him. His majesty had formerly both known, and much valued him, and had given him some hopes of a state employment, being much pleased that Mr Donne attended him, especially at his meals, where there were usually many deep discourses of learning, and often friendly disputes of religion betwixt the king and those divines, whose places required their attendance on his majesty; particularly, bishop Mountague, then dean of the chapel, who was the publisher of the king's works, and the most learned Dr Andrews, then his majesty's almoner, and at his death bishop of Winchester.

In April, 1610, he was incorporated master of arts in the university of Oxford, having before taken the same degree in Cambridge. About two years afterwards he accompanied Sir Robert Drury to Paris; where he is said to have had a most extraordinary vision. Mr Walton informs us, that, when Sir Robert requested him to go, Mrs Donne, who was then with child, and under an ill habit of body, expressed an unwillingness, saying, 'that 'her divining soul boded some ill in his absence:' But, upon Sir Robert's being importunate, she at last consented. Two days after their arrival, Mr Donne was

left alone in a room, where himself, Sir Robert, and some friends had dined together: To which Sir Robert returning in an hour, as he left, so he found Mr Donne alone, but in such an extacy, and so altered in his countenance, that Sir Robert could not look upon him without amazement. He asked him, in God's name, what had befallen him in the short time of his absence: Mr Donne was not able to answer directly; but, after a long and perplexed pause, at last said,

"I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you: I "have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this "room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and "a dead child in her arms. This I have seen since I "saw you." To which Sir Robert answered: 'Sure, 'sir, you have slept since I went out; and this is the 'result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you 'to forget, for you are now awake.' Mr Donne answered; "I cannot be surer that I now live, than that I "have not slept since I saw you; and am as sure, that "at her second appearing she stopped, looked me in the "face, and vanished."

A servant was immediately dispatched to Drury-house, to know, whether Mrs Donne was living, and, if alive, in what condition; who brought word, that he found and left her very sad and sick in bed, and that, after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be on the same day, and about the same hour, that Mr Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in the room. Mr Walton observes, that though he had not this story from Mr Donne himself, yet he had it from a person of honour, and the strictest intimacy with Mr Donne, who affirmed the truth of it with the most solemn asseverations. Before this journey into France, during his stay there, and after his return, many of the nobility and others solicited the king to confer some secular employment on him: But his majesty, considering him better qualified for the service of the church, did not listen to their application. For, the disputes concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy having lately been agitated, our Author, by K. James's special command, had written a treatise on that subject, which was printed at London in the year 1610, in 4to. The king himself had engaged in this controversy, as appears by his works still extant: But, discoursing with Mr Donne upon the subject, he was so pleased with his clearness in stating the objections,

objections made to the taking those oaths, and with his answers to them, that he commanded him to draw them up in form, and bring them to him. This Mr Donne performed in the compass of six weeks; and they were published under the title of "Pseudo-martyr; wherein "out of certain propositions and gradations this con-"clusion is evicted, that those, who are of the Roman "religion in this kingdom, may and ought to take the "oath of allegiance." It is dedicated to the king, with a preface addressed to the priests and Jesuits, and to their disciples in this kingdom.

His majesty was now very pressing to have him enter into holy orders. Mr Donne himself has informed us, that "he almost descended to a persuasion, almost to a "solicitation of him to do it." Desirous however to qualify himself for the sacred function by a closer application to divinity and the learned languages, he deferred his compliance with the king's solicitations, till about three years after. He was then ordained by Dr John King, bishop of London, who was his good friend, and had been chaplain to the lord-keeper Egerton, at the same time that Mr Donne was his secretary.

He was presently after made one of the chaplains in ordinary to his majesty; and, about the same time, attending the king to Cambridge, he was there created doctor in divinity at his majesty's recommendation. Immediately upon his return from Cambridge, his wife died on the seventh day after the birth of her twelfth child. This calamity, which happened upon the fifteenth of August, 1617, overwhelmed him with grief. 'She left, 'says Mr Walton) a man of a narrow unsettled estate, 'and (having buried five) the careful father of seven 'children then living; to whom he gave a voluntary 'assurance never to bring them under the subjection of a 'step-mother: Which promise he kept most faithfully, 'burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most 'dear and deserving wife's grave; and betook himself to 'a solitary and retired life.—His first motion from his 'house was to preach, where his beloved wife lay buried, 'in St Clement's-church, near Temple-bar, London; and 'his text was part of the prophet Jeremiah's Lamen-'tations: Lo, I AM THE MAN THAT HAVE SEEN AF-'FLICTION!'

'Forwardness and inconsideration (says his biographer) 'could not in him (as in many others) argue an in-'sufficiency; for he considered long, and had many

'strifes within himself concerning the strictness of life, 'and competency of learning required in such as enter 'into sacred orders: And, doubtless (considering his own 'demerits) did with meek Moses humbly asked God, Who 'am I? And if he had consulted with flesh and blood, 'he had not put his hand to that holy plough: But 'God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him, as the 'angel did with Jacob, and marked him for his own, 'marked him with a blessing, a blessing of obedience to 'the motions of his blessed Spirit: And then as he had 'formerly asked God humbly with Moses, *Who am I?* 'so now (being inspired with the apprehension of God's 'mercies) he did ask King David's thankful question, *Lord, 'who am I, that thou art so mindful of me?* So mindful 'of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through 'a wilderness of the many temptations and various turn- 'ings of a dangerous life? So mindful, as to move the 'learnedest of kings to descend to move me to serve at 'thine altar? So merciful to me, as to move my heart to 'embrace this holy motion? Thy motions I will embrace, 'take the cup of salvation, call upon thy name, and 'preach thy gospel.'

Now all his studies (which were occasionally diffused) were concentered in divinity; now he had a new calling, new thoughts, new employment for his wit and eloquence. Now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love, and all the faculties of his soul were engaged in the conversion of others, in preaching glad tidings, remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each troubled soul: To this he applied himself with all care and diligence; and such a change was wrought in him, that he rejoiced more *to be a door-keeper in the house of God*, than to enjoy any temporal employment.

And though his long familiarity with persons of the greatest quality was such, as would have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any auditory; yet his modesty was so great, that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually to preach in some private churches, in villages near London, till the king appointed him a day to preach to him. And though the king and others expected much from him, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to satisfy and exceed their expectations: Preaching the word so, as shewed he was possessed with those joys that he laboured to instil into others: A Preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them, always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud,

though

though in none; exciting the affections of others, and feeling the most lively motions of his own.

Within the first year of his taking orders, he had no fewer than fourteen advowsons of benefices offered him; but, being unwilling to leave London, he refused them all, they lying in the country. In the latter end of the year 1617, he was chosen Preacher of the society of Lincoln's-inn. Here he received every mark of love and respect; he constantly and faithfully preaching, and they liberally and amply requiting him. In this situation he remained near three years; about the end of which time, the emperor of Germany dying, and the troubles in Bohemia breaking out, K. James appointed lord Doncaster his ambassador to the new emperor, and expressly commanded Dr Donne to attend him. This was very much to lord Doncaster's satisfaction, and to the wishes of his other friends, who feared that his incessant studies, and sorrow for the loss of his beloved wife, would shorten his days.

At his going, he left his friends of Lincoln's-inn, and they him with much reluctance; for though he could not say as St Paul to the Ephesians, *Behold, you to whom I have preached the kingdom of God, shall henceforth see my face no more;* yet he (being in a consumption) questioned it, and they feared it, considering his troubled mind, which, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body. But GOD turned it to the best; for this employment did not only divert him from those studies and sad thoughts, but gave him a new and true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his honoured mistress, the queen of Bohemia, in a foreign land, (who having formerly known him a courtier) was most glad to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his most excellent and powerful preaching.

Within fourteen months he returned to his friends of Lincoln's-inn, with his sorrows much moderated, and his health improved.

About a year after his return from Germany, Dr Cary was made bishop of Exeter, and by his removal, the deanery of St Paul's being vacant, the king appointed Dr Donne to wait on him at dinner the next day; and his majesty (being set down) before he ate any meat, said (after his pleasant manner) 'Dr Donne, I have invited 'you to dinner, and though you sit not down with me, 'yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love;

'you

'you love London well: I do, therefore, make you dean 'of Paul's; take your meat home to your study, say grace, 'and much good may it do you.'

Immediately after he came to his deanery, he employed workmen to repair the chapel belonging to his house. The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir George More, who now admired and dearly loved him, came to pay him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he denied to receive it, and said to his father, (as good Jacob said when he heard Joseph his son lived) "*It is* "*enough*, you have been kind to me, and careful of "mine; I am, I thank my God, provided for, and will "receive this money no longer:" And not long after he freely gave up his bond of eight hundred pounds. Soon after he was settled in his deanery, the vicarage of St Dunstan's in the west fell to him by the death of Dr White, the advowson being formerly given to him by the earl of Dorset a little before his death, and confirmed to him by his brother and successor. By these, and another ecclesiastical endowment (which fell to him about the same time) he was enabled to be charitable to the poor, and to make a suitable provision for his children.

The next parliament following, in 1628-4, he was chosen prolocutor to the convocation, and about that time, by the appointment of his majesty, preached many occasional sermons: all which he performed not only with the approbation, but to the admiration of the representative body of the clergy of this kingdom; particularly his Latin speech on his inauguration, which is still extant in the collection of his poems.

He was once (and but once) clouded with the king's displeasure. It was, about this time, occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who assured the king that Dr Donne had preached a sermon that implied a dislike of his government, particularly of his late directions, that the evening lectures on Sundays should be turned into catechising, expounding the commandments, belief, and Lord's prayer. His majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that, about the same time, a person of ability of great note in the kingdom, and favour with the king (whom his majesty knew Dr Donne loved very much) was discarded the court, and presently after committed to prison, which begot many rumours in the multitude.

The king suffered not the sun to set, till he had searched out the truth of this report, but sent presently for doctor Donne, and required his answer to the accusation; which

which was so satisfactory, that the king said he was glad he rested not under that suspicion. Doctor Donne protested his answer was faithful, and free from all collusion; and therefore begged of his majesty that he might not rise, being then kneeling, before he had (as in like cases he always had from GOD) some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his majesty's opinion. The king with his own hand did, or offered to raise him from his knees, and protested he was truly satisfied that he was an honest man, and loved him. Presently his majesty called some lords of his council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness, 'My doctor is an honest man; and, my 'lords, I was never more joyed in any thing that I have 'done, than in making him a divine.'

He was made dean in the fiftieth year of his age; and in the fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which turned to a spotted fever, and ended in a cough, that inclined him to a consumption. But GOD, as Job thankfully acknowledgeth, preserved his spirit, keeping his intellects clear and perfect. And as his health increased, so did his thankfulness, testified in his book of Devotions; a book that may not unfitly be called, *a Composition of holy Exstasies*, occasioned by, and applicable to the emergencies of that sickness, which book (being meditations in his sickness) he wrote on his sick-bed; herein imitating the holy patriarchs who were wont in that place to build their altars, where they had received their blessing.

This sickness brought him to the gates of death; and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he calls his recovery supernatural. But God restored his health, and continued it until the fifty-ninth year of his life: And then, in August, 1630, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs Hervey, at Abery-Hatch in Essex, he fell into a fever, which, with the help of his constant infirmity, *vapours from the spleen*, hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as St Paul of himself, *he dies daily*; and he might say with Job, *my welfare passeth away as a cloud; the days of affliction have taken hold of me; and weary nights are appointed for me.*

This sickness continued long, not only weakening, but wearing him out. But before we give an account of his death, it may neither be impertinent nor unprofitable to look back upon some of the transactions of his life, and to make a reflection or two upon them.

The recreations of his youth were poetry, in which he was very happy, and discovered the most poignant and

excellent wit. Even in those places which were carelessly written in his younger days, there are abundant proofs of the strength and sublimity of his genius.

It is a truth, that in his riper years, viewing some of those pieces loosely scattered in his youth, he wished they had never been: But, though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry as to forsake it; no not in his declining age; witness his many divine sonnets, and other holy and harmonious composures; even on his sick-bed, he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy he had in the assurance of GOD's mercy to him.

A Hymn to GOD the Father.

" WILT thou forgive that sin where I begun,
" Which was *my* sin, though it were done before?
" Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
" And doe run still, though still I doe implore?
" When thou hast done, thou hast not done;
" For I have more.

" Wilt thou forgive that sin which I have won
" Others to sin, and made my sin their dore?
" Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
" A year or two, but wallowed in, a score?
" When thou hast done, thou hast not done;
" For I have more.

" I have a sin of feare, that when I have spun
" My last thread, I shall perish on the shore;
" But sweare by thy selfe, that at my death thy Sonne
" Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
" And, having done that thou hast done;
" I fear no more."

And on his death-bed he wrote another hymn, which bears this title,

" A Hymne to God, my God, in my sicknesse."

The latter part of his life was a continued study, Saturdays only excepted, which he usually spent in visiting friends, and resting himself under the weary burthen of his week's meditations; and he gave himself this rest, that thereby he might be refreshed and enabled to do the work of the day following, not negligently, but with courage and chearfulness.

He prepared to leave the world before life left him, making his will while in perfect health, and with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father, by making his children's portions equal; a constant lover of his friends, by particular legacies, discreetly chosen, and fitly bequeathed them; and full of charity to the poor, and many others, who by his long continued bounty might entitle themselves, *his alms-people*. For all these he made provision, so largely, as, having six children, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. The Reader will think the particulars not impertinent, if we present him with the beginning and conclusion of his last will.

"IN the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, "Amen. I, John Donne, by the mercy of Christ Jesus, "and the calling of the church of England, priest, being "at this time in good and perfect understanding, (praised "be God therefore) do hereby make my last will and "testament in manner and form following.

"First, I give my gracious God an intire sacrifice of "body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that "assurance which his blessed Spirit imprints in me now "of the salvation of the one, and of the resurrection of "the other; and for that constant and chearful resolution "which the same Spirit established in me, to live and die "in the religion now professed in the church of England: "In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may "be buried (in the most private manner that may be) in "that place of St Paul's-church, London, that the now "residentiaries have at my request assigned for that pur-"pose, &c.

"And this my last will and testament made in the fear "of God, (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly "rely upon in Jesus Christ) and in perfect love and cha-"rity with all the world, whose pardon I ask, from the "lowest of my servants to the highest of my superiors. "Written all with mine own hand, and my name sub-"scribed to every page, being five in number."

Nor was his charity expressed only at his death, but in his life, by a chearful and frequent visitation of friends, whose minds were dejected, or fortunes necessitous. And he redeemed many out of prison that lay for small debts, or for their fees. He was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this, and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant to all

the

the prisons in London, to distribute his charity, at all festival times in the year. He gave one hundred pounds at one time to a gentleman that he had formerly known live plentifully, and was then decayed in his estate. He was a happy reconciler of differences in many families of his friends and kindred, who had such faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he scarce ever advised them to any thing in vain. He was (even to her death) a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her support, of which she had been destitute, but that GOD raised him up to prevent her necessities; who having sucked in the religion of the Roman church with her mother's milk, (or presently after it) spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in her religion, and died in his house but three months before him.

And, to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his Lord and Master's revenue; it may be necessary to inform our readers, that after his entrance into his deanery, as he numbered his years, and (at the foot of a private account, to which GOD and angels only were witnesses with him) computed first his revenue, then his expences, then what was given to the poor and pious uses, and lastly, what remained for him and his; he blest each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer; which as they discover a more than common devotion, the Reader shall partake some of them in his own words.

1624. 1625. So all is that remains of these two years

Deo opt. max. benigno largitori, à me, & ab iis quibus hæc à me reservantur, gloria, et gratia in eternum. Amen.

1626. So that this year God hath blessed me and mine with

Multiplicatæ sunt super nos misericordiæ tuæ, Domine.

Da Domine, ut quæ ex immensa bonitate tua nobis elargiri dignatus sis, in quorumcunque manus devenerint, in tuam semper cedant gloriam. Amen.

1628. 1629. *In fine horum sex annorum manet*

Quid habeo, quod non accepi à Domino? Largiatur etiam, ut quæ largitus est, sua iterum fiant bono eorum usu, ut quemadmodum, nec officiis hujus mundi, nec loci, in quo me posuit, dignitati, nec servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni curriculo, mihi conscius sum, ne defuisse, ita ut liberi, quibus quæ supersunt,

persunt, supersunt, grato animo ea accipiant, & beneficum Authorem recognoscant. Amen.

But to return from our digression.

We left our Author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend most of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from thence. And having never, during almost twenty years, omitted his personal attendance on his majesty, in his monthly service; nor being ever left out of the number of Lent preachers; and in January following, there being a general report that he was dead; that report occasioned this letter to a familiar friend.

" SIR,

" THIS advantage you and my other friends have by " my frequent feavers, that I am so much the oftner at " the gates of heaven; and this advantage by the solitude " and close imprisonment that they reduce me to after, " that I am so much oftner at my prayers, in which I " shall never leave out your happiness: And I doubt not " but amongst his other blessings, God will add some one " to you for my prayers.

" A man would be almost content to die (if there were " no other benefit in death), to hear of so much sorrow, " and so much good testimony from good men, as I (God " be blessed for it) did upon the report of my death: " Yet I perceive it went not through all; for one writ to " me, that some (and he said of my friends) conceived I " was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself to " live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is an un- " friendly, and (God knows) an ungrounded interpreta- " tion; for I have always been sorrier when I could not " preach, than any could be they could not hear me. It " hath been my desire (and God may be pleased to grant " it) that I might die in the pulpit; if not that, yet " that I might take my death in the pulpit, that is, die " the sooner by occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope " to see you presently after Candlemas, about which time " will fall my Lent sermon at court, except my lord " chamberlain believe me to be dead, and leave me out: " For as long as I live, and am not speechless, I would " not willingly decline that service. I have better leisure " to write, than you to read, yet I would not willingly " oppress you with to much letter: God blesse you and " your son, as I wish

" Your poor friend and servant

" in Christ Jesus,

Jan. 7. 1630. JOHN DONNE."

Before

Before that month ended, he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in Lent, and he had notice of it; and having in sickness prepared for the employment, as he had long thirsted for it; so resolving his weakness should not hinder his journey, he came to London some few days before his day appointed. Being come, many of his friends (who with sorrow saw how his sickness had wasted him), doubted his strength to perform that task; and therefore earnestly intreated him not to undertake it, assuring him however, it was like to shorten his days: But he firmly denied their requests, saying, He would not doubt, that GOD, who in many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would not withdraw it in his last employment, professing a holy ambition to perform that sacred work. And when (to the amazement of some beholders) he appeared in the pulpit, many thought he presented himself, not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body, and dying face. And doubtless many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel, *Do these bones live?* Yet after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his meditations which were upon the subject of dying; the text being, *To God the Lord belong the issues from death.* Many that saw his tears, and heard his hollow voice, professing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr Donne had preached HIS OWN FUNERAL SERMON.

Being full of joy, that GOD had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house, out of which he never moved, till, like St Stephen, he was carried by devout men to his grave: And the next day after his sermon, his spirits being much spent, and he indisposed to discourse, a friend asked him, Why are you sad? To whom he replied after this manner, "I am not sad; "I am in a serious contemplation of the mercies of my "God to me; and now I plainly see, it was his hand that "prevented me from all temporal employment. And I "see it was his will, that I should never settle nor thrive "until I entered into the ministry, in which I have now "lived almost twenty years, (I hope to his glory) and "by which (I most humbly thank him) I have been en-"abled to requite most of those friends, that shewed me "kindness when my fortunes were low. And (as it hath "occasioned the expression of my gratitude) I thank God, "most of them have stood in need of my requital.

"I have

" I have been useful and comfortable to my good father-
" in-law, Sir George More, whose patience God hath been
" pleased to exercise by many temporal crosses. I have
" maintained my own mother, whom it hath pleased God
" after a plentiful fortune in her former times, to bring
" to a great decay in her very old age. I have quieted
" the consciences of many that groaned under the burden
" of a wounded spirit, whose prayers I hope are available
" for me. I cannot plead innocency of life, (especially
" of my youth) but I am to be judged by a merciful God,
" who hath given me (even at this time) some testimo-
" nies by his Holy Spirit, that I am of the number of his
" elect. I am full of joy, and shall die in peace."

Upon Monday following, he took his last leave of his beloved study, and being hourly sensible of his decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber: And that week sent (at several times) for many of his most considerable friends, of whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell, commending to their considerations some sentences particularly useful for the regulation of their lives, and dismissed them with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday, following, he appointed his servants, that if there were any worldly business undone, that concerned them or himself, it should be prepared against Saturday next; for, after that day, he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned the world. Nor ever did.

Now he had nothing to do but to die; to do which, he stood in need of no more time, for he had long studied it. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change; and in the last hour of his last day, (as his body melted away), his soul having some revelation of the beatific vision, he said, " I were miserable, if I might not die:" And after those words, closed many periods of his faint breath with these words, *Thy kingdom come, thy will be done.* His speech remained with him almost to his last minute; and then forsook him. Being speechless, he (like Stephen) looked stedfastly towards heaven, and closed his own eyes, and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture, as required no alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus variable, thus holy, was the life; thus memorable, thus exemplary, was the death of this most excellent man. He was in his forty-second year when he took orders; and he died on the thirty-first of March, 1631, aged fifty-eight; after being dean of St Paul's for ten years.

He

He was buried in St Paul's church, in the place which he had appointed for that use some years before his death, and by which he passed daily to his devotions. But not buried privately, though he desired it; for, besides a vast number of others, many persons of noblity and eminence, who loved and honoured him in his life, shewed it at his funeral, by a voluntary and very solemn attendance of his body to the grave.

He was of stature moderately tall; of a straight and equally proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an inexpressible addition of grace and decorum. His aspect was chearful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear enlightened mind, and of a conscience at peace with itself. His melting eye shewed he had a soft heart, full of noble pity, of too brave a spirit to offer injuries, and too much a Christian, not to pardon them in others. His fancy was rich and copious, equalled by his great wit; both being made useful by an excellent judgment. His mind was liberal, and unwearied in the search of knowledge: And he wished to communicate what he knew to others. This appears by his numerous WRITINGS, some account of which we will present to our Readers.

Besides the Pseudo-Martyr, and Book of Devotion already mentioned, there are extant the following Works of Doctor Donne. "1. Poems: consisting of Songs and Sonnets, Epigrams, Elegies, Epithalamiums, Satires, Letters, Funeral Elegies, Holy Sonnets, &c. published at different times. They were printed together in one volume, 12mo. at London, 1719, with the Addition of Elegies upon the Author, by several Persons. Mr Dryden has very justly given Dr Donne the character of 'the 'greatest wit, though not the greatest poet, of our na-'tion:' And in his Dedication of Juvenal to the earl of Dorset, he says, 'Donne alone of all our countrymen, 'had your talent; but was not happy enough to arrive at 'your versification. And, were he translated into num-'bers and English, he would not yet be wanting in the dig-'nity of expression.— You equal Donne in the variety, 'multiplicity, and choice of thoughts: You excel him 'in the manner and the words. I read you both with the 'same admiration, but not with the same delight. He 'affects the metaphysics, not only in his satires, but in 'his amorous verses, where nature only should reign; and 'perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice specula-'tions of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts, 'and entertain them with the softness of love.' A little farther

farher Dryden asks, 'Would not Donne's Satires, which 'abound with so much wit, appear more charming, 'if he had taken care of his words and of his numbers?' Whether Pope took the hint from this question, or not is uncertain: But he has showed the world, that when translated into numbers and English as Dryden expresses it, they are not inferior to any thing in that kind of poetry.

2. "Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters, &c. to which is added a Book of Epigrams, written in Latin, by the same author; translated into English by J. Maine, D D. And also Ignatius's Conclave, a Satire, translated out of the original Copy written in Latin, by the same author; found lately amongst his own papers, London, 1653, 12mo. Part of this Collection was published at different times before. 3. Three volumes of Sermons, in folio; the first printed in 1640, the second in 1649, the third in 1660. Lord Falkland stiles Dr Donne 'one of 'the most witty and most eloquent of our modern divines.' 4. Esseys in Divinity, &c. being several Disquisitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers, before he went into holy orders, London, 1651, 12mo. published by his son. 5. Letters to several Persons of Honour, London, 1654, 4to. published by his son. There are several of Dr Donne's letters, and others to him, from the queen of Bohemia, the earl of Carlisle, archbishop Abbot, and Ben Johnson, printed in a book, entitled, a Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthew, Knt. 8vo. 1660. 6. The ancient History of the Septuagint; translated from the Greek of Aristeas, London, 1633, 12mo. This translation was revised and corrected by another hand, and published in 1685, in 8vo.

7. "ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ: or, a Declaration of that Paradox or Thesis, that Self-Homicide is not so naturally a sin, that it may not be otherwise, London, 1644, 1648, &c. 4to. Mr Wood tells us, that he had seen the original under the author's own hand, in the Bodleian library, dedicated to Edward lord Herbert, of Cherbury. Among Dr Donne's letters is one to lord Herbert, sent to him with the BIATHANATOS; and another to Sir Robert Carre, afterwards earl of Ancram, sent with the same book upon the doctor's going into Germany. In this letter he observes, that the book was written by him many years before; "and because (says he) it is upon a misinterpretable sub-"ject, I have always gone so near suppressing it, as that "it is only *not* burnt. No hand hath passed upon it to copy

" copy it, nor many eyes to read it; only to some parti-
" cular friends in both universities then, when I writ it,
" I did communicate it; and I remember I had this an-
" swer, that certainly there was a false thread in it, but
" not easily found. Keep it, I pray, with the same jea-
" lousy: Let any, that your discretion admits to the
" sight of it, know the date of it, and that it is a book
" written by Jack Donne, not Dr Donne: Reserve it for
" me, if I live; and if I die, I only forbid it the press
" and the fire. Publish it not, yet burn it not; but be-
" tween those do what you will with it." However, his worthless son disobeyed this injunction, and published it. If he had committed it to the flames, he had shewn a better regard to his father's memory.

Dr Donne was naturally of a melancholy disposition, and wrote this tract before he was truly serious, when under the impressions of that disorder. It is lamentable to consider, how the greatest learning and the brightest parts may be easily overcome by any and by every temptation; but at the same time, it is comfortable to reflect, that the weakest believer, under the protection of divine grace, *is* a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, over all trials and distresses.

These are all the Works of Donne that we know of for certain to be his. Mr Wood proposes a quære, whether he was the author of a piece entitled, " A Scourge for Paper Persecutors," printed in the reign of K. James I. the running title of which, at the top of every page, is, " Paper's Complaint." Besides an hundred and twenty sermons, the publication of which we have already mentioned, he left, adds our Biographer, 'the resultance of 'one thousand four hundred authors, most of them 'abridged and analysed with his own hand. All the busi-'ness likewise that passed of any public consequence, ei-'ther in this or any of our neighbouring nations, he ab-'breviated either in Latin, or in the language of that na-'tion, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So 'he did the copies of divers letters and cases of con-'science, that had concerned his friends, with his ob-'servation and solutions of them, and divers other mat-'ters of importance, all particularly and methodically 'digested by him.'

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

BIBLIOTECA POPULAR